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## THE LIBERAL PARTY AND ITS TASK

BY

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THE formation of political parties on strongly marked lines of cleavage was an event of great significance during the year that has just closed. To some it appeared a very undesirable phenomenon imported from the west and bound to cause immense harm in a country where it was believed that parties divided by political principles had never existed. To others it seemed that there should be only one party in the country, the other party being the alien government and its bureaucracy from whom rights and privileges had to be wrested by a combined attack on the citadel and that any differences of opinion or split in the ranks would reduce the garrison to hold out indefinitely long. Others there were who thought that the time had not arrived for any sharp division of parties on definite lines and that experience of the new problems would alone lead to the emergence and crystallization of definite political parties. It may be pointed out that some of these gentlemen have formed a higher opinion of the stability of party principles than may be justified by an analysis of the facts. Parties are no doubt formed in the west as the result first of differences of views on important issues. An attempt is made by political thinkers to find rational explanations and the enunciation of general principles is attempted. It is presumed that deeper causes like differences of mental outlook, of sympathy and of temperament would or ought to affect men's views in the same way on other questions also.

Suitable and attractive labels are then attached to the different parties. As a matter of fact, the labels have more fixity than the opinions of the members of the party to whom they belong. Except on a few vital issues it may be doubted whether in any country the labels, liberal or conservative, republican or democrat, imply differences of opinion on other issues also. In many cases there will be no differences of opinion and a party does not disregard the dictates of common sense merely for the purpose of differing from another party. There are others who consider it necessary to remain "independents" either because they think adhesion to any party would involve a sacrifice of one's own views or they appreciate the advantages of sitting on the fence and avoiding all risks. There are again others who wish to attain the beatitude of 'Unifiers' and 'peace-makers' among the jarring parties. Before the Special Congress of Calcutta there were 'Liberals' on the one hand, the 'latter-day Congress party' on the other, and the 'Nationalists' who claimed to be the advance guard of the second party, just as the Home-rulers had done so some years before. The Liberals were denounced by the Nationalists for their secession from the latter-day Congress and loyalty to the decision of the Congress was preached as the sum of political virtues. The Special session of the Congress at Calcutta brought out serious differences of views on the issue of non-co-operation raised by Mr. Gandhi. The question whether one's conscience

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or the Congress should be obeyed vexed the souls of the Neo-Congressmen. The legal distinction of 'mandatory' and 'advisory' precepts was appealed to alike by the minority and by the majority. Disunion arose in the ranks and it was hoped that the annual session of the Congress at Nagpur might enable them to reach unanimity and restore concord. The result, so far as one can judge, is an unanimity on the surface with many cross-currents underneath. The form of the resolution on non-co-operation admits of such a wide latitude of interpretations that every variety of non-co-operationists, those who pay homage to the theory but not to practice, those who believe in the practice of some parts of the programme but not in others, those who believe some parts of the programme as suicidal to the country, and those who accept the programme wholesale, can all safely continue to call themselves Congressmen; those who believe in the value of the British connection and those who wish to separate claim to be able to remain in the Congress camp without any violence to their conscience.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the exact political value of a nominal unanimity. The real issue now before the country is one raised unequivocally and unmistakably by Mr. Gandhi and those who follow him wholesale. What is the policy which is required in the interests of the country and what is the goal? We are not sure that even now the severance of the British connection is regarded as an end in itself by Mr. Gandhi. The end, of course, of all parties in the country is national welfare and development. But, while Mr. Gandhi does not believe in the British connection as indispensable to the attainment of the end, the Liberal party believes that without such connection it will not be possible to achieve the goal. It, of course, does not mean that the Liberal party is prepared for this reason, to tolerate any wrongs or abuses by the Government. Granting that there are defects and abuses the question for practical politicians is whether they would be wise in following the policy of non-co-operation or the policy represented by the Liberal party. The Liberal party stands for the policy which was laid down and accepted by the wise men who founded the Congress and by those who steered it during 30 years of its existence. Their watchword is the watchword of *constitutional progress* and they believe that the goal could be best attained by

remaining within the British Empire. The British Government is slow to make concessions and often prefers a policy of procrastination which leads to the depreciation of concessions when made, is true; but the Liberal party believes that it is easier to attain the goal by hitherto accepted constitutional methods by the method of non-co-operation. The Liberal party does not consider it necessary to destroy the existing structure but believes in well-desired adaptations and alterations which would involve no danger of burying the occupants rendering them houseless. It is their duty to perform the double task of educating people to a sense of the dangers of following the policy of non-co-operation and of impressing upon the government the need for timely alterations of the structure of the government and so more for a change not merely in the administration but in the whole spirit of the administration. They have to make the government realise that it exists for this country first and last rather than act upon the maxim that India only exists for England or the Empire. If India is made to see that the attainment of the goal of her freedom and nationality is in no way jeopardised or retarded by the British government she will naturally cling to the British empire. The task which confronts the Liberals exposes them to misapprehension and misrepresentation on both sides: from the representatives of the vested interests who profit by the existing order of things and from the masses among whom the cult of hatred of the government has been propagated. Far more moral courage is required to withstand the tyranny of the newspaper press and the ill-educated mobs than to oppose the bad measures of the government. They have to use the powers and opportunities conferred by the new reforms in a constructive spirit and to contribute to the up-building of national life in every direction. The work of course, is not one which can be carried out by them without the co-operation of the government or the people. The process of educating public opinion is also one attended with great difficulty, as the majority of the papers have been captured by the nationalist party. This task of education requires great resources both of finance and personnel. How far circumstances will favour the successful discharge of that task by the Liberal party remains to be seen.

# THE SITUATION AND THE REMEDY

BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the unexpected inclemency of the weather in Madras and the unfortunate attempts of the non-co-operators to boycott H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, we are glad that the citizens of Madras gave him a warm welcome. And this is as it should be. For according to the best traditions of the British constitution the Royal House in England is above all parties and the King can do no wrong. H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught has come to India on behalf of H. M. the King Emperor to assist at the inauguration of India's new Legislative Councils and thus usher in the new era of progress and reform. In his reply to the address presented by the Corporation of Madras on his landing, the Duke observed :—

If it were granted to me, by my presence once again in your midst, to help, so far as in me lies, in the healing of old sores, in the removal of bitter memories, in the strengthening of old ties, and in the renewal of a greater mutual confidence and good-will, then I feel I should indeed be taking a part worthy of a son of Queen Victoria, my dear mother, the memory of whose abiding love for India inspires me in the task which now confronts me.

There could certainly be no nobler or greater task for statesmanship at the present moment than the attempt to remove bitter memories and to strengthen old ties; but with all respect to the Royal Duke, we feel it our duty to bring home to the minds of all concerned, that the wrongs and indignities inflicted on the people by His Majesty's representatives in India have created a situation which is causing grave anxiety. If the Government of Lord Chelmsford which is primarily responsible for the present muddle have not kept the authorities at home duly apprised of the gravity of the situation, we can only say that Lord Chelmsford has done the greatest disservice to His Majesty the King Emperor. The Punjab atrocities form the blackest page in British Indian history and all appeals to the people of India to erase them from their memories are doomed to fail. The wound inflicted on that unfortunate Province is too deep, the sore is yet unhealed. Any attempt at brute force or a policy of repression will only ulcerate the wound that ought to be quickly healed. The only remedy, the straight and honourable remedy, is for His Majesty's Government to take the earliest opportunity to express contrition for the great wrong inflicted on the Indian people and to insist on the Government of India carrying out to the very

letter its injunction to mete out adequate punishment on the offenders in the Punjab and not make a travesty of it as has been sought to be done by the Government of Lord Chelmsford. Men of all shades of opinion have with one voice protested against the Punjab atrocities and proclaimed in no uncertain terms that the failure of British statesmanship to rise to the demands of the situation and the utter callousness of a large section of Anglo-Indians and Britishers at home to the feelings of outraged India are largely responsible for the present unhappy situation. The series of interpellations and resolutions on the Punjab tragedy notified on the agenda of the first meeting of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly is an indication of the intensity of the public feeling on the subject. Indeed it is something more than that. It is a solemn warning given to the authorities by the accredited representatives of the people. There is yet time for reparation. One of the staunchest supporters of British rule in India, the head of a great and influential community,—H. H. the Aga Khan—has rightly observed : ' If the offenders are properly punished and if the victims are as far as possible recompensed and if care is taken that in future Martial Law of this kind will be rendered impossible, then the Punjab question is settled.'

Only the other day the special correspondent of the London *Times*, Sir Valentine Chirol, who has seen India at different times and under many conditions, has thought fit to avow publicly in its columns :

Unless the Government takes definite steps to assuage the rankling sense of racial humiliation engendered by the Punjab methods of repression before the new Councils meet, and themselves reopen the question on which Indian opinion is unanimous, I fear that merely repressive measures against Gandhism may prove futile, and the reforms about to be inaugurated in the worst possible atmosphere will wither before they can bear fruit, and between official optimism or inertia, and the sapping of the revolutionary forces, we shall drift still further into chaos and disaster.

Lord Chelmsford bequeaths to his successor by no means an enviable legacy. A grave and delicate task awaits the new Viceroy. Upon the right handling of the situation will depend the future of India. It is a matter of happy augury that Lord Reading has realised that justice is the supreme need "at this solemn juncture in Indian history."

The people of India have lost faith in British justice. That lost faith the new Viceroy will have to restore,



# INDIA AND THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE

BY

MR. SHYAMA CHARAN RAI, B.A., L.L.B., M.R.A.S.

THE International Conference convened by the League of Nations to study the financial crisis and to look for the means of remedying it, concluded its sittings in the month of November. The Conference assembled in Brussels under the Presidency of Mons. Ador, the Ex-President of the Swiss Republic, and no less than thirty-nine states were represented in it. The delegates of the various nations presented interesting surveys of the financial and economic conditions of their respective countries, and brought into clear relief the effects of war on their different economic conditions. It was found that there was hardly a country which did not break the rules of economic life. The Conference sat to consider the financial position of the various countries and to suggest ways which may lead to their economic welfare. India was represented in the Conference by three delegates; Mr. Howard, Sir Marshall Reid, and Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy.

The Conference made definite recommendations, and suggested a line of policy for every nation, after careful consideration in co-operation with the delegates of the respective countries. The report of the Indian delegates though short, shows that Indian problems were carefully discussed. The recommendations made by the Committee on public finance were general in character and were adopted by the Conference. The committee remarked that increase in production is necessary for the restoration of prosperity of the people and for the reduction of prices. The increase of production is seriously handicapped by the growing expenditure of the governments. The growing expenditure of the governments has caused a further inflation of currency and credit, and hence depreciation of internal currency, thereby leading to further rise in prices, and instability of foreign exchanges. Thus the Conference recommended that it is the first duty of every government to restrict its ordinary expenditure and reduce its expenditure on armaments.

But the Indian Government have been following a policy which is directly against the recommendations of the Brussels Conference. There has already been a large increase in the civil and military expenditure. To add to all this, we have before us the Report of the Esher Committee, which wants to saddle on Indian revenues, the expenditure of forces maintained outside India.

What has already been done is now an established fact. But the recommendations of the Brussels Conference should now deter the Indian Government from following the Report of the Esher Committee. The views of the Brussels Conference in this respect have been agreed to by Mr. Howard. The Indian Government should follow the mature opinion of the Indian delegates and the Brussels Conference, and should not embark upon a policy which will go against the Indian interests.

The report submitted by the Committee on Currency and Exchange was also adopted by the Conference. The committee remarked that there has been a general expansion of the currencies of the various countries. This expansion of currencies has been more than necessary and without a proportionate increase in the wealth of those countries. So it has been suggested that the growth of this inflation should be stopped, and that deflation should be carried on slowly. In the written statement on the financial and economic situation of British India it was pointed out that India was making a determined effort to face the problem of deflation; and that the note issue was by that time reduced from 1850 to 1630 million of rupees and in metallic circulation was reduced by about 160 millions of rupees within the period of four months. But the Conference recommended that deflation should be carried on slowly, lest it should cause dislocation of trade, so the policy of the Indian Government to carry on deflation by the sale of Reverse Councils cannot be justified. About commerce the Conference recommended a gradual withdrawal of restrictions. But the recommendation was not an unconditional one and it was implied that the peculiar interests of the country should not be ignored. Thus the recommendations cannot be interpreted to mean that all the restrictions on the export of food-stuffs from India should be removed. Removal of control on the export of Indian foodstuffs would involve their export in large quantities, which would be a great harm to the poor people of India.

The Committee recommended that there should be a Central Bank for the issue of notes. There was no Central Bank in India up to this day, but the Imperial Bank Act has provided for the establishment of a Central Bank. This proposed Bank is not to be given the right of issuing notes, but it seems that in view of the recommendations

of the Conference, the power of note issue will be given to the Bank.

The Committee opined that attempts to limit the fluctuations by artificial control of exchange operations is futile and mischievous. Attempts of the Indian Government to regulate exchange and to stabilise it have always proved to be so. The recent attempt to stabilise the value of the rupee and to maintain it equal to two shillings in gold by the sale of Reverse Councils has proved to be a failure. This recommendation of the Conference should be well borne in mind by the Indian Government, and the policy of controlling the exchange operations should be given up. It is now high time that exchange should be left to adjust itself by its own ways.

The question of international trade was also taken up by the Conference, and the majority in it seemed to favour the view that freedom of commerce should be restored. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy foresaw the probable effect of such a recommendation on Indian trade interests, and in time pointed out to the Conference that a discussion of such a nature was irrelevant to the main issues before the Conference. He put before the Conference the special case of Indian foreign trade which was very low per head of the population and which required to be developed. For the development of Indian foreign trade he maintained that economic conditions peculiar to India will have to be considered, and that the educated community in India favours the policy of protection for such an end. He therefore insisted that the problem should be left to be solved by the nations according to their economic conditions.

The consideration of the system of international credits was the most important part of the Conference. The scheme was formulated by M. Delacroix the Prime Minister of Belgium. The question of the international credits was no less interesting to India, than to other countries. Indian foreign trade has suffered so much not because of lack of goods, but because of lack of capacity of her foreign purchasers to purchase goods on credit. If the power of India's foreign customers to purchase goods on credit is restored it would be a great gain to her foreign trade. The scheme as adopted by the Conference provides for the constitution of an International Commission under the auspices of the League of Nations. The Governments of those countries who will participate in the scheme shall notify to the Commission what assets they are prepared to pledge as

security for obtaining credits to be granted by the nation of the exporting country. The gold value of these assets will be determined by the Commission, and the participating governments shall be entitled to prepare bonds to that gold value. These bonds will be lent by the participating country to its nationals for use by them as collateral security for importations. The importer will be able to pledge these bonds to the ~~exporter~~ in a foreign country for the period of transaction. The exporter will thus have those bonds issued by the Government of the importer's country and he shall be able to sell them in case of default. In the case of India such a system by improving the power of the purchaser to purchase goods on credit will improve the prospects of the Indian export trade.

But the scheme provides that the consent of the Commission is required before the importer can have these bonds, and the consent of the Commission shall, as a rule, be accorded only for the import of raw materials and pecuniary necessities. In the case of India, therefore, it is only the export of raw materials which will increase. The participation of India in the scheme will surely improve the condition of her export trade, but that will be for the most part in case of raw material exported from India. Whether it will also be a gain to the general economic condition of the country, will depend on the way it is worked out. But we can, however, say that the scheme will by improving the export trade, lead to an adjustment of foreign exchange which has suffered much, of late, by its instability.

The opinion expressed by the Brussels Conference can be said to be the opinion of the best financial and commercial experts. The Conference has made several recommendations which should be followed by the Indian Government. The most important of them is that of reducing the civil and military expenditure. To follow the recommendations of the Esher Committee would be directly against the policy suggested by the Economic Conference. The constitution of the Esher Committee has been objected to by all the sections of Indian public, Extremists and Moderates. The recommendations made by the Committee are also wrong in principle, and manifestly unjust to the Indian tax payer. The view of the Brussels Conference which has simply endorsed the view of the Indian public in the matter of reducing the expenditure of government, must receive a favourable consideration at the hands of the Indian Government,



# 6 The PHILOSOPHY OF BERNARD SHAW

BY

PROF. H. C. PAPWORTH, M.A. I.E.S.

"THE Quintessence of Bernard Shaw" \* is a serious attempt on the part of the author to persuade us to take Mr. Shaw seriously. As he admits quite candidly, the British public enjoy the sensations and shocks afforded by Mr. Shaw and his writings, but, at the same time, do not, as a rule, attempt to probe the depth of his philosophy. One section of the British public, which pretends to have given a little thought to Mr. Shaw and his philosophy, has come to the conclusion that his teaching is impracticable, his remedies necessary only for a small minority, and, if put into practice, subversive of our moral code. It feels too, that Mr. Shaw, clever man that he seems to be, must surely realise this: and it is driven to the conclusion that he is either a false prophet to be avoided; or, if he be sincere in these far-fetched and perverted teachings, then he must have a 'kink'—in other words, be mad. Another section of the British public feels convinced that G.B.S. is never really serious; that he is continually fooling them. This conviction arouses their anger and resentment against him, and these are intensified almost into a passion of hatred by the fact that the public are conscious of Shaw's success in this direction,—that whether they will or no, they are fooled by him! In which of these solutions, if in either, lies the truth, Shaw is far too clever to let them see. Need we wonder then that the British public have not given to Mr. Shaw and his philosophy that serious thought, which Mr. Duffin thinks is their due?

It seems to me that it is to these sections of the public in particular that Mr. Duffin addresses his remarks: and he tries to persuade them to take Shaw as he says he is in the preface to "Man and Superman," "a reasonable, patient, consistent, apologetic, laborious person, with the temperament of a school-master and the pursuits of a vestryman"; one who has a valuable legacy for thoughtful men, and one who is serious and sincere in the conviction that his own mind "sees things differently from other people, and sees them better." So he invites us to lay aside our prejudices, whatever they are, to accept as a

working hypothesis that Shaw is really genuine, and to try to find out whether he has anything of value to teach us. It is in this spirit that Mr. Duffin reviews many of Shaw's plays and prefaces. He says nothing about Shaw as an artist; nothing about the form or manner of his works: he deals with him solely as a philosopher and teacher, solely with his content and matter.

The first chapter is entitled "Immorality and Heresy," and is as good as a debate as to which is the more moral, the rolling stone which gathers no moss, or the standing stick which covers no ground,—the *roué*, or the orthodox respectable man! This chapter shows how Shaw examines the objective moral law, and how he exhorts everyman to examine it for himself. People are very chary in bringing to the bar of common sense any firmly established code of conduct, especially one which has the additional sanction of time, tradition and religion; and it is because Shaw does this and does it fearlessly, that many good-living people think that he wishes to abolish the moral law altogether. Shaw has no such intention: but he asks us to think, without prejudice, whether *any* law of conduct, the Ten Commandments included, is so universal as to be called a 'golden rule.' So, to quote Mr. Duffin, "with this aim in view, he seeks first to deprive the word 'morality' of its stupefying power by making it practically synonymous with convention. Immorality then becomes, by definition, not a form of sin, but a mode of freedom: whatever is contrary to established manners or customs is immoral."

To understand this better, we should read "Candida," and study its three chief characters, standing as they do, at three distinct points along this road of 'freedom'; or "The Devil's Disciple," where poor Dick Dudgeon, born and bred in a Puritan home, where fixed moral laws and high though uncomfortable ideals are rigidly applied and never transgressed, where enjoyment and worldly pleasure are unknown, seems to say, "Well, if these be the laws for the disciples of God, I shall be happier as the disciple of the Devil!"

It may be well to remark that Mr. Shaw, in exposing our slavery to fixed ideals, is not

\* THE QUINTESSENCE OF BERNARD SHAW. By H. C. Duffin, E. Nash, London.

condemning the ideals so much as the slavery. He bids us examine our ideals and pronounce whether, shorn of all the halos that hover round them, they are, in the actual lives of men and women, so efficacious in producing happiness as they are taught to be. It is a plea for intellectual and moral liberty, for self-reliance and its corollary—Toleration;—"a vigilant open-mindedness." "What is wrong with the world," says Andrew Undershaft, "is that it scraps everything except old prejudices—religious, moral, political."

Amongst the subjects arising out of these considerations with which Shaw's works deal, the problems of sex-relationship and religion occupy distinctly prominent places. To put the first problem in a nutshell, Shaw's women (whether real women in the world do is another story, which Mr. Duffin carefully examines and denies) take the initiative in sex affairs. His view of women is not an inspiring one, and his view of love "affords no basis for a worship of women by man." Here, indeed, is a destruction of a deeply-rooted ideal, or, as Shaw would call it, 'convention.' Ann Whitefield, in "Man and Superman", is the aggressor: there is nothing of the goddess waiting to be worshipped in her. Here the woman is the spider, man the fly. "I have promised to marry Jack," ejaculates Ann a second before she swoons: "I have never asked her", says Jack, "it is a trap for me!" In the same mood, Joey Perceval, the victim of the bewitching Hypatia Tarleton exclaims, "If every woman who likes me is to behave like Potiphar's wife, I shall be a slave!"

This attitude towards women is certainly unconventional, and therefore a delight to Mr. Shaw. But has he not made a mistake? In this instance, although the conventional view may not be the last word on the subject, is it not truer than that advanced by Mr. Shaw?

From this uninspiring view of woman as a sensual aggressor, Shaw's view of marriage is but a natural deduction. "A woman wants children; she sees a man whom she would like to give her children; she sets her cap at him, and presently marries him". Clearly, the old idea that marriage is a spiritual bond of love, sealed with an unbreakable seal, has completely gone to the wall. Idyllic marriages, absolute compatibility and the like are all empty phrases: in fact, in the majority of Shaw's marriage situations, incompatibility is the outstanding feature, and the most successful marriages are those where the parties do not strive for anything more, but treat it, as

Mr. G. K. Chesterton says, as "a kind of perpetual joke." It is perhaps as well that some of our old platitudes with regard to marriage are shown to be empty.

The 'perpetual joke' idea, however, does not express Shaw's view quite exactly. He is much more definitely condemnatory when he says through his mouthpiece, Dick Tanner;—"marriage is to me apostasy, profanation of the sanctuary of my soul, violation of my manhood, sale of my birthright, shameful surrender, ignominious capitulation, acceptance of defeat. I shall decay like a thing that has served its purpose and is done with; I shall see in the greasy eyes of all the other husbands their relief at the arrival of a new prisoner to share their ignominy. The young men will scorn me as one who has sold out: to the women I, who have always been an enigma and a possibility, shall be merely somebody else's property—and damaged goods at that—a second-hand man at best."

Mr. Shaw, it would seem, indicts marriage on two grounds in particular: first, because it can never be truly permanent, and secondly, because it does not produce the greatest amount of happiness to the individuals concerned. It is illogical to think, that of all the choices, decisions and contracts that men and women make in the course of their lives, there is one, *viz* marriage which can on no grounds be broken. It is also unreasonable and uncharitable to expect two people who have married, but who find no happiness, to continue in that state till death parts them. There must be a remedy; and that remedy seems to be a wise and reasonable divorce law.

There are several of Shaw's characters which deal with the question of divorce—e.g. Reginald and Leo Bridgforth and Hotchkiss. On the need for a sane and generous system of legislation on Divorce, most people these days are agreed. The majority might not agree with Shaw's extreme radical view that "simple request by one party or the other should be sufficient grounds for divorce, and no questions should be asked," nor with his maxim "make divorce as easy, as cheap and as private as marriage;" but still, to most of us it is obvious that if divorce came to be looked upon by society, not as a sin or a disgrace, but as "a simple and natural means of escape from a false position, a great deal of unnecessary suffering would be avoided."

To pass on to Shaw's attitude towards religion. It will be generally admitted that there are no opinions, prejudices and ideals, which people hold



so guardedly and tenaciously as religious ones. In discussing this subject, therefore, most wise men proceed tactfully. Shaw, however, does not. In place of the personal and beneficent God, he substitutes the Life-Force, which throughout the ages has continually struggled to exert and realise itself, and has now reached a very high manifestation of itself—Man. Shaw conceives of this Life-Force as having had an end and purpose, though unconscious and unformulated, all through the various stages of life's evolution; but not consciously realised till it manifested itself in the highest stage yet attained,—Man.

There seem to be two aspects from which we can conceive this Life-Force. There is the Life-Force *per se*, the great Power and Principle of Life, which struggles to assert itself, and which, in spite of adverse conditions has continued through the ages its "ceaseless upward thrust." Then, there is the Life-Force as realised in man—the force which prompts man to activity, improvement and self-realisation; his impulse towards perfection. To appeal to this impulse and train it is, in Shaw's view, the most profitable form of religious instruction. So far as existing forms of religion are useful in this appeal and training, in awakening and fanning the "divine spark," so far are they profitable. Religious instruction must aid the Life-Force to realise itself still further, and to manifest itself in the future, not merely in Man, but in Super-Man. Thus the whole purpose of religious instruction must be to improve the race and direct it God-ward. This surely is a worthy ideal, and thinking people will believe that Shaw is sincere, in spite of the fact that his general treatment of the Christian Church and specifically Christian dogma is subversive and destructive, apparently on the grounds that the formulated creeds are not credible.

Another 'ideal' which Shaw attacks is poverty, which he regards, not as a holy state or basis of a saintly life, nor as the hall-mark of God's nobility, but as the root of all evil. Money, he maintains, is the basis of everything that is good—education, cleanliness, culture, refinement and leisure. Without money we can obtain nothing; clearly then, everybody must have sufficient of it. The world rests solidly on a cash basis: this basis urgently needs adjusting, and in the adjustment, poverty must go. In working out the details of this adjustment,—and it would appear that it can only be done by Act of Parliament—numerous difficulties arise, which Shaw recognises, but naturally cannot always solve. "For the individual, acquire wealth; for the state,

abolish poverty," Shaw would say: but the former requires limitations, and the latter, unless it means "exterminate the abject poor," seems beyond the possibilities of legislation. But still, there is no doubt that Shaw is serious and right in insisting that poverty is a cancer in the social organism, a cure for which should be the object of earnest research.

In politics, it is the fashion to dub G.B.S. as an out—and—out Socialist. Yet, if on the whole Shaw in his writings seems prejudiced against any form of social order other than Democracy, he is certainly not blind to the defects and limitations of Democracy. No one could ridicule Democracy more than Shaw, when, speaking through Jack Tanner, he says, "Democracy substitutes election by the incompetent many for appointment by the corrupt few"; and further, "God Himself could not raise a people above its own level." This seems to scorn Democracies; but still Shaw's general view is inclined to Democracy, properly interpreted. He is not such a fool as to advocate mob-government: the *demos* must choose its representatives, and in choosing representatives, many factors varying from country to country and from age to age, must be taken into account; particularly the *quality* of the *demos*, and the level of its political consciousness. In these respects nations differ widely. It finally amounts to this—that true Democracy is only possible when Man, through the evolution of the Life-Force, becomes Super-man. From the standpoint of current politics, therefore, Shaw's assent to Democracy is indeed a qualified one.

I trust I have said enough to stimulate an interest in Bernard Shaw and his teachings. In addition to those I have sketched, there are other problems which come under his purview, such as education, family life, criminal punishment and so on. "The Quintessence of Bernard Shaw" by Mr. Duffin will be found a helpful hand book to the main points of Shaw's philosophy; and a perusal of it will create a desire to study Shaw's works themselves. There can be no denying that in many cases Shaw lays his finger firmly and clearly on various diseases in the body politic, and thus compels us to think about them. His diagnoses are usually right, and, for this reason, the ills are worthy of our serious attention, even though we may sometimes feel that some of the remedies which he prescribes are calculated to kill the body rather than cure its diseases. We can always make the treatment less drastic.

# THE DEATH OF BHISHMA

BY

MR. STANLEY P. RICE, I.C.S. (retired).

[Last Month we published Mr. Rice's metrical version of the famous Dice Episode in the Mahabharata. "The Death of Bhishma" is yet another touching episode in the great epic, depicted with consummate mastery. Every chord of the human heart is touched in turn and even the English rendering gives a fair idea of the grand style of the original in the ancient classic.—Ed., I.R.]

So through the field the battle roared and men  
Fought hand to hand, not in due order ranged,  
But horse to man and car to elephant  
In one red ruin while the thirsty earth  
Drank up the blood of thousands—But amongst  
them

Bhishma, the valiant, the indomitable,  
Flamed like a fire through the hosts and none  
Might stand against him; Countless souls he sent  
To the dim shades of Yama, till at length  
The peerless archer Arjuna bent his bow  
And for a space as clouds obscure the sun,  
So Ganga's son by the unending rain  
Of shafts stood hidden from the sight of men,  
Yet was he not subdued, but turned aside  
That fiery stream as if in sport and laughed.  
And fiercer grew the fight and warriors  
In hordes assailed the aged hero; he  
Chose out a bow, but Partha's\* deadly shafts  
Cut it in twain. Another and yet another  
He took, but the unerring archer's hand  
Splintered them all. At last he took a lance  
Of wondrous toughness, and well balanced, which  
As it flew quivering through the startled air  
Fell into fragments shattered like the rest,  
And Bhishma seeing that some god upheld  
The hand of Arjuna paused awhile and mused;  
"Methinks that I with mine own single hand  
Could slay these insolent Pandavas, were it not  
That Krishna the Omnipotent, assists  
His chosen favourites in the fight. But now  
With that most powerful aid which he bestows  
They are inviolate. Nor shall it be said  
That Bhishma ever stretched his bow against  
Sikhandin, woman-born but now a man.†  
In far off days when my great father won  
The peerless Kali for his bride, and held  
High festival within his royal halls

\* i.e. Arjuna.

† Sikhandin exchanged sexes with a semi-divine being who was condemned by his Gods to remain female.

It chanced that he was pleased with me and gave  
Two gifts, that I should be invulnerable  
In battle, and should choose the hour of death.  
To-day the hour is come; I choose to die.  
And at his words a voice from heaven fell;  
"Desist from battle, favourite of the gods;  
As thou hast said, so be it unto thee,  
Such is the will of heaven." And a breeze  
Fragrant with heavenly odours blew and shed  
Flowers from the skies, while on its gentle wings  
Was borne the music of the immortal gods,  
But fierce around the mighty hero raged  
The fight, and first Sikhandin wounded him  
The woman-warrior, and after him  
Vibhatsu,\* and the Pandu warriors,  
Yet could they not subdue that mighty arm,  
Nor slay the aged chief. But Arjuna  
Holding Sikhandin as a shield before him  
In guile, for well he knew that Bhishma's bow  
Would not be bent against that woman-form  
With three sharp arrows cut in twain that bow  
And with one fiery line of shafts he pierced  
The hero through and through and Bhishma said,  
Turning to his companions with a smile  
"These shafts that come in one unbroken line  
And smite me with the force of thunderbolts,  
Piercing my very marrow, these are not  
Sikhandin's arrows but the hand of Partha  
Directs them; as the blast of winter cuts  
The shivering kine, these arrows pierce my soul."  
Then with a mighty stroke he hurled a lance  
At Arjuna but in mid air the lance  
Was shivered by the skill of Pritha's son  
And all men stood and wondered.

But the foe

Rushed in their hundreds on the warrior  
And as the sun went down, illustrious Bhishma,  
Pierced through and through with mortal wounds,  
sank down

Upon the bloody earth, yet touched it not  
So close did stick the arrows in his flesh

\* i.e. Arjuna.



Making a couch fit for a Kshatriya.  
 And as a desert lion parched with thirst  
 Ranges afar in search of some cool spring  
 Where at to drink—he stops and sniffs the air,  
 Then without pause he hurries to the pool  
 And bends his head, nor knows that close at hand  
 The hunters lurk until with one sharp stab  
 The fatal arrow strikes him in the flank.  
 Stung with the pain, he looks around and sees  
 A ring of iron closing in upon him  
 And falls and to the last he falls and dies,  
 Pierced through with many darts; So Bhishma  
 fell.

And at that mighty fall the affrighted earth  
 Trembled for fear; and the deep water spouts  
 Of heaven were opened and the rain poured down  
 From the black thunder clouds.

But far away

Sat Ganga in her Himalayan home,  
 Ganga from whom the hero sprang, nor wept  
 When she beheld her dying son but sent  
 Great Rishis to him like a flock of swans  
 To comfort him. Down through the tremulous  
 air

They flew until they came where Bhishma lay.  
 And marvelled at his dying; whispering  
 Among themselves; "Why should this hero die  
 While yet the sun is in the south?" But he:—  
 "Nay gentle swans! the boon my father gave  
 Is that I choose the hour of mine own death  
 And till the sun in his diurnal course  
 Has moved into the north, I choose to live."  
 And so lay back upon his arrowy bed  
 Dumb, for the pain of his most grievous wounds  
 Ran like a fire through his dying limbs.  
 And for a space upon those mighty hosts  
 A silence fell and deep amazement, whilst  
 A pall of darkness overspread the sky  
 And hid the sun; earth from her innermost  
 depths

Groaned, when she saw the foremost of them all  
 Lopped like a tree and fallen along the ground.  
 And kings and warriors in their hundreds came,  
 Their armour all put off, in homage meet  
 And reverence to the dying: even so  
 Do the gods reverence Indra, Lord of all.  
 Then Bhishma spake with faint and feeble voice;  
 "My head is heavy and I would that one  
 Brought me a pillow." Swift they hastened then  
 And brought him pillows of the softest down,  
 Whereon to lay his head; of purple silk  
 They were and brodered with the cunning arts

\* An inauspicious mark. See also the story of  
 Savitri.

Of Hindustan. But he thrust them aside,  
 Yet with a gentle smile, saying "Alas!  
 These are not fitting for a Kshatriya's bed.  
 Let those who sit at home with women, lie  
 Soft, while around the streams of music lull  
 Their feminine spirits. Where is Arjuna?  
 Come, mighty archer, be thou son to me,  
 (For unto thee alone of all these kings  
 Is given the secret of a warrior's death.)  
 Give me a pillow for my dying head,  
 Not unbecoming this my latest hour,  
 Thine be the choice: thou wilt not fail me."  
 Straight Lord Arjuna took up the peerless bow,  
 Gandiva, purified with many rites  
 And incantations many; swift he shot  
 His lightning shafts beneath the aged head  
 That hung so heavy, till at last the pile  
 Shot with a skill no other man could match.  
 Had made a pillow for the dying Bhishma.  
 And with a sigh he sank back satisfied  
 Whispering, "In truth thou hast divined my  
 thought;

Such pillow well becomes a Kshatriya  
 Who all his life has walked uprightly, not  
 Transgressing the immortal laws of God  
 Keeping his body stainless from desire  
 Of carnal lust. Hadst thou devised aught else,  
 I would have risen and cursed thee in my rage.  
 Behold, O kings, this that lord Arjuna  
 Hath done, for here upon my arrowy bed  
 I rest contentedly, until the sun  
 Enter the region of Visravana.  
 Then comes the hour supreme; that fatal hour  
 Shall teach you how a Kshatriya ought to die."  
 So spake the dying Bhishma and was ware  
 How that physicians crowded round his couch,  
 Eager to proffer help; well-skilled they were  
 In all the healing art and could assuage  
 The fiery anguish of the rankling darts.  
 But he once more. "I have no need of these;  
 For I have left all earthly things behind  
 And now my soul fixed on the Infinite  
 Ascends to heaven to the blessed gods,  
 Reward them well and let them go."

But now

The sun was setting and the heroes all  
 Departed each his several way, while night  
 Fell on the silent plain and in the vault  
 Of heaven the myriad stars stood sentinel;  
 And Bhishma on his couch was left alone,  
 But in the Pandu camp high festival  
 Was held and great rejoicing that their foe  
 The indomitable Bhishma, was overthrown.  
 Lord Krishna spake to King Yudhishthira:—

"Your enemy has fallen ; by the grace  
Of the immortal gods thus it hath chanced ;  
Or is it that your soul-destroying eyes,  
O mighty warrior of the Pandavas,  
Have slain what else to mortal weapons were  
Invincible?" Then said Yudishtira :—  
"Not by the might of my devouring glance,  
Nor by the grace of Fortune have we slain  
The foremost Kaurava. 'Tis thou alone,  
O Kesava, through whom the victory  
Cometh ; for thou, divinest Madhava,  
Art our sure refuge and our tower of strength.  
Thou smilest, Krishna, and Lo ! Victory  
Sits on our banners ; and dost thou but frown  
Defeat and fatal ruin overtake us."  
So passed the night in joy and revelry  
Throughout the Pandava camp ; while all the  
Kurus

In deep dejection and in grief cast down,  
Sought brief forgetfulness in sleep. The morn  
Broke, and the hero on his arrowy couch  
Greeted the rising sun ; anon there came  
Some from both camps to greet him ; as of old  
Before the breath of all-devouring war  
Had blasted all the land and in their souls  
Kindled a hatch implacable, they spoke  
In words of peace and friendship, while they vied  
In doing honour to the son of Ganga.  
But he, his body with the burning pain  
Consumed, and clammy with the dews of death  
Whispered "My soul is faint and parched for  
thirst ;

Bring me some water." And they brought it  
him,

Cool water in a golden jar, and choice  
Meats for his soul's refreshment ; but he said,  
Thrusting them all aside "It is not thus  
I would have water ; these are for the sons  
Of men who linger here on earth, while I  
Lie here expectant of the moment, when  
I pass from earth to seek the abodes of heaven."  
Go, bring me Arjuna ; and Pritha's son  
With deep obeisance and humility  
Approaching him, bowed down and gently  
asked :—

"What wouldst thou have made ?" "My son"  
he said

"My soul is parched with raging thirst, and fire  
From thy most potent arrows eats me up.  
Tis thou, O peerless archer, thou alone  
That canst assuage my anguish with cool streams  
Of water fitted for a prince's lips."  
Forthwith the son of Pritha bent his bow  
Gandiva ; like a thunder clap it twanged

And all around him quaked for fear. But he,  
Pacing in due mysterious measure round,  
Fitted a puissant arrow to the string  
And shot into the earth a little space  
From Bhishma's couch ; and suddenly there  
gushed

A stream of fragrant water pure and cool  
Like to the nectar which the gods enjoy,  
And at that marvel all men stood amazed.  
But Ganga's son, quenching his fiery thirst  
At the cool limpid water cried aloud,  
"O Arjuna, delight of all the world,  
To whom is given with Vasudeva's help  
Such power in archery as none besides  
May match, henceforth thy prowess shall be such  
As the high gods would envy. For as man  
Among all living things, as Garuda  
Among the birds or as the glorious Sun  
Among the lesser luminaries of heaven,  
So thou among the warriors of this age  
Art without peer. And now I go my way,  
Yet would I fain give counsel once again  
To those whose eyes are blind, whose ears are  
deaf ;

For now in this mine end I surely see  
Destruction overtake Duryodhana  
And all the myriad kings with him allied,  
I have lived my life and on this battle-field  
Have found befitting death. But you, my  
friends,

Live on henceforth in peace and amity  
And let the blood of Bhishma be the seal  
Of lasting friendship. Why should these men  
perish

In bloody strife ? Do thou, Duryodhana,  
Give half thy kingdom to the Pandavas ;  
So shalt thou earn the praise of righteous men  
Nor feel the shame that for thy selfish ends  
Myriads of men are doomed ; then shall there  
come

The reign of peace and of prosperity,  
Father embracing father, brother brother,  
And all the world bound in the chains of love  
But if I speak to still unheeding ears,  
The thunder of the wrathful gods shall fall  
Upon the stubborn, and the land shall groan  
With war, till at the last destruction come  
Upon thee in thy folly and thou lose  
Wife, kingdom, power, riches, life itself."  
So ended he and straight composed himself  
To death ; and when the sun in order due  
Entered the north, his mighty spirit fled  
Into the realms of everlasting peace.



# INDIAN CO-OPERATIVE STUDIES

BY

DR. JOHN MATTHAI.

THERE is hardly a subject of current interest in India on which there has been a larger output of literature in recent years than the co-operative movement. This is by no means an unhealthy symptom because the greater the interest that the co-operative movement can awaken among the educated public, the better are its prospects. But what kind of literature do we really want? Is it the literature that instructs or the literature that inspires? Most of the writings we have had on the subject so far are of the sort which tell people how co-operative societies may be started, what the mistakes are into which they usually lapse, where money could be found etc.—a sort of manual, in fact, for the converted. But the question of conversion itself has been largely forgotten in the anxiety to minister to be converted. Ten or fifteen years ago there was something to be said for this attitude. The field of co-operation then was so restricted that the Government machinery sufficed alike for the conversion of sinners and for the edification of the saints. But the number of co-operative societies has increased so enormously during the past decade that the Government departments are unable to cope with even the ordinary duties of administration, and the important work of propaganda is being left increasingly in unofficial hands. This is as it should be. But the work requires stimulus as well as guidance, if it is to be fully effective. The great need of the hour seems to be rather stimulus than guidance because the pressure of other public interests in recent years has tended in some measure to drive co-operation from the minds of the educated class and considerable stimulus will have to be applied to restore the public interest in the co-operative movement. The advent of industrialism and political democracy is crowding other things out for the moment—and unless a determined effort is made to show the place of co-operation in the new order which is coming into being, co-operation will soon find that it has lost ground.

Somebody might ask whether all this emphasis on the need for awakening the interest of the educated class in co-operation is not misplaced. Co-operation is essentially a poor man's movement, it is said, especially the poor man in rural areas. It is the poor ryot, not the well-to-do, middle class, professional man who lives in the town, who is the prime objective of the co-operative

movement. But we have long ago discovered, not merely in co-operation but in other things, that it is a fatal fallacy to conceive of the urban and rural populations in a modern community as living in separate compartments with opposite interests. The educated town-dweller has not merely supplied the greater part of the fluid capital by which rural societies are financed but he has also supplied much the greater share of whatever initiative and active help the co-operative movement has derived from unofficial sources. If his money goes hereafter entirely into commercial investments and if his thoughts and energy are taken up exclusively with the political opportunities of the new day, no public cause will suffer in a greater degree than co-operation. There is therefore ample need for literature which will stimulate the interest of the educated class in co-operation.

But what kind of literature? Not detailed and analytical discussions, but the kind of writing which will afford inspiration and will fix and reveal the place of co-operation in the new social order which is taking shape before our eyes. What we want is not more manuals and text-books. What we want is a philosophy of co-operation. We want a race of prophets in the land who will utter truths and set forth visions that will not merely feed the mind but kindle the soul. But that kind of literature can only be produced by people who, unhampered by the detail and routine of administration, have the freedom and ability to consider co-operation in relation to the larger movements in the country. "Produced", perhaps is a wrong word, because such books are seldom 'Produced'—they generally drop like manna from Heaven.\* The present book contains much excellent matter of a particularly instructive sort; but it will hardly inspire anybody. The writers are not prophets—they don't pretend to be that. Most of them are just efficient and experienced scribes, and their writing must be judged on that basis.

As an introduction to a study of the considered methods of co-operation, this is the best book which has ever appeared in India. The characteristic problems of Indian co-operation and the methods which have been employed for solving

\* *Indian Co-operative Studies*.—Edited by R. B. Ewbank, I. C. S., Oxford University Press, 1920.

them are here set forth with a clearness and practical grasp which must make the book almost indispensable to practical co-operators. The essays do not as a rule touch upon controversial questions but confine themselves to an explanation of accepted methods and practices. Where they speak of developments for the future, the writers are generally on ground which is more or less familiar to workers in the co-operative field. There are no suggestions of startling novelty nor any very exciting criticism. None the less the book is a valuable contribution to the growing literature on Indian co-operation, because the writers are experts in their chosen lines and write clearly, critically and with inside knowledge.

While this is the general character of the book, there are two essays to which this description will not altogether apply, because they are rather more than descriptions of existing methods. Mr. Ewbank's paper on *Guaranteeing Unions* appears to have already excited considerable controversy in co-operative circles. Mr. Ewbank has a strong case in so far as the problem he raises is one of vital practical importance. Can a co-operative local union which has no financial responsibility for the recommendation which it makes to a district bank on behalf of a primary society ever develop into an effective self-governing body? The local union is regarded with great hopes by experienced co-operators, but not the most optimistic of them will venture to say that these hopes are in any considerable degree on the way to being realised. Unless they are saddled with a certain measure of responsibility if their recommendations happen to prove unsound or ill-informed, local unions must tend in the nature of things to get slipshod and reckless. Short of financial responsibility in the shape of a guarantee for losses incurred on account of their societies, there seem to be only two methods which can save them. One is the exercise of what is euphemistically called in official circles "intensive supervision" by the Co-operative Department—and the other is to make the union itself the financing bank for the area or at any rate the local agent for the district bank. In neither case will the union have much of an independent life left. Mr. Ewbank's own suggestion is to fix on the union the liability to meet losses up to a certain limit if they cannot be recovered from the societies themselves on liquidation. Whether an ultimate guarantee of this kind offered by a local union will be acceptable to a district bank or influence their judgment to any the slightest extent is a question which naturally suggests itself on a perusal of Mr. Ewbank's

paper but to which his paper offers no convincing answer. Nor is the experience of his own guaranteeing unions in Bombay a sufficient proof of the practical value of his suggestion. The reader thus finds himself in a dilemma, and till more experience has been gathered, he must content to remain in this dilemma.

The other paper which seems to differ in character from the rest of the book is the one by Dr. Slater on Co-operative Stores. Dr. Slater suggests various reasons for the relative failure of the store movement in India. Among other reasons he suggests the possible drawbacks of a Government-controlled agency in regard to co-operative purchase and sale. His point appears to be that while a policy of guarding against mistakes is the most important thing in credit, a policy of adventure and experiment is what is required in trade. This is undoubtedly a point that deserves consideration. The machinery of our co-operative movement in India has been fashioned almost solely with a view to credit societies. And till some adjustment is made to the special requirements of trading societies, the existing machinery must prove rather a clog so far as purchase and sale are concerned. But this question of co-operative trade appears from the experience of the past few years to be a larger question than one of merely readjusting machinery. The question has got to be faced frankly, is there really need for an extensive system of co-operative trade in India? If so, does it exist in regard to all commodities of ordinary consumption or only some? And does it exist among all classes or only among a few living under specially disadvantageous conditions? The point to be faced is whether there is in reality the big margin between wholesale and retail prices which is commonly supposed to exist. If not, a co-operative store is superfluous, so far at any rate as the provision of cheap goods is concerned. Two lines of enquiry may be suggested in this connection; first, that a substantial difference between wholesale and retail prices is less likely in the case of articles grown or produced within a district than in the case of articles imported into it from outside; and secondly that it is less probable among the ordinary urban and rural population than among backward communities like the Panchamas and hill tribes. If there is any point in these suggestions, it may afford some guidance as to the most effective starting point for a movement of co-operative trade. It may also help to avoid, in the early stages, futile effort and the demoralisation of inevitable failure.



# THE POWER OF ORIGINALITY

By

MR. S. JACKSON COLEMAN.

“DO we kill initiative?”, “Is enterprise worth while?”, “Does originality pay?”. These are questions that we must all have asked ourselves from time to time. For nothing, after all, commands success in life more surely than initiative, enterprise and originality. The world is crying aloud for men of initiative. From the stage, literature, commerce, the realm of politics—the demand is endless and unsatiable. Yet the rarest thing in humanity is independence of mind, the faculty of thinking and acting for oneself. A man who is *himself* so rare nowadays that the world applies to him the word “original” whenever he is to be found.

Beyond dispute there is a strong herding instinct in most people. They want to do what everyone else is doing, and all they ask in effect is that some one else hangs a bell about his neck so that they can hear it and follow his leadership. Indeed, the great bane of modern civilisation would appear to be the psychological groove. Despite the fact that the true function of amusement is to plough this deadening psychological groove—to curtail our specialism and round out our humanism, we nevertheless allow others even to plan our diversions and to seek avenues for our hours of leisure and enjoyment.

To be oneself, therefore, is the greatest luxury in the world. Perhaps, after all, it is so much easier to have the courage of other people's opinions. To have the courage of one's own instinct, in any case, is the badge of the few. The great mass of people, as we are all well aware, live out their lives uttering the thoughts and opinions of others. They live as mimics; their natures are only mirrors. In other words, they are copies—not originals. Genius, on the other hand, is but the signature of God on a man designed by Himself.

We may call to mind many a hard worker, pursuing old, antiquated methods, slogging away, year in and year out, who cannot make out the reason why he is so often passed in the race of life. He has not realised that the world to-day wants men with new ideas, men of originality. We all know young men who are continually lamenting their fate, who are always complaining that they do not seem to “get on”. They are inestimable fellows in their way, they are not afraid of work, but they are in a “groove” and

cannot seem to get out of it. An original suggestion can never be heard from them. They are content to proceed in the same old “jog trot” way from one year's end to another, failing to observe the improvements which are being made from time to time and wholly ignoring the more up-to-date methods which are being invented, and which are slowly but surely superseding the antiquated systems to which they cling so tenaciously.

There are some who say, of course, that the original man is born not made. They aver that it is useless to cultivate originality of thought and to carry that thought into action. Originality, nevertheless, may certainly be cultivated, and it is quite possible to go about with open eyes, observing and reflecting upon everything which is seen. Not only does such a practice tend to the origination of new ideas but it also helps to cultivate a habit of looking for the unusual aspect of things.

Everyone is born with an individuality all his own. Make a list of the men who have been successful in business, in literature, in art, in finance, in the professions, in science, and it will be found that the great majority of them have been successful because they have developed their own individualities and in so doing have struck out from the beaten track. They have done something in a different way from everyone else, they have thought and studied, and worked along new lines, and success has inevitably crowned their efforts.

It cannot be gainsaid that success in a large measure simply consists of leaving the herd for most of us agree that to a certain extent every one is capable of power, of initiative, of individuality. There is something which everyone can do which no other human being can do so well. Once a person decides, in fact, that he was not given power of judgment and initiative just to swell the number of human sheep, all life appears to be transformed. In short, a man at once discovers himself. When he speaks, for instance, he uses language that expresses himself—not merely the hackneyed phrases so beloved by the crowd. When he undertakes any task he applies an individualistic touch to it. He gathers impressions

from others, but when he forms opinions he goes to the court of his own mind for them. The whole resources of his personality, in a word, become vitalised.

But why is it after all that so many men and women have so little push and go about them, no aim and no ambition of the right kind? Is it not because the tendency is so clearly in the direction of uniformity and standardisation? Among the democracy, for instance, we observe movements for the stabilisation of wages, the "minimum" wage, the "limitation of output." Little regard is paid to a "maximum" wage, increased output, greater efficiency.

These educational powers will possibly be very angry when they are told that they are in a large measure often responsible, too, for the inane production that lacks initiative. In the lower type of schools in practically every country there is little chance, save in a few exceptional places, for the small child to think for itself. We must, however, blame the system, not the plucky teacher, who often labours under great difficulties. The child's teacher does the thinking and he agrees, but what he wants, if he is to develop his own wits, is how to do his own thinking.

Then, in our workaday world, let us compare the lot of the mental worker with that of the manual labourer. By reason of associative effort we observe that the wages of the latter have enormously increased within recent years. Yet the brain-worker, who is equally feeling the increased cost of living, is often scarcely considered worthy of his hire. He is required to produce testimonials, diplomas and certificates and to prove the victim of all manner of "back-stair" influences, whereas the manual worker may almost without question transfer his labour as freely as he breathes.

It has, perhaps, been axiomatic throughout the ages that the inventor, the teacher, the philosopher—indeed practically all brain workers as a matter of fact, have alike been left to feed on air. The principal of one of our greatest Universities, for instance, actually boasted the other day that he had not increased the salaries of his staff by one penny throughout the war. In the constant war which so many appear to be waging against individualism many potential inventors are inclined to ask: "Does originality pay?"

Nevertheless it is evident that we must look in the future to workers with initiative, whether they are mental or manual workers, and not to

"rule-of-thumb" efficiency or to multi-millionaire capitalists. Machinery has undoubtedly led us into a certain way of thinking about human labour. The machine that can be trusted to do the same thing perpetually over and over again has perhaps become our type of efficiency. We are just for the moment asking more and more in every sphere of work for men and women who will exhibit exactly that kind of efficiency, who will train themselves definitely to attain it, and who will be content with it. We try to dignify it by calling it specialism; but the effect of it all is to convert men and women into mere machines. Instead of making the daily life of business a means of enriching the experience, stimulating the thought, and drawing out all the initiative and inventiveness of the individual worker, the present system is a mighty factor in killing initiative and of making our lives a deadening monotonous routine. This undoubtedly involves a serious diminution of the efficiency of business itself.

Cannot some improvement be effected? Is it not possible to bring into operation what might be called a "rotary" system by which workers from one department would be transferred to another so that they might learn in succession several branches of work? If so, we should have a regenerated society, in which every worker would feel an intense interest in his tasks, would enjoy his work, would think, would produce new ideas, and be no longer a machine but an inventive human being. Each one as he passed into a new department would bring with him the experience gained in another department and would look on the work with new eyes. His interest would be stimulated, and it has generally been from outsiders and not from "specialists" that new and prolific ideas and great inventions have sprung. For every man and woman is in fact a potential inventor. The trouble is that so many prefer to let their minds lie fallow instead of exercising them towards something that would add to the comfort, the safety, or the enrichment of humanity. But is not the system very largely to blame?



# The Phonograph or the Detection of Crime in France

AN ADAPTATION BY

DR. MUHAMMAD AHMED M.A. LL. M. PH. D., BAR-AT-LAW.

EATED behind his mahogany writing desk, covered with green Morocco leather, M. Javary, the examining magistrate played negligently with his paper-knife. Alternately he turned over the papers in the file which lay open before him and then raised and fixed his incisive look into the wondering eyes of Enrico Toxseli whom he was then questioning in the presence of his counsel, Maitre Bassan. It was a capital charge, Enrico, having been accused of the murder of Juliette Silvane, a cafe-concert *artiste* who had been killed in broad day light with a smoothing iron.

—‘Well’, asked the magistrate, ‘you pretend to have never set foot in Mlle Silvane’s rooms, 57 Avenue des Peupliers.’—‘Never, sir, never’.

—‘But Prosper Le-double, the man-servant at No. 57, has identified you’.

‘They are plotting against me,’ remarked Toxseli standing in front of the writing table. He bestirred himself, gesticulated, exaggerated his Italian accent but his vulgar face, grown almost bestial after his crime, sweated with agitation.

‘This man has been the victim of a resemblance’ declared his counsel forcibly.

‘The clerk of the court, a small silent man who kept himself in the back-ground, was writing incessantly at a small adjacent table.

M. Javary, referred to Enrico’s antecedents. ‘At Turin your native city, you stabbed a man named Pape on account of his attentions to your mistress’.

—‘A duel, Sir, a legitimate duel’.

—‘Never mind’ resumed the magistrate with an exquisitely sweet manner, ‘you are a virtuoso, an artist with a knife.’

Enrico smiled with a proud air.

—‘I wonder, what made you help yourself to a something—iron this time?’

—‘I will tell you how’, began the Italian.

The counsel, however, jumped to his feet, furiously agitating the ample sleeves of his gown. It made him appear like a huge bird excited and ready to take his flight.

—‘Toxseli,’ he cried out, ‘don’t utter a word; they are trying to entrap us. Let us affirm once more that we are innocent.’

—‘Maitre Bassan’, remarked M. Javary severely, ‘your conscience ought to warn you that over and above your client’s interests there are the indefeasible rights of society.’

To this the counsel replied sharply and the discussion would have continued if the magistrate had not cut it short by asking the police guard to take the accused out of the court.

Left by themselves, M. Javary and the clerk of the court exchanged their impressions.

—‘Do you still think he is guilty’.

—‘More so than before, Sir, had it not been for counsel’s intervention, Toxseli, would have made a clear breast of it.’

—‘I think so too; unfortunately the evidence is very meagre. The magistrate looking over the file again recalled all the incidents of the crime. Mlle Silvane was assassinated between 10 and 11 A.M. Her maid-servant returning after a short absence found the body of her mistress, still warm, lying on the linoleum floor in her dressing room, close to a phonograph.

This girl had inadvertently left the key in the outer door of the stair case leading to her room in such a way that it was quite easy for a stranger to mount up-stairs, unperceived by the concierge, and to enter her apartments. She was knocked down as she was proceeding with her toilet. In fact Ledouble the valet in the neighbouring house has just seen her leaning at the widow. She was dressed in a pink dressing gown and her fair hair lay floating on her shoulders. The valet had afterwards heard her singing a new song with much feeling.

‘My spring, it is thy smile’.

And he was listening to with a great deal of pleasure when suddenly the song ceased followed by a cry of pain and succeeded by a complete silence. Five minutes later, Ledouble saw a dark man issuing out of No. 57 with a greenish hat forced down on his eyes. All the girl’s male friends, belonging to the better classes, escaped suspicion, for her jewellery having disappeared,

everybody thought that theft was the motive of the crime. The affair had almost ended, when a man named Toxselli was arrested, when trying to sell one of the rings worn by the victim. As a matter of fact the rest of the stolen jewellery was not found in his possession and Prosper Ledouble hesitated to identify Toxselli as the dark man he had seen emerging from the house.

Toxselli pretended that he had obtained the ring from a book-maker who had recently left for London after quarrelling with the Parisian police.

—‘By the way’, remarked M. Javary, closing the file, ‘has any one seized the phonograph which was placed where this poor girl was knocked down? As it is a recording apparatus, it would perhaps be useful to examine the disc inside it.’

—‘I don’t believe any one has thought of it yet.’

—‘This omission must be rectified at once.’

It must have been interesting to hear what the disc had to say, because the smile with which the Magistrate welcomed Maitre Bassan, a few days later, appeared to the latter to be decidedly ominous.

—‘Maitre, I suppose you have no objection if we take your client over the scene of the occurrence.’

—‘None what-so-ever but this is a hackneyed trick’.

—‘Let us respect old traditions, Maitre’.

Next morning two taxis dropped the magistrate and the accused in the Avenue des-Peupliers.

The accused calmly looked at the furniture and with an indifferent air tried to proceed to the right, where it was necessary to turn to the left. Briefly, he behaved in such a way as to make believe that he had set foot in the house for the first time. However, when he reached the apartment where the articles kept under seal were found to be exactly where they were on the day of the occurrence, M. Javary who was observing him attentively saw that the accused turned pale and leaned towards the door of the dressing room as if trying to jump out of it, and the sigh of satisfaction on finding it closed was ill concealed by him.

—‘Do you recognize your victim’s rooms?’ asked the Magistrate.

—‘I have seen these rooms for the first time to-day’.

—‘What a useless *mise-en-scene*, remarked, Maitre Bassan, sneeringly.

Presently the door of the dressing room opened silently and a blonde woman appeared, wearing a pink dressing gown and combing her magnificent loose hair.

—‘Mlle Silvane herself is going to charge you’, said the magistrate to Toxselli who was contemplating the scene with a fixed look, and suddenly a sonorous crystalline voice broke forth singing,

‘My sun, it is thy smile,  
When my heart suffers and sighs,  
One look of thy large profound eyes,  
One smile, and my worries disappear’.

—‘It is her voice’ said the frightened Italian.  
‘It is herself.’

Suddenly the song ceased in the middle of a note, to make room for a fearful cry, succeeded by the following plaintive remark,

“Enrico, you have killed me.”

With his face convulsed with fear, Toxselli fell on his knees and cried, ‘Pardon me, Juliette, pardon.’

While the actress who played the victim’s part was adjusting her hair, M. Javary mischievously remarked to the counsel,

—‘Maitre, the old dodges are not without their use, eh?’

—‘Especially when one knows how to utilise them with the assistance of modern contrivances,’ rejoined the counsel.

## To My Friend

BY MR. MALCOLM THOMPSON.

### I.

I wish thee Peace!  
The peace that sheds o’er pain a golden ray,  
And lights for thee aright the narrow way,  
Nor bids the tempest cease;  
That fills the heart with might  
To love the true, the right.

### II.

I wish thee Joy!  
Joy like the golden sunshine ’mid the rain,  
That makes the rain-drops seem like golden grain,  
Without all base alloy  
Save pain, that fills the heart with might  
To love the true, the right.

### III.

I wish thee Love!  
Love that is large and full, and seeks the best,  
And not thro’ all earth’s days but smiles and rest;  
That ever soars above  
Earth’s varieties—to fill the heart with might  
To love the true, the right.



# BOMBAY IN THE MAKING

A REVIEW BY

MR. K. R. SITARAMAN, B.A. B.L.,

IT is a remarkable fact that in a land like ours, where almost "every meadow, grove and stream" has a tale to tell of hoary antiquity and incidental legendary lore, Bombay, "the most up-to-date and Anglicised city in the Empire" is a purely modern creation, the beginning of whose existence as a mere fishing village can be traced so late as in the sixteenth century. "She can call neither mythology nor ancient pedigree to her aid." The earliest recorded mention of the island dates in fact from 1509, the year in which the Portuguese first landed there. The Portuguese adventurer Heiter da Silveira who visited the harbour in 1529 christened it "The Island of good life" because, when his fleet was cruising on the coast, his soldiers enjoyed rest and refreshment in the island. Another Portuguese traveller who went there in 1538 wrote: "The land of this island is very low, and covered with great and beautiful groves of trees. There is much game and an abundance of meat and rice, and there is no remembrance of any scarcity." The earliest hint we get in any historic record of the destiny in store for the erstwhile fishing village is the report made in the year of grace 1640 by the Council of the Honourable East India Company at Surat to the Board of Directors in England on the possible advantages of the spot in view of its favourable situation on the west coast of India, and the desirability of purchasing the island from the Portuguese with a view to making it the Company's station on that coast. How Charles II obtained the island twenty years later as part of the dowry of his bride, Catharine of Braganza, and how a few years later in 1668 he made it over to the East India Company "at a farm rent of £10 a year, payable on the 23rd September" are well-known romantic episodes of recent history, familiar to every Indian school-boy. The Portuguese in India at the time, indeed, with rare prophetic vision urged their king not to carry out the part of the marriage contract relating to the cession of Bombay. Their Viceroy wrote to the King. "I foresee the great trouble that from this neighbourhood must result to the Portuguese, and that *India will be lost the same day on which the*

*English nation will be settled in Bombay*". But he wrote too late; and to his great mortification the island was handed over in 1665 to Humphry Cooke, "whom he remembered as a grocer in Lisbon" as the Viceroy wrote to the King of Portugal. The story of the rapid development of the one-time "fishing village" within the space of barely over two centuries into the magnificent modern city—the second metropolis and the gateway of the Empire—is a chapter in the purely recent history of British adventure and achievement in India.

The sumptuously got-up volume, before us, which the author modestly entitles "Recollections of Bombay—1860—75" is not so much a book of reminiscences, as it is a carefully compiled scholarly record of the history and development of the city of Bombay in the important period of its early making, in all departments of human activity. Some idea of the encyclopædic character and range of the work can be gathered from the fact that in as many as fifty chapters, such varied themes as the structural and architectural development of the harbour and of the city; the growth of its trade, commerce and customs; the evolution of the executive, judiciary postal and other services; the rise of literary, artistic, and religious activities; the history of municipal development, and of education—primary, secondary and collegiate; secular, scientific and technical;—are all depicted in so many monographs constituting brilliant pen-pictures of the striking features and characteristics of each during the period of purview. As Sir Stanley Reed says in his appreciative foreword to the book, "there are few services more valuable, than to preserve, as the author has done these vivid pictures of the life of Bombay in its great formative period." "Bombay" says Sir Stanley "has changed so fast and is still changing so fast, that without such reminiscences future generations will have no conception of the evolution of the stately city which has grown up under our eyes. No one who did not know Bombay, as you (the author) knew it before Sir Bartle Frere levelled the ramparts, can picture the narrow walled town which has blossomed into the second city of the Empire."

Sir Dinshaw takes up the parable of the city as it was during his youth—the fifties and sixties of the last century. The outstanding features of

\* "Shells from the Sands of Bombay—Being My Recollections and Reminiscences—1860-1875": By Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha: The Bombay Chronicle Press, Bombay, 1920.

Bombay in those days were the harbour and the fort. This was the era of pre-railways and pre-steam-navigation as well. The quaint conditions of those days, as described by the author, in which travelling both by sea and land partook of the nature of an adventurous expedition read like a story of Sindbad's from the Arabian Nights. The recognition in course of time of the possibilities of the magnificent sea-board of the Island and "its incomparable utility as a great harbour of infinite capacity for purposes of a well-organised and systematic trade" led to the rapid developments witnessed to-day. The detailed history of those developments in all their stages, as personally seen by the author during his youth are given vividly in the pages before us. It is impossible within the limits of a short review to refer to all the points of varied interest dealt with by the author. Suffice it to say that, as already noted, every matter of historic human interest and moment has been taken up in turn and its progress and characteristics during the period of review sketched in a masterly manner. That the author was exceptionally fitted to discharge this task—his self-imposed labour of love—there can be no question, for it is well-known that he, in a much greater measure perhaps than any one else of his generation to whom equal opportunities had been conceded, has not merely taken the fullest part, in his time, in all the varied activities of the city—business as well as public work alike—but has found it possible to devote the best part of his leisure to literary labours of a solid and advanced character.

One department of national activity, which is of special importance and interest to us at the present time, has of necessity found no place in the book under review. This is the rise and growth of political consciousness in the country—that most magnificent achievement of British statesmanship in the governance of this land. The period covered by the book saw only the beginning of that vast and momentous enterprise known as Macaulay's scheme of education, which in the fulness of time was to wield the whole of the Empire into one conscious political entity, despite the multitudinous differences in language, habits, colour and creed among the various populations inhabiting this great continent. The chapters of the book relating to the growth and progress of education in the fifties and sixties are indeed of the most absorbing interest, but that marvellous first-fruit of that education—the Indian National Congress—was not yet. That grand organization came into existence and first saw the light of day—appropriately enough in Bombay—only in

1885, ten years after the period treated in the book. In view of the long and distinguished connection of the author with that institution, among other things as its accredited and authoritative financial expert, one can hardly resist the temptation of wishing that the author had added another decade or two to the period of his survey. But who knows? We may perhaps have the pleasure of welcoming and enjoying a further treat in the shape of another volume dealing with the later decades.

It has been said that Bombay is a city of Parsis just as Calcutta is a city of Muhammadans and Madras, of Hindus. The Parsis had established themselves in Bombay long before the English went there. From the beginning they have been the most 'English' of the various races inhabiting this continent. In fact, they were all described as 'shopkeepers' by the Portuguese long before that famous historic appellation was given by Napoleon to the English as a race. To-day, as an English writer has said, the Parsis both possess Bombay and set the pace in Bombay. That they have whole-heartedly thrown in their lot with the people of the country of their adoption and have long since identified themselves thoroughly with the latter in their interests needs no elaboration to the countrymen of Dadabhai Naoroji. Regarding that "grand old man" and the commencement of his remarkable career, the following passage from the book under review will be read with interest:

"Among the earliest graduates of the Elphinstone College was our late venerated nonagenarian, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. It is superfluous in this place to refer to his youthful academic career, which was brilliant. His attainments in Mathematics had earned for him the professorship in that branch of science in his own College, and Mr. Dadabhai was thereafter known as "Professor" Dadabhai, a name by which he is still recalled to memory to some of his contemporaries. So great an impression was made by him on the mind of Sir Erskine Perry (the Chief Justice of Bombay at the time) and such was the latter's broad and generous sympathy for the social and educational advancement of the Indians, that somewhere in 1853 or thereabouts, he had recommended some of his wealthy Parsi friends to send Dadabhai to London to qualify himself for the bar. The suggestion was soon taken up by the reforming Kamas of the day, who were great patrons of education and the pioneers of social reform, but the orthodox party were not in favour. The conversion of three or four Parsi youths to Christianity at the time had greatly



alarmed the more conservative of these, and so the suggestion had to be dropped. All the same Mr. Dadabhai in 1855 found the opportunity to proceed to London as a partner in the firm of Cama and Company, the first Indian firm established there and managed by purely Parsi members. So that it happened that on his retirement to London, Sir Erskine had the great satisfaction of seeing his young Professor of Elphinstone College at the Counting-House. They became great friends, and when Sir Erskine was made a life-member of the India Council, he proved of invaluable assistance to Mr. Dadabhai in all the great efforts he put forth there for the greater moral and material welfare of his countrymen. At the India Office, all through Sir Erskine's career there, Mr. Dadabhai was the most welcome Indian, such were the mutual esteem and regard in which each held the other." It is needless to state that the author of the volume under review is no less an ornament to his illustrious community, whose name is also bound to go down to posterity side by side with that of the first member for India in the Mother of Parliaments, as one who in his time truly and laboriously worked for the public weal.

No wonder that the skilful resuscitation of the fast-vanishing past by the magic wand of such a master presents to our eyes actual living portraits of men and things as in a cinema-screen. The description that has been given of another work may well apply to the book before us. "We see a little group of men creeping out of primeval caves, and moving towards us, increasing their pace as they approach. As they come to a track, they leap on to horses and gallop; reaching the high road, they exchange into motors; before our window they execute a complete and convincing smash. They pick themselves up, their faces loom nearer, and we recognise them for people whom he have known or seen. They dash round the corner, but the comedy is not finished, and we crane our necks to follow them." The scenes in the old harbour and the fort in the fifties; the men of the time and their lives and hobbies; old-time hotels and taverns, public buildings and private residential edifices, churches and cathedrals, temples, mosques, and towers; theatres, musical soirees, schools of art, science and research; the beginnings on modern lines of civics, finance, commerce, and industries, and general and technical education; the first census, the balloon-ascent, railways, cotton-mills and other industrial machinery; missionary propaganda and the social and religious activities of those days; the various professions and their leading personali-

ties:—each and all in their turn are successively portrayed with a wealth of colour and incident in the true style of historic realism. The value of the work to the student and philosopher, no less than to the politician and reformer, can hardly be over-estimated, giving as it does, a bird's eye-view of the foundations and early stages of all departments of human activity in the city of Bombay in the most vital period of its making. No one who reads the book will question the author's claim that in every respect the period surveyed by him was "an epoch-making one in the annals of Bombay," for, as he says, "whether we look to administration, provincial or local, or to banking and foreign trade, or to railways, telegraphs and post, or to social and domestic affairs, it was indeed remarkable and marked a stage of no insignificant character in our civic history."

We have had sketches of old times in regard to Bombay itself as well as other Indian cities, from other pens, mostly Englishmen and women, but it may be said without any idea of detracting from the value of any of them, that none of those works, so far as we are aware, have attempted or found it possible to give such a complete epitome of a given period in all its aspects. The success attained by the author in this respect is in no small measure due to his innate sympathy with his fellow-men of whatever rank or class, creed, colour or persuasion, and his genuine love for his city—traits which find ample expression in the pages before us, and nowhere more eloquently than in the following words with which he appropriately brings his narrative to a close:

"Now my task is done. I have narrated my personal reminiscences so far as I have been able to remember them with perfect fidelity and have tried to present the dry bones of the history of this great city prior to 1865. The task undertaken was a voluntary one. It was self-imposed but one of love. How far I have succeeded in collecting the shells and giving the citizens of Bombay an account of men and things during my boy-hood and sometime after, must be left to my readers to judge. I began by saying that Time rolls its ceaseless course. It is rolling still and will roll on to eternity. Empires rise and fall. So too great cities and towns. Let us fervently hope that my native Bombay, dear to me from every point of view, may have a better fate, that she may flourish for evermore, that her name may live in history as that of a great city, a great emporium of trades and manufactures, of vast enterprise and of a cosmopolitan character, and the high gate-way of the Asiatic continent closely linking the West with the East."

# Indian Finance and the Reform Scheme\*

BY

PROF. T. K. SHAHANI, M.A.

INDIAN Public Finance has been influenced by the peculiar nature of the constitution of the Indian Government, no less than by the economic and social condition of the country; and speculation on the departure of the present system could be valid only in the light of constitutional and administrative changes formulated by the Reform Scheme or any subsequent measure of a similar character. The East India Company as a trading body pooled all its gains from different centres of trade in one common reservoir. When to its functions as a trading company were added those of a governing body, its financial gains were made up partly of land-revenue and other imposts which former rulers in India enjoyed and partly of profits of trade which continued to accrue to it in its commercial capacity. With the passing of the Regulating Act of 1773, the last chance for independent provincial growth was renounced: and it was a thoroughly centralized Government of India of which the East India Company was expropriated in 1858. Since 1861, some measures of legislative, administrative and financial devolution have been, indeed, carried out: but till the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919, the granting of autonomy to provinces had never been within the contemplation of the framers of the various schemes of decentralization in India. Centralization, again, was all along more strangling in the matter of finance than any other department of governmental activity. The first attempt at financial devolution was occasioned only under the impulse for economy in expenditure, though, as a result of it, much unnecessary friction between the provincial and Imperial Governments on questions of expenditure was removed. To start with, provinces were each given a lump sum to spend on police, jails, justice, education, sanitation and public works,—the apportionment thereof being left to the decision of different provincial Governments which were expected to be guided by the relative consideration of their needs. The 'allotment system' soon developed into an arrangement by which provinces were made co-sharers with the Imperial Government in the collection of certain heads of revenue like land-revenue, income-tax,

excise and stamps. Re-adjustments in the light of the need of different provinces were effected quinquennially; but as the Government of India decided the matter primarily with an eye to its own charges. Provincial Governments generally made a grievance of the high-handedness of the stronger party in this contract system. A permanent arrangement of 'divided heads' was then established which the Reform Scheme is now displacing in favour of a system of separate heads, the Imperial deficit being guaranteed by provincial contributions. All realizations from general stamps and income-tax are to be added to the present Imperial sources of revenue, *viz.*, customs, opium, salt, railways, tributes, interest, etc.,; while the provinces are to retain wholly land revenue, excise and judicial stamps duties and profits from irrigation with corresponding charges including Famine Relief Fund, Provincial contributions for making up the Imperial deficit are to be the first charge on the provincial exchequer. These proposals were received, with approbation both by the Functions Committee and the Parliamentary Joint Committee, but were opposed by some provincial Governments, as well as by a substantial portion of the general public. A finance relations committee was subsequently appointed to report on the details of the provincial contribution system and on the reasonableness or otherwise of provincial dissatisfaction. A few alterations which they recommended did not go very far to appease the provincial cry. Stamp duties, general as well as judicial are, by them, wholly to be allotted to the provinces, income-tax being confirmed as an Imperial asset. To determine the ratio of the provincial contribution they gave up the basis of realized surpluses adopted by the Reform scheme and worked out the proportion of provincial increased income relinquished by the Imperial Government. The provinces are by this arrangement unblushingly told that by some generous indulgence on the part of the Imperial Government, they are allowed to come into possession of vast riches,—'windfalls' they call them; therefore, these contributions are neither a provincial favour nor Imperial tyranny. For the year 1921-22, the Meston Committee recommends figures somewhat different from those put forth by the framers of the original report and

\* A paper prepared for the Indian Economic Conference held last month at Allahabad.



also planned out a scheme of standard ratio to be arrived at in the course of seven years. In short the system which is intended to be worked out in the near future is not different from the one recommended by the four members of the Lord Dufferin's Finance Committee—Sir Charles Elliot, Sir William Hunter, Mr. Justice Cunningham, and Mr. Justice Ranade, all of whom had, however, included the assessed taxes (income and professional taxes) among provincial assets.

As stated above the peculiar nature of the Indian Government has necessarily affected the character of our public finance. No civilized country of the West can be much of a guide to us. Both the United States of America and Germany,—two most outstanding instances of federal governments or federations—have been formed on the principle of the constituent parts having sought a union by surrendering a portion of their independence as states into the hands of the Central Government which it was intended by them to bring into being. Modern India, on the other hand, was always understood to be one single state and the different provinces were only administrative parts of that single whole. Measures in the direction of decentralization were merely attempts at administrative devolution,—a sort of relief sought for and obtained by the Supreme Government in a considerable part of the work which could not be executed well from the centre; but the idea of unitary Government was never abandoned. It is only the Government of India Act of 1919 that ushers in a distinctly new principle, though to all appearances the intended measures are a further extension in the direction of devolution. In that part of the provincial Government which is to be entrusted to the Governor and Ministers, the responsibility of Government is shifted from the Imperial Government to the people's representatives in the Legislative Council. In that portion of the provincial Government the principle of autonomy is distinctly introduced. It is true that it is still the Central Government divesting itself of a certain portion of authority and interference; but this surrender of powers and responsibility into the hands of people gives the matter a very different turn. And presumably it is a step in the direction of more complete autonomy, the realization of which is only a question of time. Therefore, what we have in our midst is a Central Government, ridding itself of responsibility for a provincial Government and confining its sphere of action only to all India affairs.

Now finance is the vehicle of Government. Before any attempt is made to comment on the financial arrangement at present contemplated, one point must be made very clear. As Governmental functions are divided everywhere, between the central and local bodies, or the central, provincial and local, the respective financial resources and charges of these bodies are an index to their relative importance in the national organization.

In America the heaviest figures are those pertaining to local finance while the federal comes next and the State or Commonwealth finance stands last. This clearly reveals the important fact that the functions performed both by the local bodies and the federal Government make a heavier call on the taxable material prevalent in the country. This division of functions is always influenced by the principle of utility. Are certain wants of the community likely to be served best by the local agency or provincial Government agency or the central Government agency? Matters which demand uniformity and co-ordination or relate to the safety, integrity and dignity of the whole state will have imperatively to be worked from the centre. To distinguish such from the rest is not difficult. The line of demarcation between the provincial and municipal is, however, not very distinct; and except in a few requirements like the university education, appellate courts of justice and major irrigation works, perhaps the function of the provincial Governments may come to be reduced to considerable insignificance. The conditions and circumstances of every country will determine this point best. Where the local spirit runs high and public spiritedness is of a lofty standard, a desire to manage their own affairs to the very maximum will be soon brought into play by the citizen body. In India, there is an additional difficulty in the way of maintaining the provincial Governments, on the arrangement now upheld. The linguistic basis has already many advocates; and if the masses are really to feel a living interest in the Government of the day, the holding of the deliberations of their Government in their own language is the very least that should be allowed them. It is possible then that the present provincial arrangement may soon be recast; and it is also not unreasonable to look forward to that growth of municipal and other local bodies which necessitates their appropriation of a number of functions now intended mainly for the provincial Governments. Statesmanship of that day may, however, be expected to

readjust the financial relations in the light of the altered administrative importance of the constituent parts of the national Government.

Granting, however, that the arrangement of administrative divisions now devised prevails for a long time to come, we might next examine a few principles of the science of finance and Government likely to make themselves felt the most under the Reform Scheme. Naturally, the question of provincial contributions first comes in for a careful analysis and some share of speculation. It is quite arguable that the needs of the parent state may well be met out of the funds allotted to offsprings; but filial ingratitude was not reserved for Lear's daughters alone. Does the Government of India expect that when provincial money bills come up before the provincial legislatures, the executive will always find itself so strongly entrenched as to defy all sorts of ingenious attacks against the Government of India expenditure which is not without notoriety for extravagance? The provincial taxpayer will have a right, through his representative, to make a searching enquiry into how his money is spent; and it will never do if attempts are made to silence him with quoting chapter and verse of the law that gives away so much of his pecuniary sacrifice to a Government over which, in that particular direction, he has no control. We are teaching the people to use their powers of granting supplies as the best guarantee against administrative evils or against violation of their constitutional rights. To tell them that they have got this power, and almost in the same breath to make it nugatory in a substantial part is, to say the least, making the provinces suspicious of the good intentions that are undoubtedly behind the Reform Scheme. We are admittedly moving in the direction of responsible government. The essence of this responsibility to the governed lies in the fact of the executive having to carry the legislature with itself in the matter of supplies required for the needs of the Government. If a substantial portion of the provincial revenue is given away to another executive body which is far above the situation of having to explain to the provincial legislature as to how these contributions were disposed of, the provincial executive could not satisfactorily discharge the duty of a fit custodian of provincial funds. On the other hand, if the Imperial executive is at any time hereafter to be made responsible to the Imperial legislature in the matter of supplies and funds entrusted to it, an attitude of breezy indifference to its own legislature as regards a good part of its

revenue is not very conducive to healthy constitutional growth; for if nearly one-fourth of its revenues are secured by an act guaranteeing it these provincial contributions, it is only for the other three-fourths of its supplies that it seeks a vote of the Imperial legislature: and *a fortiori* the supplies not granted by the house cannot be a legitimate theme for scrutiny when expenditure pertaining thereto is under review. To give a living interest to the British Parliament in the Indian Budget, a portion of the home charges is now thrown on the British Exchequer, the underlying constitutional principle being that the House cannot legitimately move a vote on the supplies never granted by it. Therefore, to respect the fundamental principles of constitutional government, it is incumbent upon the framers of any subsequent measure of reform in Indian Government to put an end to this system of provincial contributions, whether they smack of spoliation when worked on the basis of realised surpluses as the Montagu-Chelmsford Report recommended or are placarded with the Christian motto 'Do not covet the neighbour's (in this case parent's) property' as the Meston Report would have this business look. A provision of absolutely segregated sources of revenue for these two portions of Government without either eleemosynary or 'stand and deliver' relationship will be the only line on which the Indian public finance can work without friction or irritation anywhere.

The Meston Committee have dwelt at sufficient length on the principle of equity in the distribution of these provincial contributions, and they have frankly confessed that any scheme devised for the purpose is not likely to please all. Long before the popular representation has come into the Legislative Councils, these bodies, the outside public and some of the provincial Governments had placed their strong protest against the award of the Finance Relations Committee. These mutterings are likely to grow with the growth of time, and it is greatly to be feared that there will be no love lost between the future Imperial and provincial Governments. On this very point of equity in the distribution the whole fabric of the provincial contributions may wreck any time that the provincial passions run too high.

The only other important instance of a country adopting the same arrangement of contributions is the former German Empire which had assessed its constituent parts on the basis of their population. This Empire was mainly founded on the 'blood and iron' policy, and soaring schemes of



militarism were held up as objects of veneration before the people who were made to feel that no sacrifice before the altar of German Imperialism was too great. Coercion and aggression played no small part in its formation. With all that, a considerable measure of 'give and take' alone could win the acquiescence of the constituent parts to subject themselves to this assessment; and the German financial statement of any year reveals the interesting fact that the Empire replenishes the treasuries of its different members by sharing with them customs and kindred revenues.

If this policy of exacting 'contributions' from the provinces is to be abandoned, as dangerous to the growth of responsible government liable to cause irritation, nay, heart-burning, in the provinces, as baffling equitable distributions and therefore difficult to practise, statesmanship demands an early relinquishment of it, and the substitution of a workable scheme of absolutely separate heads of revenue. Elasticity and a reasonable amount of certainty are essential to any scheme of taxation whether provincial or Imperial. The latter is likely to be subject to sudden unforeseen and peremptory calls on its purse by the advent of a big war; therefore it is incumbent to provide it with heads of revenue capable of yielding increased return at a pinch. It is also necessary to bear in mind the importance of a familiar maxim of finance, 'An old tax is no tax.' People will more willingly hear a little increased burden in the impost to which they are used than submit to something with which they are not familiar. It is devoutly to be wished that wars ceased and military burdens were reduced to the minimum possible. But taking the world conditions as they are, and with neighbours of whose pacific intentions one is not quite sure, the Imperial Government must make a substantial call on the resources of the country for the regular upkeep of the army, and have in reserve certain resources for emergency financiering. Elasticity as well as certainty in the Imperial finance is on this account of far more importance than in the provincial finance. When wars become a wholly antiquated phenomenon and a sort of the United States of the World permits a free and peaceful internal development of the different units constituting that world federation, the financier of that blessed day will certainly recast the whole situation and allow for utmost elasticity of revenue in lines of education, sanitation, industrial growth and happiest homes for every member of the community. Facing the stern reality of facts and postulating the importance of automatic increase

of revenue in all parts of Government machinery, with certain reserved forces at the disposal of the Imperial branch, an attempt may now be made to see how an adequate supply may be found first for Imperial expenditure, and next for the provincial. In making the provisions for the Imperial expenditure two financial principles ought, as far as possible to be rigidly adhered to: (1) that current income must accrue from current industry (2) other things being equal, a Government should select for the purpose of taxation those industries with which it holds some fundamental relation. With the development in the provincial autonomy, it is all the more imperative to preserve the unity of the country by making the Imperial Government directly interested both in the uniform regulation of trade, foreign and inter-provincial, and the establishment of an efficient industry. The exclusive right of the Imperial Government to levy import and export duties has been an undisputed fact ever since the custom were inaugurated in India. The railway monopoly further enables the Government to maintain co-ordination and uniformity in the matter of commerce. Without commercial unity the spirit of solidarity, so essential for the existence of India as a nation, would be impossible of realization. 'The logic of the situation reserves the control and taxation of commerce to the Government which represents the sovereignty and unity of people' (Adam's Finance, page 496.) This part of the Imperial system of taxation has the further merit of elasticity, since the revenue here can, under normal conditions of trade, be increased by a little higher taxation. But a system that rests largely on foreign commerce has an element of uncertainty in it. A great exigency like the advent of a war may embarrass commerce, curtail income and even baffle the financier's attempts to raise the rates by giving him decreased returns. To establish an elastic or responsive revenue for the federal Government, not altogether dependent on the exigencies of foreign commerce, a productive internal revenue must be made available for the Imperial exchequer. The machinery of the system of excise duties hitherto maintained and kept in operation by the provincial Governments should be transferred to the Imperial Government. A sure provision of ten millions sterling capable of increase with the improvement of administrative machinery, the inclusion of tea and tobacco under it, and admitting of elasticity under 'exigency financiering' ought to cut the Gordian knot of Imperial deficits. This is further supported by the consideration that a uniformity

of excise laws is essential. To preserve a healthful and equitably distributed industry the conditions of manufacture should be, so far as possible, the same in all parts of the country; and the only means of attaining this uniformity is for the Imperial Government to assume exclusive control over their administration. The argument that excise has been so long a provincial head ought not to be very much in the way of this proposed transference, since 'in its essence and main features the excise administration in most provinces of British India has progressed on uniform lines'. (*The Times of India Year Book*, 1919, page 186) The Imperial excise system which has within its purview taxes on alcoholic drinks, including malt breweries and distilleries, opium and other narcotic drugs, tobacco, tea, salt and possibly country-made cottons should make the exchequer independent of the arbitrary, vexatious and whimsical system of provincial contribution and admittedly serve the purpose of maintaining the industrial unity of the country. It will further enable the Imperial financier to hand over the income-tax back again to the provinces and thus remove the sore point between it and the two commercial provinces of Bombay and Bengal. A further provision of 3 to 4 millions sterling will complete the tale of Imperial requirements. This may be obtained by reserving general stamps to it, consistent with the view maintained in this paper that instruments of commerce and industry should, as far as possible, be maintained on the basis of uniformity. If any administrative objections of a convincing character be urged against this separation of general from judicial stamps, the deficit may be easily made up by the introduction of succession or inheritance duties on big fortunes, the levy on which may reasonably be claimed by the national Government which stands for the sum-total of the citizens whose business activity rendered the accumulation of property possible. The cosmopolitan character of most of these fortunes makes the State a fit participator in the succession or inheritance left behind.

If the arrangement proposed above be accepted, the provincial exchequer will be found in a commodious position with land revenue of a fairly fixed character as its backbone and one substantial source of revenue in the shape of a comprehensive income-tax, both certain and elastic in its character. These two, supplemented by revenues from stamps, forests, and profits from irrigation, will ordinarily suffice for its needs. With the growth of municipal and other local bodies, a considerable readjustment of functions

will be inevitable. Consequently the local bodies will imperatively demand freedom of space and breathing; and much shifting of the present methods of raising revenues will be unavoidable. For the present, the provincial financier will have steadily to bear in mind the fundamental maxim that in a poor province the question of fiscal reform is primarily one of expenditure. Provincial civil departments, particularly in Bombay, are notoriously top-heavy; while the rank and file, the 'proletariat' of service are in their standard of life not very much above the 'Sansculottes' of the French Revolution period. It is distressing to see this non-chalance at head-quarters in saddling the public funds with extravagance for which no satisfactory explanation has been given anywhere. That 'economy in expenditure is no threadbare motto' is yet to be illustrated in the conduct of the coming reformed councils who will, it is hoped, watch public funds with the vigilance and jealousy of the dragons of fairy tales.

The most pathetic sight that will immediately claim the sympathy, nay, pity, of the provincial finance will be the cultivator owing a few acres of soil from which by the hardest labour and most racking anxiety he barely ekes out an existence. Is he a fit material for direct taxation on land? The statesman is unfortunately obsessed with the worn-out theory that in India all land belongs to the sovereign; therefore land is assessed at Rs. 2 to Rs. 6 an acre, irrespective of the condition of the owner assessed. No calculation is made of the fact that owner A owns only 5 acres, whereas owner B owns 5,000 acres. The uniform rate per acre is straight-off charged. The process is fundamentally inequitable. Profits from land are no peculiar charges for the modern State. As long as the property in land was the only visible, conceivable channel for the State imposition, there was ample justification in maintaining the fullest interest of the State in all public domain. To-day land is not the only property and land revenue is not the single tax levied by the State. If, then, in other departments taxes below a decent minimum are not thinkable, is it humane to strangle this mute, toiling husbandman with an impost, the money for the payment of which has oftentimes to be borrowed from the harpylike village money-lender, on pain of forfeiture of the little ancestral holding? Like any other wage-earner he is already bearing the burden of maintaining the State by making his full contribution of indirect taxation on articles of consumption. His salt, his *dhoti*, his puff or drink of intoxicants are



subject to taxation. If he indulges in tea or tobacco, let the excise system bring him within its net; but, from any direct imposition he should be clearly exempted. This need not cause alarm to the financier. The loss in revenue thus sustained could be easily recouped by a well-devised system of increased land-tax on bigger landlords very much on the plan of income-tax and super-tax system now in vogue. Satisfaction could be made as easily here in the case of income-tax paying people, and those land-owners who come below the minimum should forthwith be relieved from all direct imposts, save perhaps for the funds of their local boards. The financier's sins of extravagance, which years of economy will hardly expiate, may in the court of humanity be allowed an offset in the shape of the relief from land-tax to this hard-hit cultivator!

'Principles are inexorable, but plans and programmes are matters of ingenuity.' In submitting this scheme of segregated sources of revenue between the two grades of Government that together make up the Indian State, the present writer lays no claim to any finality or infallibility. Assurance of certainty and elasticity in revenue must be guaranteed to both; and, as far as possible, both must work in close conformity to the maxims that current income must accrue from current industry and that a Government should select for the purpose of taxation those industries with which it holds some fundamental relations. Financial reform should aim only at the Imperial financial independence of provincial contributions. It is no part of the Reform Scheme to try to keep the provinces in good humour by putting them in possession of a plethora of surpluses and afterwards to tell them that these did not legitimately belong to them and that they must subject themselves to perpetual contribution in lieu of these very crotchety surpluses. Provinces will be at liberty to work out their own schemes of taxation on the basis of their peculiar economic conditions. If increased expenditure is a necessity, the taxpayer will have to put his hand in his own pocket to meet the increased demand. Through his representative he has an audible voice in the financial arrangement of his own province. In that arrangement it is purely his own look-out if he taxes his landed property or his personal property, his income or profits from his land or from his profession. For instance, Bombay may look for meeting its increased expenditure in the revision of its income-tax or Bengal may come to view its land-revenue policy as not quite *sacrosanct*. Provincial needs must be met out of

provincial revenues and the writer believes that in the plan outlined above, no province is left without its own resource to make up leeway in the matter of long-delayed internal progress.

## THE NEW YEAR'S Greetings and Gifts

BY

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

The sunlit laughing circling earth  
Hath now fulfilled her yearly dance.  
A new year now hath regal birth  
With pomp and show and circumstance.  
Now o'er the wide war-reddened plain  
A new sun brings the gift of peace;  
And o'er the corpses of the slain  
The living yearn for love's increase.  
Where once the brazen cannon roared'  
The birds with songs now greet the dawn.  
War's cruel battling tiger horde  
Hath fled before Love's single fawn.  
Where once there ranged with tongues of fire  
The man-built monsters of the deep;  
And speechless spoke through wireless wire  
Nor felt nor let the bliss of sleep—  
Upon the balmy winds as lyre  
Peace now love's sweetest music plays.  
And wholesome food and gay attire  
To all realms brings through sunlit days.  
Where once upon the upper heights  
Of cold unagitated air,  
The airships wheeled and fancied rights  
Bombed into swift nothingness bare—  
The sunbeams shine and dance and play  
And touch and kiss and glad embrace,  
And love's uninterrupted sway  
Rules over all with regnant grace.  
My holy land hath now re-risen  
From age-long sleep that seated her eyes,  
And now Power's morning dew do glisten  
Upon her eyes of paradise,  
I kiss with joy her lotus feet  
And kiss and kiss and kiss again,  
And stand and all the new world greet  
And my soul's fulness shall attain.

# ORIENT VERSE

27

BY

PROF. P. SESHADRI, M. A.

## I.—INDIA.\*

SINCE the days of Sir Edwin Arnold we have not had such a profound and intimate interpretation of Indian civilisation by a foreigner, as is embodied in this new volume of English verses, *India*, by Captain Esme Wingfield-Stratford. The duties of a military officer in the Territorial forces kept him during the entire period of the war at Muttra in the neighbourhood of Brindavan, with its divine memories of Sri Krishna and his soul has found utterance in poetry, so full of the Indian spirit that it will take an abiding place in the literature relating to the land and its people. In these days of growing racial bitterness in the country, it is refreshing to find an Englishman beginning a volume on India, with the prefatory declaration: "I have wished to pay my tribute, however inadequate, to a country I have come to love only second to my own. In common with many Englishmen, no less than Indians, I am grieved at the intolerance and lack of imagination that bid fair to re-enact the tragedy of Ireland in both East India and Ireland the outposts of the original Aryan civilisation, and have come least under the common discipline which is the legacy of Greece, Rome and Judaea to Western Europe. For that very reason, they have the most to give as well as to receive. Where there is hatred, intolerance, suspicion, there can be neither giving nor receiving. Surely it is for our free Empire not to crush, as Rome did and Prussia would fain have done, but to foster life and individuality in all its members. God forbid that through lack of vision we should forfeit such boundless possibilities for good as those that lie before us on the morrow of victory! I for one am thankful that I have left India before the dark days of Amritsar, when cruelty was unloosed, blind cruelty of a mob, scientific cruelty of armed panic, but cruelty, devilish, damnable, equally abhorred by Lord Christ and Lord Krishna, equally unworthy of Alfred's countrymen and of Asoka's. The moral of this tragedy must be so plain to every patriot and man of honour, the situation created is of such

clear and imminent peril, that I make no apology for alluding to it."

The pretty invocation to Ganesh at the beginning attunes the Hindu mind to a prospect of faithful expositions of the Indian spirit in the following pages and the expectation is not disappointed. There is first a collection of historical poems on *India Through the Ages*, commemorating some of the most inspiring events of national history, from the Vedic period to our own times. Which Indian heart will not throb with pride to read of the *suttee* of the Rajput princess of Chitor and the heroic resistance by their husbands to Alla-ud Din?

So, beneath the palace walls,  
Into the vast and holy caves they went,  
Dames and damozels of Rajasthan  
As queens go forth to die.  
The warriors of Chitor  
Watched them, with proud, silent gaze, and  
marked  
Glow of sacrificial fires within—  
And knew what that thing must be  
So forthwith they flung  
The great gates wide, and jingling down the hill  
Galloped to find Nirvana, as a wave  
Breaks upon desolate shores.

The section abounds in pretty incidents and episodes of sacrifice and heroism. Here is Tulasi Das who would rather wish his own mortified worn body to be wounded than the fresh Cypress tree, 'the delicate, dark thought of green, the pensive in laughter;' the young Rajput lover of Zebun Nissa who would rather allow himself to be roasted in the huge pot of brass than reveal his presence and betray the princess, and so on, through all the periods of the chequered history of the people in the land.

*India Mystica* is a tribute to the religious spirit of the people from one who is a Christian, but is at the same time catholic enough to appreciate the existence of several paths leading to God. It is not the external manifestations of religion only that catch his eye, his is the sympathetic realisation of the Hindu outlook on the great problems of life and death and the world beyond. *India of To day* is full of appreciation of the beautiful aspects of life and scenery amidst which it was his

\* *India* By Captain E. C. Wingfield-Stratford, (Books Limited, Liverpool, 6 s. net).



privilege to live during years which have obviously made an indelible impression on his mind and soul. The temples of Brindavan, dreaming to the skies and Jumna stream gliding in meditation past the fields; the Moon of Oudh, painting in silver and in shade and fire-flies flashing their myriad lights; the dawn in the jungle and the roses, white and crimson, passionate children born again with the monsoon—it is all a vision of poetry which must delight the inhabitant of the land even more than the foreigner. It is sweet indeed to be in his company at the *Night Outposts*:

For weary limbs  
To spread one's blanket on the ground,  
And lie beside the sentry's feet  
On an Indian night  
While Orion walks above,  
And Canopus stands on guard.

Pierre Loti wrote his book on India, *Sans Anglaises*, to the great chagrin of some English critics in India, but Captain Wingfield Stratford has not forgotten them though he does not see much poetry and spiritual depth in their lives at least as lived under Indian skies. Here is the European hill-station on the hills, *Missourie*, 1918:

There is a town, among the holy hills,  
Of white and frolic houses from the steep,  
Of money that makes money, lording all,  
Lust, more repulsive from the coward fear  
That chokes the coward deed—a chimpanzee  
Might yawn in boredom at such emptiness.

He will complain after the manner of Wordsworth:

But is't not pitiful to think that men  
Go blind among the mountains, never know  
How the sun dies upon the utmost peaks  
In after-light of rubies, how the clouds  
Boil in the valleys like a fleecy sea,  
And how the eagle, with his golden front  
Curves in the stillness of the passionate air.

He is bored by the company at the Club and he cries in the despair of his *L'Envoi*:

Merciful God have pity on folk without a soul!  
I mean the Johnson Smiths and Mrs. Pogson  
Clarke  
And Sir Pontius Pilate and Colonel Moale,  
Who walk about at noonday in the dark,  
And then play bridge because they lack the vital  
spark,  
And if they talk, discuss some bunkerguarded  
hole

O Lord, deliver me from Mrs. Pogson Clarke  
And Sir Pontius Pilate and Colonel Moale!

That the picture is somewhat exaggerated and things are not really so bad in European society

in India, does not militate against the foundation of truth contained in the lines.

As Laurence Hope has said:

Here, where some ruined temple  
In solitude decays,  
With carven walls still hollowed  
With prayers of bygone days.  
Here, where the coral outcrops  
Make flowers of the sea,  
The olden peace yet lingers,  
In bashed serenity.

And writing in this land, it is no wonder that the author from across the seas is keenly reminded by contrast, of the restlessness of the life of the children of the West and longs for peace:

Children of a Western land  
Have not hearts to understand  
Such an Orient path—whose goal  
Is the stillness of the soul—  
Calm doth irk us, thoughts of fire  
Drive our spirits to aspire,  
Tortured thus, we dare not take  
Comfort from the dreamy lake—  
Vikings of the world are we,  
Doomed to plough the uncharted sea,  
On we sail from tracks divine,  
Still beyond the horizon's line,  
Till the waves, e'er hope is fled,  
Close in tumult o'er each head;  
Treasures of an Orient mine  
We may glimpse but not divine,  
We the seekers of the West,  
What she hides,—eternal rest.

Captain Wingfield Stratford's *India*, we have no hesitation in saying, should find cordial welcome in all Indian homes where English verse is read.

## II.

### SEA-CHANGE.\*

When Mr. J. H. Cousins left India last year for Japan to occupy a Professorship of English Literature there temporarily and also for purposes of travel, it was of course expected that his new experiences would find utterance in new volumes of verse. Mr. Cousins has come back to this country which he has now practically made his own after an interval of one year and without disappointing his friends, he has brought forth a new volume of

\* By J. H. Cousins (Ganesh and Co., Madras, 12 as.)

verse, entitled *Sea Change*. It would be difficult to say in the wake of the Shakespearean quotation from which the title is borrowed, that his poetry has suffered a sea-change into something new and strange, but he has written with his usual vividness and poetic feeling of all things he has seen and heard of, in that wonderful land of ancient beauty and romance cradled by the seas in the Far East and beginning to challenge the attention of the great powers of the modern world. In this beautiful volume, with its covers of blue and green suggestive of the colours of the sea, he has many songs which will sustain the poetic reputation he enjoys. One of the most effective pieces is the poem on the volcano *Asamayama* with its Dantesque touches of grim strength and force :

Asamayama lifts a quivering lip  
And breathes his heart's wild hell in heaven's face ;  
Old angers round his mouth have left their trace,  
Chained passion shakes him like a labouring ship ;  
Bald as a monk, he cracks his lightning's whip  
And sears his flesh that falls from humble grace,  
Vexed that his unrepentant pride's red mace  
Calls ash and cinders only to his scrip.

This is probably an element of poetry which is not usually identified with the poetical work of Mr. Cousins and is apparently an indication of advance, implying a deeper reach of expression and vigour of treatment. Readers of poems like Browning's *Home Thoughts from Abroad* will know that one of the effects of travel has always been to increase the love for one's own home and all the delight of home-coming is embodied in his *Brahma* :

Lovingly now I come into your midst, my Sisters  
and Brothers  
For the time of love's forgetting again comes round.  
I shall draw you close to my heart as the hearts of  
unborn children to the hearts of their mothers ;  
And of all you were, I shall lose the sight and sound.  
We shall be as one ; yea, you the mesh shall be one  
with me, the encircling net  
And, being one, forget.

### III.

#### Songs Of The Sea.\*

We owe another volume of kindred spirit, to the enterprise of the same firm of publishers in Southern India. Mr. C. R. Das of Calcutta,

\* *To-day the sky is filled with darkness.* By C. R. Das and Arabinda Ghose. (Ganesh & Co., Madras, Re. 1.

besides being a well-known lawyer and politician is a poet in Bengali of considerable ability, his *Sagar-Sangit* being a favourite with the Bengal reading public. Those unacquainted with Bengali did not till now enjoy the privilege of knowing his work in poetry, but this translation in very good prose by the author himself, accompanied by versions in poetry by Mr. Arabinda Ghose, places him within the reach of even such readers. As was only to be expected from an Indian poet and one so intensely religious-minded as Mr. C. R. Das, the poems are not mere pictures of sea-scape but deeper expressions of the soul, ever intent on the profound problems of life and death :

In the wondrous region of song  
My heart made restless with music  
Wings its way like a bird !  
But nowhere and never do I find its end.  
In this shoreless region of song I poise and fly.  
Endless in this solitude of eternal sound,  
Soundless are the remembrances of this strange music.

Sinking myself in this eternal region of song,  
Nowhere and never do I find its depths.  
Oh, unfathomed endless realm of song,  
Wherein unfolds in silence the lotus of my mind !

Or again,

And full of madness fly thy winds,  
And storms of Pralaya fling their shade  
On thy dark breast  
And thy song wild with madness  
Rolls as thunder in my heart !  
Then come, come surging, O thou and sea !  
My breast is bared to thee in the darkness !  
Let me float ! Let me sink !  
The darkness of death is in the sky and in the winds !

And this ? But the signal of Pralaya.

We hope that Mr. Das will fly more often from the dust and heat of politics, to the realms of poetry of which he is qualified to be such a useful denizen.

#### SIX UNIFORM BOOKLETS

## INDIAN POETS

### Biographical and Critical Sketches

OF

1. MICHAEL MADHUSUDAN DUTT
2. BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEA
3. ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT
4. TORU DUTT
5. RABINDRANATH TAGORE
6. MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

EACH WITH A FRONTISPIECE

PRICE ANNAS FOUR.

G.A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.



BY

MR. S. KESAVA IYENGAR, M. A.

TO the student who searches after the root causes for the varied relations between Britain and her Empire at different times, a clear appreciation of what happens in the British political arena brings into light the forces at work which determine Imperial relations. Specially for him who tries to find an explanation for the relations between Britain and India for the last six memorable years, political developments in Britain serve as the unfailing key. Further, it is for Indian statesmen after locating and weighing the political forces at work in Britain, to exert their influence in such quarters so that things may progress in directions which they desire. Therefore, so long as India's interests are linked up with those of Britain, it is the most useful task for the Indian student and statesman to clearly follow the political situation in Britain and direct and shape his policy so as to minimise dangers to India and maximise benefit. Prescription must come after diagnosis.

#### THE CABINET.

At the outbreak of the Great War, a liberal Policy was pursued by the Cabinet. The national interests involved in the War necessitated a Coalition. And till Asquith's resignation in 1916 all local, internal, and party interests were submerged by the imminent national struggle for existence. But Asquith was found to be lacking in vigour and conviction to fight the War to victory. The more daring and energetic personality of Lloyd George studied the situation, and through means which cannot be established as fair (Cp., the Lloyd George Northcliffe intrigue), Lloyd George got to the helm of the State. The result was on the one hand victory and on the other hand bifurcation of the Liberal Party into Independent and Coalition sections. Till victory was won, the sole aim of the Government was of course to achieve it. The expulsion of the Coalition Liberals from the Independent Section at Leamington made Lloyd George manage with a Conservative support. In order to secure a further lease of life as Prime Minister, Lloyd George hastened on the General Election when the Nation did not want one. His plan was to later on throw the Conservatives overboard, take in the Asquithian Liberals and the Labour Party, and carry out his

radical programme. But against his calculations the Conservatives commanded an overwhelming majority in the 1918 Elections. By declaring for "hanging the Kaiser" and "making Germany pay" he easily got the command of affairs. In January 1919 the Prime Minister in a speech offered the Conservatives either submission to himself or dissolution and a re-election. The Conservatives having lost their confidence at the hands of the public preferred the former course. So it has happened that the present Parliament and the Cabinet have not much to agree upon, but yet each allows the other a certain amount of latitude so that both might continue in power. So long as his important moves are not defeated, Lloyd George does not mind protests, criticism, and fierce opposition. So long as they continue as members of Parliament and their immediate interests are not affected, the present members of the House of Commons do not much mind the policy pursued by the Cabinet. So it has occurred that the Cabinet in its progressive measures appeals to the support of the country" which is certainly more progressive than the Parliament," and in its reactionary measures seeks support from the Parliament. (E. G. Carson's support to the Irish Home Rule Bill and the Cabinet's strong condemnation of the Punjab Policy.)

The War has not yet had its close in effects. The European situation, the economic problem, and the Middle East muddle so wholly occupied the minds of the present Cabinet that in programme it began very poor. "Indeed no Government ever entered Office with such overwhelming public support, and with such complete poverty of programme." (A. F. Whyte, President-Elect of the Indian Legislative Assembly). Being a Coalition Cabinet, there was and is unity only of a negative character. In opposing critics, in denouncing Bolshevism, and in believing for some time that they could make Germany pay, the present Government exhibits an *esprit de corps*.

Again want of sufficient support either of the people or of the Parliament, and the heterogeneous nature of the Cabinet are responsible for the policy of drift now being pursued by the Cabinet. Regarding Ireland, Mesopotamia, India, British

Finance, and relations with European powers, the Lloyd George Government is pursuing a policy not by any means the result of elevated principles, but that of immediate advantage and expediency. "The animated debate of July 8 on General Dyer and the Amritsar riots shows that a large lively section of the Coalition takes a very different view of Imperial responsibilities from that which common sense compels the Government to adopt. The continual revolt of the same section against the excess profits duty and other taxes serves to accentuate that cleavage". In brief, the personnel of the Cabinet suited the work of War-time. Progress in peace requires a more definite homogeneity in the Government and a greater harmony between the Legislative and the Executive. If the Empire should re-strengthen its constituent parts unduly shaken by the War, and if the constituent parts should be cemented better in order to ensure the Imperial Edifice, the policy underlying the present Government's actions must totally change, or the way must be cleared for a reconstruction of the Cabinet.

Regarding the actual achievements of the Cabinet, the leading complaint is, "We have undertaken too much and we are spending too much" The various kinds of expeditions and missions into the regions of the disrupted Turkish Empire, the Mesopotamian campaign, the Irish policy—all this costs the British Government not a little. Yet, industrial betterment lies to its credit, "The development of our productive power after the war has proceeded more rapidly than the pessimists believed, and though the Government has made a terrible mess of the housing problem the industrial situation on the whole has been excellent? The substantial recovery of the sterling exchange on New York in the past eight months, and the Government triumph in the recent coal strike have increased the self confidence of the Cabinet.

Notwithstanding all this, the present Government and policy are not the best that could be. A number of errors have been committed. But the nation, not finding any more, enlightened alternative, is continuing its passive support.

The huge sacrifices demanded from all parts of the Empire during the war made the Premier arrange for Imperial War Cabinets in 1917 and 1918, so that there might be better understanding and a closer sympathy as between Britain and the Dominions. Imperial conferences were

organised by Asquith 1911 onward, but the war brought on the Imperial War Cabinet. Many statesmen expect new developments in the British constitution, as the result of such a step. Such a meeting of the Premiers of all Dominions is arranged to take place in the middle of 1921 and in this Sessions, there will be an accessory conference concerned with the matters of Imperial Defence. Discussion of the Imperial constitution is postponed so that "Public opinion may have sufficient time to grasp the significance of the changes in the internal and external relations of the Empire resulting from the war". Therefore, it may safely be granted now that the war has accelerated the rate of development of the British Empire into "The British Federation of Common Wealths? "Plans will have to be devised for making the Principle of the Empire Government as tried in the war time, effective as a working basis in peace time"—(*The Times*).

#### THE PARTIES :—

The history of the parties in England shows a continuous dwindling away of Conservative principles and the spreading of the liberal spirit. In the words of J. B. Frith "The only fitting place for a pure principle Tory is a museum or a mausoleum." When the Liberal Party was in the ascendant, the war broke out. The immediate consequence of the war was that the party system and its whole machinery was "diverted from its normal use to the propagation of allied doctrine, the propaganda of economy, of food control, of war loans."

The war was won, but in order to secure a fresh lease for his career as Prime Minister, Lloyd George pushed through a general election. The cry raised by the Independent Liberals and the Labour Party regarding the economic future was drowned by the gratitude of the nation to Lloyd George. The present Parliament elected in November 1918 consists of 380 Conservatives, 150 Coalition Liberals, 60 Labour men, 30 Independent Liberals, and 80 Sinn Feiners not attending. The Conservative majority has no leader. Balfour has come to be a mere spectator, and Bonar Law in spite of his long control of the House of Commons, is in no sense a leader. The Coalition Liberal Party is directly sprung from Lloyd George. The Independent Liberals represent the old Liberal Party, and judged from the proceedings of the Leamington Conference it is Asquithian in allegiance. Till February 1920 Asquith had vanished from the political world to



reappear in the Commons as a result of the Paisley by-election. His leadership since that day is not at all inspiring, and his view points are rather antedated. And when the country eagerly expected of him effective, immediate, and constructive proposals he deplorably fell short of them.

On the contrary the Labour Party showed great vigour in 1919. "The end of the War would be the threshold of a new earth, was President Wilson's prophetic optimism." At a moment when discredit had fallen upon the older parties, when the party chiefs of former times were being judged solely as national leaders in a time of stress, the voice of Labour sounded a new note appropriate to the state of the public mind." (A. F. Whyte) "Labour and the New Social Order" was a hopeful programme admitting workers of hand or brain. "It was the first step towards a socialistic State coloured by the prevailing love of British compromise." The 1919 by-elections held out much promise to Labour. Many Liberals like Col. Wedgwood changed to the Labour side. The increasing influence of Labour was not a little responsible for preventing the Government of India Act, 1919, from becoming far less liberal, yet, in spite of such hopes, the Labour Party achieved little and lost much public support. Among the many reasons for such failure, the following are a few.

"Labour and the New Social Order" is a programme not very enthusiastically taken up by the rank and file of Labour. The whole scheme is suspected of an intellectual origin, and intellectual men are suspected by the labourers, so that in choosing their leaders, they avoid such men of light to represent them in the Parliament. One of the items—nationalisation—was tried by the Government during the war, and though ill success under the circumstances need not condemn nationalisation under more favourable conditions, the people at large did not like it. Neither Labour leaders, nor the masses had done much towards the winning of the War, and to add to all this, the Labour men in the Parliament are not the best that could be thought of. The party contains no towering genius nor any magnetic personality."

The Sinn Fein members are absentee members of Parliament. How much for Ireland could be done by their presence in the Commons, and how much they have done and shall do by their abstention from attendance is not a matter for

discussion here. But one thing is certain. Lloyd George paid no attention to the Irish Problem in the earlier days and is now pursuing a narrow policy on account of political necessities. The House of Commons contains a huge Unionist majority.

"As long as the present temper among the Irish prevail they would get no measure which would be accepted by the Irish" (Lloyd George.) But Mr. Griffith as also De Valera declared that the present Irish feeling of suspicion and hatred will disappear and a new friendliness arise if Ireland be left to itself. Lloyd George raises up the phantasm of an Irish Republic and an Irish Conscription Army.

The result of all this is that the Coalition appears to be firmer than ever in its position, there being no opposition at all. But things must return to the normal state sooner or later. It may not be ere long before Lloyd George brings on a Liberal Cabinet. It may not be long before the present anomalous Coalition Party is put an end to. "A Cabinet of a distinctively progressive character would be more generally representative of public feeling—an influence to which Mr. Lloyd George rarely fails to respond" (A. F. Whyte). Such a Cabinet may find support from a Liberal Labour Coalition.

#### THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT :

As aforesaid, the present Parliament was elected in November 1918 and finally announced on December 28. From what has been said can be gathered the fact that this is a Lloyd George Parliament. Any moment he can dissolve the House of Commons, and the Conservatives will surely lose heavily. But so long as he can manage smoothly he will not risk a general election. Owing to the state of the public mind in November 1918 ('Peace Celebrations'), the House of Commons was filled up not with the best men, but the least troublesome. "A less distinguished House of Commons never assembled at Westminster after an election". In the circumstances detailed above there is no opposition in the right sense of the word to the majority party. The result has been a lack of discipline and a series of errors.

Of the leaders in the House, something has been said of that once famous leader Asquith. The most interesting figure is that of Churchill. He seems to have the support of a large section of Coalition opinion. Regarding the attitude towards Russia, he represents Coalition opinion more

than that of the country. In the Amritsar debates he got much credit by playing the part of a conciliator, between the Progressive Cabinet and the Reactionary House. The divergent policies pursued by Churchill and Lloyd George regarding Russia a few months ago comes to the mind only to reconfirm the heterogeneous nature of the Cabinet. Even as late as November 17, 1920 Lloyd George and Churchill supported and opposed respectively early resumption of trade with Russia. "We must recognise the dangers of Bolshevism in Britain. Every large city contained small bands of people eager for any chance to make a general overturn in the hope of profiting themselves in the general confusion. He suggested that there was connection between all revolutionary attempts which were being made in India, Egypt, Ireland, and Britain, (Churchill in a speech in London on November 4 1920.) Herbert Fisher is "One of the principal assets of the Coalition Government." He will ever be remembered for his Education Act of 1918.

E. S. Montague is a progressive politician, and "in Indian affairs he has contrived to secure the united support of the Cabinet for a genuinely liberal policy in opposition to many reactionary elements in the House." Montague's name must be added on to the list of such British statesmen as Lord Durham, Professor A. B. Keith, and Lord Carnarvon. Austen Chamberlain, in spite of his extraordinary ability in controlling such a critical situation as the post-war period is fiercely opposed from business quarters and is charged of being rather too liberal in expenditure. The rumoured second offer of the Indian Viceroyalty to him might have been a plea to remove him from the Exchequer.

Sir Robert Horne, from what can be gathered from his activities as the member for Labour, is a promising statesman. In the event of a reconstruction of the Cabinet, he will surely get one of the more important ministerships.

Lord Curzon is a hoary Imperialist and his special field is Western Asia and Persia. He by temperament is not for the democratisation of the different parts of the British Empire. In one of his speeches at a dinner to a number of Indian princes he observed that the Indian princes were the corner-stones of the British privileges in India. A long record, almost oppressive in weight, Lord Curzon's career typifies a past order. Lord Milner, no less an Imperialist in idea, has been forced to water down his ideals by practical

necessities e. g. his negotiations with the Egyptian mission.

The greatest qualification of Lloyd George is that he is a very highly magnetic personality. His is a wayward career equally marked by error and wisdom. Yet, in spite of inconsistencies he seems to be growing in his Liberalism. "He judges policies, persons, and events not in the light of any coherent body of political doctrine, but by instinct. And when he looks out upon the course which will lead him to the next general election (probably about 1922) he is pretty certain to see that the public will demand a return to Liberalism. He of all men is not likely to mistake that demand for a cause to revive dead controversies nor is he perhaps the right leader to give the Liberal thought of Great Britain that elevated expression natural to it. But in whatever form he casts it his policy will grow more and more Liberal as time goes on." (A. F. Whyte)

The other important feature in Lloyd George seems to be his readiness to change his policy or programme in response to popular demand. The changes in his German, Turkish, and Irish policies are instances in point. This is against the British traditions, and is in accord with the Swiss practice. In Switzerland Cabinet members rarely resign, because if the Legislature changes its policy, the Cabinet also changes its policy accordingly. And there arising no difference or clash between the Executive and the Legislature, no resignations ensue. Hence in Switzerland responsibility vests in the hands of the legislature and the electorate to a greater extent than in Britain. And in all probability Lloyd George is the harbinger of the new system—the system of leaders in politics changing their policies according to the wishes of the majority of the electorate.

#### CONCLUSION

The conclusions from the foregoing lines are simple and direct. Internal British politics were subordinated to those of the war 1914 onward. Lloyd George began in 1916 a vigorous military policy. Necessity for Indian support made a liberal policy towards India necessary in 1917 (Lloyd George's Speech on August 20, 1917). The Imperial War Cabinet was instituted with a view to consult and conciliate Dominion opinion. His success in the war reassured him of his power in the 1918 elections. Since 1918, no definite progress has been achieved owing to the mixed nature of the Cabinet and the Parliament, and owing to the afterwar problems occupying the time



and means of the Government. But the present Parliament does not represent the national opinion just now. But owing to the absence of an effective and immediate alternative, the Coalition Cabinet and Parliament are continuing in power. Something has been done in industry and commerce, but in Imperial and international relations the Coalition Government is proving a failure by following a short sighted and extravagant policy. "And if new complications were to arise in Ireland, in India, in the near East or in the Labour world, they might easily precipitate a political crisis of the first magnitude. Or at any rate, a return to normal conditions in England will neces-

sarily mean a predominant Liberal Government, and for this predominance a Coalition may arise between the Liberal and the Labour Parties. British Labour with its love of compromise and fondness for individual liberty will not find it difficult to coalesce with the Liberals to put an end to haphazard, inconsistent, and uncertain policy. The sooner the Liberal-Labour Government comes on in Britain, the sooner will India find just and liberal treatment in the Empire. Hence a further and a far more substantial democratisation of the Indian Government may be taken for granted in the near future.

## SUNRISE ON THE TIGRIS

BY THOS. W. La. TOUCHE.

Relieved against Aurora's rosy face,  
See, Baghdad's minarets and domes and spires;  
With plumed crests of palm trees traced between  
Loom through the pearl grey haze of dawn;  
And the queen of the desert, slumbering still,  
Seems rapt in dreams she in her youth conceived,  
Two voices seeking to awaken her  
Now issue from her heart and float afar  
On wandering zephyrs, balmy, cool and sweet  
With fragrance from myriad orange groves;  
Above the merry bulbuls' overture,  
Across the silent waters do they steal  
Subdued and solemn to the listening ear  
And fall like gentle dews upon the soul:—  
Both speak of God but in differing tones:  
One is the muezzin's long-drawn chaunt that tells  
Of Allah's greatness and his Prophet's claim;  
The other with a brazen tongue peals forth,  
In triple chimes, the mystery of God-made man,  
Meanwhile lost Elen's immemorial river,  
Big with the secrets of creation's birth,  
Creeps, heeding nought, within his summer bed;  
And like fine velvet shot with Tyrian dyes,  
Displays the Orient's ever shifting hues  
Limned on its bosom, so unruffled and serene,  
Save where a nimble fish leaps up in joy  
And glistens like a sabre dyed in blood,  
Or the King-fisher plunging for his meal  
Scatters aloft a spray of diamond dust,  
Or where a fisher in his basket boat  
Glides softly down and flings his net abroad,  
Lo, where the purple curtains of the East  
Are rent, a fount of golden splendour spouts,

Setting the western clouds ablaze with tints,—  
Like glowing daubs upon some artist's palette—  
And changing passing birds to meteors,  
And lo! a quaint Mahella far down stream  
Has caught the sheen upon her ample sail  
And seems a banner in a gay procession.  
It's but the herald of the King of Day  
Whose orb of ruddy gold now mounts on high  
Majestic and sublime!—a Host immense,  
Exposed within a gem-sparr'd monst'rance for  
The adoration of the world! And now  
The Tigris wears a belt of molten gold,  
And skies and waters, gilded domes and spires  
Burn with refulgence unutterable, ere  
They fade into the common light of day.  
But from my thoughts the scene shall never fade  
So long as you are with me, sweet beloved!  
You who with arms enlinked in mine  
Beheld this lovely pageantry of heaven  
And lent to it a witchery all your own.  
Perchance thus she who brightened Paradise  
For man, hung smiling in his glad embrace  
On this same primeval river's brink and viewed  
The first grand rising of the new-made Sun;  
While, he more raptured by her love and grace,  
Imprest upon her radiant brow and lips  
Full many a morning salutation sweet!  
Down in the dreamy depths of your dark eyes  
Where shine the glories of dead Babylon,  
And all her long forgotten mystic lore,  
I see the eternal sunrise of your love  
Whose beauty bathes my soul in joy divine!

# THE DECEMBER GATHERINGS

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[In accordance with our usual practice we give below a bird's-eye view of the proceedings of the various annual gatherings which held their sittings at Nagpur, and other places in December last. It will be noticed that the National Congress by changing the old creed which satisfied the political ambitions of Dadabhai, Bonnerjee, Mehta, Gokhale and the veteran Congressmen who built up this great institution and by embarking on a perilous programme of Non-Co operation, has abdicated its original function. The Moslem League, it need hardly be added, has followed the lead of the Congress; while the National Liberal Federation of India which held its third Annual Session at Madras under the presidentship of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the Mahomedan Educational Conference, the South Indian Liberal Federation and the Indian Christian Conference have condemned the Congress programme. We invite the attention of our readers to the summary of the proceedings presented in the following pages. [Ed. I.R.]

## THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

THE thirty-fifth session of the Indian National Congress met at Nagpur on Dec. 26, amid scenes of great enthusiasm. It was in many ways the turning point in the history of that institution and as such attracted the largest number of delegates on record. Indeed over fifteen thousand delegates attended the session, besides a large number of visitors. Like the Calcutta Special Congress, the Nagpur Session was a pure Gandhi Congress.

On the dais sat the leading Congressmen and the visitors from England—Col. Wedgwood Mr. Ben Spoor and Mr. Holford Knight.

Seth Jaman Lal, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered his address in Hindi. A convinced Non-Co-operator, he said that Mr. Gandhi's programme, was already bearing fruit. He gave it as his opinion that

Non-Co-operation is a non-violent, but regular war between the people of this country and its rulers. In this war India wants to see whether it can successfully carry on all its moral and essential national activities without the co-operation of the foreign bureaucracy and whether or not the foreign bureaucracy can maintain its power and influence without the co-operation of the Indian people.

On the conclusion of the welcome address, Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar was formally proposed as President by Mr. B. D. Shukul. Mr. Gandhi seconded the motion in a brief speech in Hindi and was supported by a number of speakers including Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Mahomed Ali, Mr. C. R. Das and Mr. Patel.

Mr. Vijayaraghavachari then read the Presidential Address. He had not gone far before there was perfect confusion and he could proceed no further. His voice was drowned in the noise and uproar that ensued; whereupon he called on Mr. B. C. Pal to read the rest of the address while at the end, the President himself summarised his remarks on Non-Co-operation,

The Presidential Address was a lengthy document covering thirty-eight pages of foolscap. Mr. Achariar is an old Congressman reputed for his courage and independence. His address was a scholarly document though somewhat too abstruse for a gathering of twenty thousand who



cared little for speculations on political philosophy however fortified by the authority of great names in England and America. It was courageous in that it was unsparing in its criticism of Mr. Gandhi and his programme. With all the vigour and exhaustiveness of the address it reveals its author as a puzzled spectator



still unable to make up his mind. Throughout, the address bears the mark of indecision; and as we shall show in the following pages the President contradicts himself frequently.

Presiding over an avowedly Non-Co-operation Congress he pleaded for "a message to be sent to our gracious Sovereign."

We have to conceive and adopt a message to be sent to our gracious Sovereign and to the great peoples of the world. And that message is that the people of India are now placed by their rulers in an intolerable position and that they are determined forthwith to make their beautiful country "fit and safe" for her sons and daughters to live in and that any further delay in their achievement of this vital object means ruin to them and peril to the Empire, if not to the future peace of the world.

Then follows an exhaustive analysis of the Declaration of Rights which has for sometime past come to occupy a leading place in Congress resolutions:

The most important part in my scheme relates to a declaration of our fundamental rights as men and as British citizens. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of a written constitution. Almost all modern countries possessed of a constitutional government have written constitutions. Besides, a written declaration of rights is a great instrument of national education. We all know that the laws of the Twelve Tables in ancient Rome were taught to the children and they had to know them by heart as if they were the Vedas or the Koran.

He then defined the form of Government that India demands "simply responsible government like that of the United Kingdom and of the Self-governing Dominions." And he warned as it dully conscious of the impending change in the Congress creed:—

I would not describe it by the Sanskrit word "Swarajya." Although this word means simply Self-Government or Home Rule, it is on the one hand capable of being misunderstood abroad, especially by England in its present mentality coloured by the vicissitudes due to the struggle of Ireland, and on the other hand it is devoid of historic conventions and usages which make for the healthy growth and development of responsible government. Besides, responsible Government as such has been accepted as the policy of His Majesty in Parliament.

Having defined the aim of the Congress the President took care to explain by what methods the British Government could grant us responsible government as if all the difficulties lay only in choosing a method.

There are three ways by which this problem can be solved—(1) by a Statute of Parliament, (2) by Letters patent of His Majesty the King-Emperor and by instructions by the Secretary of State for India, and (3) by an Act of the Indian Legislature. The first and the last would be most difficult to achieve and

when achieved, by no means most satisfactory for all practical purposes."

"If then the system of responsible government can be immediately established for the government of this country by simple executive process, the very natural question is whether the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India would consent to co-operate with us and induce the Cabinet to concur with him and advise His Majesty to be graciously pleased to issue the necessary instructions by Letters patent bearing the Royal Seal.

He then turned to discuss the present situation at considerable length. He said that the present state of affairs in India was such that it was necessary for the Congress "to find a weapon, a peaceful weapon with which to compel England" to pay heed to our demands. In this connection the President began to examine Non-Co-operation in all its varying forms and came to the conclusion that it was dangerous and inexpedient. Touching the boycott of schools he pointed out:

Let us not, for a moment, forget the one object of the whole movement with which it has been initiated. It is to force the hands of Government to grant our very legitimate request, namely, to establish responsible government and to redress our Khilafat grievance. Is it possible that emptying Government and aided institutions would any wise paralyse the Government here and in England in its administration and compel it to grant our object? If Government are relieved from maintaining schools and colleges, would not the money be available for other purposes—over eight crores of rupees annually? And is this a national advantage? In order to replace them by our own national institutions should we not have funds which will give us a similar annual income for which a capital of about 200 crores would be necessary? It has hitherto been an accepted maxim of our political life that the students should be left in a calm atmosphere to pursue their career and that it is injurious to them and to the rising generation to draw them into the highly excitable vortex of practical politics which is fast changing in our country as well into party politics. Can the propaganda be carried on without violating this cardinal and very healthy maxim? We seek Swarajya. The bedrock of a healthy nation is the sound family. Will not this propaganda separate students from parents and grand parents and from elder brothers and sisters oftener than not?

Turning to the appeal for the withdrawal of leaders he said:—

Is it at all reasonable and practicable that thousands and thousands of young men, educated and equipped to become members of the bar at an enormous sacrifice in all poor and middle class families, should be suddenly asked to cut short their career and the only career for which they are fit? Are we satisfied that this course is necessary for securing freedom, our national freedom? Does History furnish us with any similar example? On the other hand does it not furnish lessons to the contrary?

But private citizens, however enlightened and experienced, would not be able to handle and investigate complex cases of law involving consideration of highly delicate questions of right and wrong, arising from contract, express and implied, and from injuries voluntary, accidental and rash. If we abolish courts and if we abolish the profession of law, and nothing less makes the item effectual, there would be a great social want which there would be no means of supplying. The result will be immediate increase of offences and criminal cases and gradual decay of national instinct for freedom.

Thus Mr. Achariar examines Mr. Gandhi's programme very acutely and condemns the whole thing as impracticable and dangerous. Of course the renunciation of titles and the boycott of Councils are disposed off—the one as ineffective and the other as a closed chapter. With reference to the latter however he held:—

On the whole the Nationalists were well advised in finally declining to seek and occupy a position where it might be said at the end that we were responsible for the failure, and not the fatal inherent infirmities of the novel system.

And yet Mr. Achariar holds in a fit of blissful forgetfulness:—

As to the great necessity for the adoption by us of some such weapon as that of organized Non-Co-operation with the rulers in view to reach our full freedom immediately there can be no two honest opinions.

This is not all. In one part of the address the President quotes a happy saying of Abraham Lincoln's against the peril of disunion and discourses eloquently:

"Unless we are united and unanimous in our programme it is my duty to my God and country to say that our chance would fly away.....United we stand and are saved, divided we fall and perish," and in another he preaches a homily on the dangers of regimentation and quotes an equally pregnant maxim of Walter Bagehot.

Besides the very great evils of regimentation and of surrender of private judgment with the necessary gradual decay of the faculty of private judgment may I have your permission to allude to another very serious evil without producing which the propaganda work of the programme of the Calcutta Congress cannot be carried on. We have had the experience of its working these four months. I ask you to say like sworn jurymen whether the propaganda work has not caused and roused dismay, grief, and fierce passions and animosities all round.

In fact in his denunciation of Non-Co-operation he went so far as to say that it would "rebarbarise the people of India. Why then assert with the same breath that "the process of unification is greatly expanded and intensified under the auspices of Mahatma Gandhi and the stalwart patriots who are co-operating with him?"

Is it any wonder that even a Nationalist paper like the *Janmabhumi* should be puzzled by such an attitude.

We are at a loss to say whether Mr. C. Vijaya-raghavachariar approves of the Congress Resolution on N. C. O. Our friends have vehemently argued that he does. We ourselves have thought and still think that the programme of N. C. O. in the resolution, and the President of the Congress are poles apart.

Thus the address is, in spite of its obvious merits, a jumble of contradictions and we can well believe the reports that it failed to impress the gathering. It is one of the unwritten canons of the Congress that the President leads the session in regard to its vital decisions. It would appear that Mr. Achariar was strongly opposed to the change in the Congress creed as evidenced by a quotation we have already given. His opposition was unavailing. Though he was strongly against Non-Co-operation in practice as opposed to it in theory which he readily and emphatically argued as both constitutional and effective, the following paras would show how the Congress upheld and even confirmed the resolutions of the Special Congress.

The President's own patent as a substitute for Non-Co-operation is a vague "Nation building" or as he explained it in a couple of enigmatic formulae: one to Mr. Montagu and the other to Mr. Gandhi: "Pray do; and pray do not." With these, he hopes to stem the tide of chaos that he apprehends if Mr. Gandhi's programme is followed but yet with amusing unconcern, he says, in his farewell speech:

"As for the N. C. O. Resolution, it has been arrived at after considerable hesitation and consultation, among leaders, as a workable basis, to the dismay of your enemies, and I hope, to the very pleasant disappointment of some of those who were away from us."

The Subjects Committee meeting that followed had an even more stormy sitting. The discussion centred round the motion for the change of the Congress creed. On the 28th Mr. Gandhi moved in the open Congress:

That the object of the Congress is the attainment of *Swaraj* by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

An amendment stood in the name of Pandit Malaviya, but he was unwell and could not attend. Mr. Gandhi who spoke both in Hindi and in English said that it was derogatory to the national assembly to think of the permanence of the British connection at any cost. However

he did not for one moment suggest that they wanted to end the British connection at all costs unconditionally. If the British connection was for the



advancement of India, they did not want to destroy it, but if it was inconsistent with Indian's national self respect, then it was their bounden duty to destroy it. There was room enough in the proposed creed for all parties; those who wanted the British connection and those who did not.

Mr. Lajpat Rai and Mr. B. C. Pal supported the motion while Mr. Jinnah and Col. Wedgwood opposed it. The Colonel deplored that the passing of the resolution would make the task of India's friends in England such as Labour Members more difficult if not impossible. Incidentally he criticised the intolerant attitude of the gathering to those who differed from it. Some amendments were moved but the Congress threw them out and Mr. Gandhi's original motion was subsequently adopted at the next day's sitting.

On the 30th Mr. Ben Spoor who was called upon to convey to the assembly the message of the British Labour Party read the resolution wherein it was expressed that "while expressing the hope that every part of the British Empire if dealt with in a conciliatory manner would remain within the British Commonwealth," it declared that the final decision about the continuance of such relations must rest with those people themselves.

On the motion of Seth Jaman Lal supported by Pandit Motilal Nehru a resolution conveying

thanks to the Labour Party for their message was passed.

Mr. C. R. Das then moved the lengthy resolution on Non-Co operation which had been arrived at after considerable discussion in the Subjects Committee. The Resolution is given in full in another page.

On the 31st the President moved a resolution to abolish the British Congress Committee and the paper *India* and also another paying homage to the memory of Mac Swinny and sympathising with Ireland in her struggle for freedom.

Mr. S. R. Bomanji moved the resolution on exchange and currency which was endorsed by Mr. C. R. Das. Mr. Bomanji also moved for the boycott of the Duke of Connaught. Other resolutions touching trade unions and labour, on the Esher Report and on Indians abroad were then adopted.

A number of resolutions covering the thirty-six articles of the New Congress Constitution were moved by Mr. Gandhi and carried unanimously.

The next Congress was invited to Ahmedabad. The President in his concluding remarks said that the Non-Co-operation resolution as adopted had presented a workable plan to the dismay of enemies and had completely eliminated all opposition in the Congress.

## THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION.

THE third Annual Session of the National Liberal Federation of India was held at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, on Wednesday the 29th Dec. under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani M. L. C. of Allahabad. There was a fair gathering of delegates from different parts of the country: Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, Rev. A. B. Nag and Mr. R. D. Mehta from Calcutta; The Hon. Mr. B. S. Kaniat; Mr. Jannadhas Dwarakadas from Bombay; the Hon. Mr. Kale, Mr. N. M. Joshi and several professors of the Fergusson College, Poona; Mr. Kunzru of the Servants of India Society and Mr. Asthana from the U. P.; and Rao Bahadur Mundle and Mr. N. A. Dravid from C. P. and some delegates from Berar, Orissa and Hyderabad besides the leading Liberals of Madras, and the Presidency as a whole. Mrs. Besant, Mr. Arundale, Mr. and Mrs. Jinarajadasa and many members of the Indian Home Rule League also attended.

Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindarajaya Iyer, the Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the delegates in a brief but comprehensive address in which he pointed out the nature

of the problems confronting the Liberals. He said that the formation of parties will be found inevitable and that the Reform Act has served to bring out the differences between the parties clearly and distinctly.

While we yield to none in our anxiety to see India occupy a foremost place among the nations of the world and that as early as possible, we have our own views as to how this aim can be secured. We believe that the surest method of progress is by remembering that we have no clean slate and that the past should not be ignored, that what is needed in the present condition and circumstances of our country is not revolutionary change but safe and sure reconstruction and that, above all, no course of conduct should be advocated or pursued which will have the effect, directly or indirectly, and in the near or more distant future, of provoking or encouraging violence, whether intended or not, or of even undermining the foundations of good citizenship.

He then dwelt on the folly of changing the creed of the Congress and criticised the scheme of Non-Co-operation adumbrated by the Congress under the auspices of Mr. Gandhi. Referring to the position of Indians in the Colonies he said:

Perhaps it is late enough already but it is desirable to remind those that are responsible for this policy of

exclusion of Indians that if ever India becomes lost to Britain and the British Empire, it will be not so much on account of questions of internal administration, important and intricate as they are and may become, but on this question of the treatment of Indians in the Colonies.

On the conclusion of the Welcome Address Sir Sivaswami Aiyar proposed and Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari seconded the election of the President in an eloquent speech while Mrs. Besant and others formally supported it.

Mr. G. A. Natesan, one of the Secretaries, then read messages and telegrams of sympathy.



Mr. Chintamani then delivered the Presidential Address—a bold and intrepid document worthy of the best traditions of the elder Congressmen. Unlike the Nagpur Congress Address, it was brief but more comprehensive and dealt at length with the problems of the day.

He began with a reference to the painful break with the Congress:

We who left it with sorrow because of the conviction that its old policy was still the wise policy and that the enduring interests of the country demanded an organization that would pursue it vigorously without

divided counsels upon fundamental points, cannot in reason be accused of disloyalty to the principles of the Congress. I go farther and say that we are the true Congressmen and not those who, while nominally in the Congress, have lost faith in its very creed and committed themselves to, or are in search of, policies and methods incompatible with the vital Article of the Constitution to which they have pledged themselves to adhere. Indeed, it would be in the fitness of things if they gave themselves another label and left to us the cherished name of the Indian National Congress.

Commenting on the events of the year, he said, that while declining to endorse hysterical descriptions of the British Government, "our opposition to Non-Co-operation is not due to misplaced tenderness for the authors of the wrongs."

The Government cannot escape the responsibility for the present political muddle. If it had acted with wisdom and righteousness, the Reforms would have had a fairer reception and England's credit in India would have stood much higher. I need not detain you over the Rowlatt Act, except to ask the Government of India to admit with candour that the last twenty months have proved that they were wrong in passing it, and to act with courage and remove it from the Statute Book. Such legislation was bound to provoke a strong reply, and it did. But I am bound to say that the agitation overstepped the limits imposed by considerations of the public safety, and there followed those disastrous occurrences which furnished an excuse for the Punjab horrors. For these the Government of the province was not alone to blame. The Government of India were answerable in equal measure. They upheld the former and were imperious to counsels of moderation and restraint. They forgot that 'he who allows oppression shares the crime.'

In fact he criticised the actions of the Government in the Punjab affair with such force and pugnacity that the *Englishman* rebuked his address as extremist.

Touching the Government resolution on Non-Co-operation he pointed out that the Government resolution on Non-Co-operation was as you are aware, utilised in certain quarters to teach us our duty at this juncture. It was said that we were lethargic, it was assumed that it was in our power to stop the movement if we but exerted ourselves, we wanted courage to face unpopularity, we timidly followed the Extremists at a distance, our weakness would be responsible for repression by Government to end a pernicious campaign if it could be suppressed by no other means. Our critics forget that Extremism is the direct product of the policy of the Government, and our unpopularity is in reality the expression of the public distrust of its motives and measures. When English friends refer to our party's lack of influence, I invariably tell them that it is a tribute to the character of their administration and the reputation they enjoy, rightly or wrongly, after a hundred and fifty years of rule. Is it not remarkable that every Indian who is suspected of a kindly feeling for Englishmen and their Government should lose caste with his own people? I would ask them to reflect upon the meaning of this phenomenon. We have a straight policy. We are neither apologists nor enemies of the British Government.



Our supreme concern is the well-being and advancement of our Motherland and we approach every problem from this single point of view. And we speak our mind freely in disregard of consequences to ourselves.

He then passed on to discuss the Report of the Esher Committee at some length. He condemned the reactionary and objectionable recommendations of that ill-constituted Committee and asked:—

Does England ask for India's trust? She on her part must trust India. And England's military policy will be the touchstone of her sincerity.

The Lovett Report then came in for a critical examination and the President's recommendations are mostly embodied in the Federation's resolution on the subject. Mr. Chintamani then dwelt on the problem of education and finally concluded with an eloquent appeal to Liberals, not to be apologetic but to go forward with faith and confidence. The passage deserves to be quoted in full but we have space only for a few lines:—

Remember Mill's saying that one man with a conviction is equal to ninety-nine without one. Do not apologize, do not doubt, do not hesitate. Go forward with the strength of conviction and with the determination that conquers obstacles. Preach the doctrines of the Liberal Party, explain to the people that we are the inheritors of the Congress whose objects we are faithfully carrying out, establish Liberal leagues wherever they are not, bring more of the faithful into the fold. Be sure, in building up our Party we but serve the country, we have no other motive. In this national work the revered founders of the Congress, who are not with us in mortal form, will be with us in spirit. And the faith in me that, however we may be mis-understood to-day by a section of our countrymen whose commendable patriotic zeal for immediate political salvation prevents them from correctly appreciating our standpoint, the day will come when the passions and prejudices of the moment will have subsided and persuasive reason will again hold up the guiding lamp, and when our motive as well as our wisdom will be vindicated. Whether it may come sooner or later, and even if it may not come, makes no difference. We will not be deflected from what we are convinced is our duty to our Motherland.

The proceedings of the second day opened with the reading of messages from Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Mr. N. M. Samarth and Sir Surendranath Banerjee who wished to congratulate the President on his appointment as Minister in the United Provinces.

Two resolutions, one welcoming H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught and the other congratulating Lord Sinha on his appointment, were moved from the chair.

Sir Sivaswami Aiyar then moved a lengthy resolution on Indian Military policy. He condemned alike the composition and the recommendations of the Esher Report and spoke at length on every feature of the comprehensive resolution adopted at the Subjects Committee.

The Resolution finally urged:—

(1) The position that the Army in India should be independent of the British Army and under the control of the Government of India and not of the War Office should be recognized, (2) the Commander-in-Chief should only be the executive head of the army, and not a member of the Governor-General's Council and the portfolio of defence should be entrusted to a Civilian member of the Governor-General's Council, (3) Indian troops should not, as a rule, be employed for service outside the external frontiers of India except for defensive purposes or in very grave emergencies and with the free consent of the Governor-General-in-Council, (4) the King's Indian subjects should be freely admitted to all arms of His Majesty's Forces in India, including the Territorial Army. Not less than 25 per cent. of the King's Commissions should be given to His Majesty's Indian subjects to start with and the proportion raised in ten years to 50 per cent. by annual increments of 2 1/2 per cent., (5) adequate facilities should be provided in India for training Indians as officers in all branches of the army by their admission into the existing institutions, as well as by the establishment of new institutions and in all other possible ways, (6) the system of having two sets of Commissions in the army, one proceeding from the King and the other from the Viceroy, should be abolished. All differences of designation between the British and Indian officers of various ranks should likewise be abolished, (7) all invidious distinctions, based upon racial considerations, should be abolished in the Army.

Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary seconded the Resolution in an eloquent speech and it was supported by Mr. Kamat, Mr. B. Venkatapathi Razu and Mr. R. D. Mehta.

Two other resolutions, one urging the immediate publication of Lord Jellicoe's Report and the other urging

that no action, administrative or legislative, shall be taken on the reports of any commissions or committees appointed by the Secretary of State for India or the Government of India until an opportunity shall have been given to the Indian Legislature to express its opinion thereon and, in regard to matters specially affecting any province, until such an opportunity shall have been given to the legislature of that province.

were put from the chair and carried.

After lunch a meeting of the Subjects Committee was held when some verbal changes were made in the Resolution on Non-Co-operation which was drafted after much discussion at the

previous meeting. The resolution as put to the Conference ran as follows:—

'The Federation expresses its emphatic disapproval of the policy of Non-Co-operation as calculated to destroy individual liberty of speech and action, incite social discord and retard the progress of the country towards responsible government, but the Federation feels that the best way of successfully combating the Non-Co-operation movement is for Government to redress the wrongs that have led to its adoption.'

Mrs. Besant who moved the Resolution pointed out that the present Government had a large share of the responsibility in bringing the Non-Co-operation movement into existence. She also criticised Mr. Gandhi's attitude and concluded with a powerful appeal to the Government to help the Moderates and not to hinder them by continuing the wrongs.

She was seconded by Mr. Kamat and supported by a number of speakers.

The third day began with the reading of further messages of sympathy with the Conference. The President moved a resolution recording regret at the death of Mr. Tilak and Rai Bahadur Debendra Chandra Ghose which was passed unanimously, the whole house standing.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru moved the resolution regarding the position of Indians in the Colonies, which protested against the "political and economic disabilities imposed upon Indians by the Government of the Protectorate and urged for absolute equality for Indians with Europeans in the Kenya Colony."

Mr. Kunzru referred to the Government of India's despatch on Lord Milner's report and said that unless the Government of India interfered, the tragic history of South Africa might be repeated in the Kenya Colony.

Mr. G. A. Natesan seconded the resolution and said that the condition in East Africa recalled to their minds the horrors and indignities accorded to Indians in South Africa. He thought it useless for the Government to appeal to the Liberals for co-operation when everything went out of their hands and he asked the Government to take steps for obtaining equality for their countrymen abroad.

The Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri moved:

'That in the opinion of the Federation the inauguration of the new regime conferring a measure of self-government on the people of India must be signalled by a comprehensive measure abolishing all distinctions in law based merely on the race of an individual, and urges in particular that the provisions in the criminal law of India conferring upon Europeans and Americans certain special privileges and rights must be repealed at an early date.'

Mr. Sastri in moving the resolution spoke of the various humiliating distinctions adopted in trains between Europeans and Indians and said that hardly a month passes without a judicial scandal of some sort or other.

Mr. Jogendra Mohan Sinha (Bengal) seconded the resolution which was passed.

Prof. V. G. Kale proposed a resolution regarding Exchange and Currency and urged a fresh and immediate enquiry into the whole question. This was seconded by Mr. C. Doraiswami Aiyangar.

Mr. C. P. Ramaswami spoke on the resolution on Fiscal Autonomy which was supported by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarakadass.

Dr. C. B. Rama Rau moved a resolution urging that the Medical Service in India should be reorganised into two divisions one Military and the other Civil; while a number of other resolutions were put from the chair and carried.

When the Federation reassembled after lunch the Hon. Mr. Sastri moved the resolution on the Punjab tragedy in an eloquent and moving speech and said that he was one of those who thought that the new Legislative Assembly had no better task than that of making the Government admit the error and make adequate reparation. Mr. Dalvi seconded and the resolution was passed.

The long resolution on Factory Laws and the question of Labour in general was moved by Mr. N. M. Joshi who was seconded by Mr. Mavji Govindji. Mr. Kothari and Mr. Altekar moved for social legislation by the new Councils in regard to the uplifting of the depressed and backward classes; and then followed a number of other resolutions moved from the chair among which was one calling upon the Liberal organisations to contribute £600 annually in addition to one half of the delegation fees of every session towards the Indian Reforms Committee in England.

Office-bearers for next year were then announced. Sir Sivaswami Aiyar and Mr. G. A. Natesan were elected General Secretaries.

On the motion of Mr. Narayan Prasad Asthana the next Conference was invited to meet at Allahabad.

The Hon. Mr. Sastri proposed a vote of thanks to the chair which was supported by Mrs. Besant.

Mr. Chintamani then spoke a few feeling words thanking the organisers of the Federation and brought the proceedings to a close.



THE thirteenth annual session of the All-India Moslem League was held on Dec. 30 at the Congress pandal in Nagpur. Many prominent leaders of the Congress, attended the Session.

Mr. Syed Vakil Ahmed Sahab Risvi, Chairman of the Reception Committee said in his welcome address that they had met under the sinister shades of dark clouds which threatened the very existence of the Moslem faith. Having dilated at some length on the history of the Khilafat question he said that the Government

had done great wrong to the Punjab and the Khilafate and it was time to see that justice was done to the outraged feelings of India by adoption of a policy of Non-Co-operation through which Swarajya must be attained. For the purpose of this Swarajya Hindu-Moslem unity is required to be strengthened by indissoluble bonds of brotherhood. The movement was constitutional in as much as it was non-violent and did not contemplate the overthrow of British Government. Non-Co-operation had been successfully carried in the past and those who had not so far taken practical steps would surely be goaded on by their conscience to serve the country. In future although India could not afford to do without modern appliances of science they should boycott all British goods.

Dr. M. A. Ansari, the President, devoted, as might be expected, the greater part of his address to the Khilafat and Turkish questions. He sketched the history of events during the past three years and recounted the misdeeds of European diplomacy. He pointed out how the treaty of Sevres was a complete breach of the original pledge since the treaty handed over to Greece important portions of the Turkish lands, converted Constantinople into an anti-Turkish territory and also established the domination of the Allied Powers over almost the whole of Turkey. He emphasised that the Khilafat agitation in India was not a wanton agitation, but had been started with the sacred purpose of redeeming the honour of the Mahommedan religion.

He also discussed the Khilafat deputation's work in Europe :

"The English Cabinet and party politicians concerned, namely, all those whose views could influence the decision of the Peace Conference, have turned a deaf ear to the Khilafat delegation and are probably just as ignorant of the gravity of the situation in the East owing to the Allied decision as they might ever care to be.

In France, the delegation met with a more sympathetic reception, though owing to the prevalence of the views of the British Foreign Office, the French sympathies proved equally futile in the end. In Paris, Mr. Mohamed Ali got in touch with the heads of the

Republican Government and with his wonted energy tried his best to imbue the French statesmen and publicists with the sense of their responsibility towards millions of their Muslim fellow-citizens who had fallen in their thousands for the Republican cause.

At Rome, Mr. Mohamed Ali, succeeded in obtaining an audience with his Holiness the Pope, whose candid opinion of Turkish tolerance and broadmindedness was an oasis in the desert of the Christian want of charity, met with all over Europe. His interviews with the Italian Premier and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, were also a great contrast to those of the



British ministers. Here in Italy, Mr. Mohamed Ali found a true appreciation of the injustice done to the Turks and the Mussalmans of the world. The Italian Government was in full sympathy with the views of the Indian Khilafat delegation.

He then dwelt upon the Punjab question and severely criticised the Despatch of the Government of India and finally discussed Mr. Gandhi's scheme of Non Co-operation at considerable length. He concluded :

Let no false hopes or grim fears deflect our determination not merely to save ourselves but to

save humanity from the soul-destroying forces of abused materialism. Let no half-way houses lure us, let no side-shows detain us; for the magnificent minarets of the castle of freedom appear to rise to the sky before us, and if we have the will to continue our journey on the royal road of non-violent Non-Co-operation, there is not the least doubt that we shall, at no distant date, be secure within the eternal battlements of the higher human destiny."

The League resumed its sitting the next morning and passed a number of resolutions including those on Non-Co-operation and the creed of the League. The President moved resolutions welcoming the establishment of the National Muslim University, re-affirming the Cow resolution, exhorting Muslims to continue their efforts for unity with the Hindus and appealing to the latter to refrain from securing cow protection through legislation and expressing appreciation of the Khilafat deputation's work in Europe.

Mr. Mahomed Ali then moved the resolution defining the creed of the League pointing out that the object of the League shall be:

(a) The attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means (b) to protect and advance political, religious and other rights and interests of Indian Mussalmans; (c) to promote friendship and union between Mussalmans and other communities of India; (d) to maintain and promote brotherly relations between the Mussalmans of India and those of other countries throughout the world.

## THE NON-BRAHMIN CONFEDERATION.

THE South Indian Non-Brahmin Confederation opened its fourth annual session on Saturday, the 8th instant, at the pandal erected near the Justice Office, Madras. Rai Sahab M. Venkataratnam Naidu, of Rajahmundry presided. Over 800 delegates from different parts of the Presidency, besides a large number of visitors, attended the session.

Mr P. N. Raman Pillai, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates.

Sir P. Theagaroya Chetty then moved the formal election of the President.

Mr. Venkataratnam Naidu began with a reference to the visit of the Duke of Connaught who "is coming to inaugurate on His Majesty's behalf the new constitutions in India."

The President condemned the political ideals of of the Extremists and Moderates alike but cautiously refrained from defining his own. Of the former he said:—

The political ideals of the Extremists have been purely Utopian in character and have never been put

Mr. Mohamed Ali in moving the Resolution said that the change in the creed was inevitable and as India had not the means to fight the Government, the word "peaceful" was essential.

The resolution was supported by Hakim Ajmal Khan and three others and there was an animated debate.

Hakim Ajmal Khan then moved the Non-Co-operation resolution reaffirming the Calcutta resolution, calling upon members of councils to boycott them; calling upon trustees of educational institutions, and lawyers to boycott Government-controlled schools and courts respectively and also exhorting the people of India to encourage Indian industries by exclusive use of Swadeshi goods. The resolution was strongly supported and was unanimously carried amidst acclamations.

Dr. Kichlew moved a resolution calling upon Indians to increase their efforts for the attainment of Swaraj and thereby save their soldiery from the moral degradation which would result from the utilization of Indian Armies to advance the aggressive policy of British conquests as expressed by the Esher Committee. The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Dr. Ansari in his closing speech dwelt again on the need for further consolidating Hindu—Muslim unity in order to build up the national edifice.

into practice by them. Incessant violent political agitation is the be-all and end-all of their programme. Their political precepts and practices are diametrically opposed to each other.

Then he opened fire on the Moderates in this wise:—

It was but yesterday that the Moderates assured the Government of full co-operation and loudly protested against the agitation of the Nationalists. Yet at the very commencement of that long expected co-operation, they have already begun to agitate for a new declaration of policy. Again the recent publication of the objects of the National Liberal Federation is very instructive. The first clause refers to the attainment of responsible government in the quickest possible time while the fourth clause is a copy of the Congress creed which speaks of a steady reform of the existing system of administration. What combination of inconsistencies? Such then are the Moderates and their ideals.

What then are the ideals of the Non-Brahmin Confederation? It is a delectable mixture.

What is it that has brought it victory? Not tame compromise, not invertebrate kow-towing, not an unmanly surrender of a cause, but truculence, a spirit



of revolt, undaunted non-co-operation with Lord Southborough and his colleagues, a courageous fight fought on the battle ground of St. Stephen's—it is these that have brought triumph.

This, he says, is not Non-Co-operation; it is not Co-operation; neither is it a compromise; but "a spirit of revolt" and all the rest of that paragraph. Comment is superfluous.

The President finally condemned the Non-Co-operation movement and concluded:

A new and glorious era of political activity has dawned upon us. The days of agitation are over. The days of constructive work have come. The old order has changed and yielded place to the new. The Reform Act has been put into force, and the elections are over. Our party has passed through fire and brimstone and has come out victorious. The new Councils have been established, and the Ministry has been formed. There is a good deal of quiet work to be done. Party system has been established. Our Ministers need the full support of our party, and our party needs good organisation and support of the electorates.

The Conference adjourned and met again the next morning when a resolution according a loyal welcome to the Duke was moved from the chair and carried.

The President moved: "This Confederation conveys its thanks to H. E. Lord Willingdon for recognising the correct constitutional principle in forming the first Ministry in this Province." The resolution was unanimously carried though there was considerable opposition to it in the Subjects Committee which Sir Theagaroya Chetty was eventually able to overcome.

Then followed a resolution congratulating the three new Ministers. Mr. M. D. Deva Doss, Bar-at-Law moved:—

This Confederation is strongly of opinion that land is overburdened with taxation at present and that periodical revisions of settlement are calculated to create serious discontent amongst the masses and requests the Government to allow the new Legislative Councils an opportunity of discussing the principles of re-settlement now in progress in the several districts before it is given effect to.

He said that the system of land assessment at present obtaining in this Presidency was affecting the people injuriously. In the interests of the ryot there must be some fixity of land assessment. By Government going in periodically for the revision of the land-tax the ryot felt no incentive to improve the land. Thus taking everything into consideration the land assessment system in the Madras Presidency was not at all satisfactory and must be revised.

When the Conference met in the afternoon Dewan Bahadur Kesava Pillai moved a resolution on Forest Laws, while Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar

moved one on the Non-Brahmins and the Public Services.

It would appear that barring the Confederation's emphasis on sectional grievances, and self gratulation, there was hardly a resolution which could not have found a place in the programme of the Liberals. In fact the Liberals' criticism of the Esher Report and the Punjab tragedy, of the Lovett Report, and the Non-Co-operation movement, of currency and exchange, of the question of labour and the treatment of Indians abroad are all re-echoed in the resolutions of the Non-Brahmin Confederation, sometimes in the very words of the Liberal programme.

Any one who reads the two sets of resolutions will be struck with the complete unanimity in essentials between the two bodies. No wonder that many impartial observers of current politics are wondering wherein the Non-Brahmins differ from the body of the Liberals in so far as constructive work is concerned except perhaps in their vituperation of all who are not of their fold.

### All-India Volunteers' Conference.

The first All-India Volunteers' Conference was held at the Congress Pandal, Nagpur, on the 27th December. Over two thousand volunteers attended the session. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru of Allahabad presided. At the outset Mr. K. A. Desai, the organiser and honorary Secretary, explained the object of holding the Conference. The first resolution regarding the aims and objects of the Conference which was moved by Dr. Paranjpye ran as follows:—

"That an organisation under this name be formed with a view to develop the feeling of brotherhood amongst all Volunteers Corps of India and to bring them under one Constitution and system of training so that they may prove more useful for services at all public functions."

A committee consisting of all the captains of different Volunteer Corps, with power to add to their number, was formed and was asked to circulate the draft constitution before 31st March, 1921, amongst all the bodies affiliated before that date. Dr. Paranjpye, Messrs. Yusuf, Haridass, Nanak Singh, Shanker Lal and K. A. Desai were appointed General Secretaries with powers to affiliate all the bodies. The Head Office for the current year was to be at Bombay.

**T**HE seventh All India Conference of Indian Christians commenced its sittings at the Bishop's College, Calcutta, on the 28th Dec. Dewan Bahadur W. L. Venkataramiah, M.A., B.L., M.B.E. presided.

Prof. S. C. Mukerjee, M.A., B.L., Chairman of the Reception Committee in according welcome to the delegates said that the Conference has already achieved a great deal within the space of six years. It has consolidated Indian Christians and won their recognition as an important factor in the political life of the country.



The political concessions that have been granted to us in the matter of representation on the legislative bodies—though they were very inadequate—were due to the persistent efforts of this Conference during the last six years.

While supporting communal representation he pointed out that the suggestion for a reserved seat in a general constituency was untenable, unsound, and would prove detrimental to the best interests of the community.

The Rt. Rev. the Metropolitan then gave a short address in the course of which he spoke some

words of advice and exhorted them to do their best for the amelioration of their community.

Dewan Bahadur Venkataramiah, the President, said in his presidential address that they met to formulate their considered opinion on Non-Co-operation, the Congress, nationalism and the political confederation of Catholics and Protestants.

The new age promised, continued the President, to usher in what devout men, and women had longed and prayed for, the union of Christians. Here in India it was easier for them to accomplish what their brethren in western lands found so difficult.

Resolutions were passed expressing loyalty to the throne and welcoming H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught. The following resolution was moved by Rai Bahadur A. C. Mukerjee:

"The All-India Conference of Indian Christians expresses its profound regret at the fact that the claims of the community to elect representatives on the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly have been disregarded, etc., etc.

The Rev. Father Anthony Nadar moved:

"That in order that the one, whole and undivided Indian Christian community may better place their services at the feet of her motherland in the beginning of her responsible political life, the Catholics and the Protestants of India combine their activities and co-ordinate their aims, through their respective delegates in an All-India political federation."

There was a heated discussion on this and the other resolution moved by Prof S. C. Mukherjee which ran as follows:—

"This Conference is strongly of opinion that Indian Christians should take part in all healthy political movements of the country and earnestly urges the community to support all that is good for the country and oppose all that may be harmful to the country and the Government of the land."

There was another animated discussion at the next day's sitting of the Conference when a resolution condemning the Non-Co-operation resolution adopted by the Calcutta Congress was moved by Prof. Mukerjee.

"That, while admitting that there are some causes of present discontent in this country, this Conference of Indian Christians strongly condemns the policy of Non-Co-operation as proposed by the Calcutta Congress and is decidedly of opinion that it is impracticable, unwise, unnecessary and suicidal to the best interests of the country."

The Conference also adopted the following motion:

"That in view of the state of flux in the principle and constitution of the Indian National Congress, it is the opinion of this Conference that it should reserve judgment as to the advisability of either refraining from or joining with the National Congress."



## THE INDIAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

**T**HE fourth annual session of the Indian Economic Association was held at Allahabad on Wednesday the 29th Dec. in the University Buildings with Dr. Gilbert Slater in the chair. A number of delegates from different parts of the country attended the conference, notably professors from various colleges and others interested in industrial and economic studies.

Prof. Stanley Jevons, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates said that though the Conference was not large in numbers it was continually growing in membership and financial strength.

It served a useful purpose and would become the rallying point of all economists in the country. They had met there not only to hear and discuss papers on various subjects but had the annual meeting in which they had to think of the future of the Association and build it up in usefulness and strength. They had in their charge a great responsibility for the future progress of the science of economics in India.

Prof Jevons then proposed Dr. Slater to the chair. The Conference passed a resolution of condolence on the untimely death of Prof. Anstey, Principal of the Sydenham College of Commerce, Bombay.

Dr. Slater in the course of his opening address said that the main object of holding the annual conference was that

they who were the teachers and students of Economics might meet together for the reading of papers in economic problems and discussing them, and also for the purpose of impressing on the mind of the general public the value of the study of Economics for the progress of a nation. He emphasized the fact that the subject was of such vast importance that even after a study ranging over a period of nearly 40 years he felt that he was as much a beginner in the subject as after he had read the first little manual that ever came into his hand.

He then referred to the currency policy of the Government of India. Dr. Slater observed :

The Government of India had been dealing with the subject in a manner which appeared to indicate that those who had been responsible for Government's policy were neither students of Economics themselves nor had they been in the habit of consulting economists with regard to their action. In the first place it appeared to him that the principle that the economic science had to teach them was that the exchange, if it was permanent, was all right, no matter if it was high or low. All they wanted was a stable exchange. What was deadly to Indian as

well as to other interests was that the exchange should be violently fluctuating. That was the present exchange position in India.

He pointed out, referring to the sale of Reverse Councils, which the Government tried to justify but which could not be justified, that they "had thrown some five million pounds into the pockets of exchange banks and certain other people quite unnecessarily." He then made a few observations on the general economic situation and concluded :—

They had to tell the people that one necessary factor in the production of wealth was intelligence and knowledge. The other necessary factor was energy, will and initiative. The third factor was mutual help and co-operation between producers and consumers, the capitalist and the labourer, between the different classes and lastly between the different nations. They had to tell the people in the words of Ruskin that 'cooperation is the law of life.' They could not go on with Ruskin when he said 'that competition was the law of death.' In business dealing competition was sure to come in but it should be subordinated to mutual help. Competition that overrode national co-operation, just as the doctrine of non-co-operation, was the law of death.

Mr. Brij Gopal Bhatnagar of the Kayastha Patashala College, Allahabad, then read a paper on "The Ideal System of Land Tenure" in the course of which he pointed out that the introduction and maintenance of the zemindar is highly desirable.

This zemindar should have proprietary interest extending over a contiguous group of four or five villages and this interest should be inheritable but always by one of his heirs. The succeeding heir should have aptitude for agriculture, and should have previously received the education requisite for the duties of zemindar. The zemindari may be transferable, and mortgageable but never leasable. It should never be allowed to be sold in parts. To ensure that the intermediary would be enlightened, conscientious and really effective, it is very essential to make it a legal necessity for him to get a thorough education in the science and the art of agriculture, and other allied subjects, in some school or college provided for that purpose.

There was an interesting debate on this paper in which many members joined.

Prof. H. A. Manson said that the whole problem of land tenure would become less and less difficult as they broke down the barriers of caste and customs. The solution of the problem did not lie in legislation though that might be necessary temporarily.

Prof. Joshi said that the best system of land tenure was that which led to greater production,

That object would hardly be secured by the ideal suggested by Mr. Bhatnagar.

The Chairman observed that it was difficult to frame an ideal system of land tenure as different people had different ideals. Referring to the merits of the zemindari and ryotwari systems Mr. Slater said that whatever might be the advantage of the former, the latter worked much better.

Mr. Bhatnagar in his reply admitted that the zemindar had so far failed in his duty but he hoped that education would remove that deficiency.

In the evening Prof. Shahani read a paper on "Indian Public Finance as affected by the Reforms", which we publish in another page in this issue. Two other papers on "The Imperial and Provincial Revenues under the Reforms" and "Indian States and Indian Sea Customs" were read respectively by Prof. Thompson and Prof. Stanley Jevons.

On the second day the Conference opened with a paper on "A Subsistence Wage" by Prof. H. W. Lyons of the Indore Christian College. Prof. Lyons dealt specially with the economic position of the labouring classes of India and submitted the following conclusions as a result of his enquiry:

"The average daily wage income to provide adequate subsistence for a family of five on a wheat standard must at present be at least Rs. 1-3-0 and on a jowar standard Re. 1. This standard even in the most favourable circumstances is not being reached by the labouring classes of Indore at the present time, although it has been surpassed at various times during the past twenty years. In the same position as the labouring classes are the great majority of servants; and all manual labourers except the skilled craftsmen and the better paid workers of the cotton mills. This subsistence standard cannot at present be fully attained by the labouring classes under existing rates of wages—nor has it been reached since the commencement of the war—as long as there are dependent children or women in the family. To secure it every member must work without loss of time."

Mr. Gulzari Lal Nanda, M.A., LL.B., Research Scholar in Economics read a paper on "Labour Unrest in India" in which he discussed the nature of the unrest, and the causes and remedies which are summarised in the following paragraphs.

It is not high prices but rising prices that matter. They make any increase in the wages quite ineffectual. For this, control of profiteering and rigid economy in every direction are quite essential.

The present earnings of the workmen can be made to go farther than they do by the extension of co-operative credit and the diffusion of education which

teaches the art of living. Welfare work has immense potentialities. Besides supplying the personal touch of which is so much being made in these days, it can serve as a machinery for the collection of valuable statistics and for propaganda work of the right type. Accepting labour organizations as inevitable we ought to direct its progress with a view to avoid the harmful features which it has developed in the West.

Regarding immediate steps to deal with the situation we are facing, we suggest legislation on the lines of the Industrial Disputes Act of Canada. In conclusion, it may be stated that enlightened and powerful public opinion is the only safeguard against unreasonableness on the part of either labour or capitalistic management.

The Conference adjourned for the day and met again the next morning with Dr. Slater in the chair.

Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe, Commerce Minister, Indore, read an interesting paper on 'The Pros and Cons of Currency in Indian States.' 'Stability of Exchange' was the title of another interesting paper read by Mr. C. S. Deole of the Servants of India Society. Prof. Stanley Jevons read a paper on 'Exchange in 1920.'

Mr. B. F. Madon read a paper reviewing the report of the Indian Currency Committee and criticising the policy of the Government.

There was an interesting discussion on the Currency and Exchange question in which many of the members took part.

There was a discussion on the question of Labour legislation in India. Dr. Gilbert Slater delivered a speech reviewing the origin of trade unions in England and the growth of the labour movement.

In the evening the members were entertained at a garden party at the Muir Central College.

Dr. Slater thanked Prof. Jevons and the members of the Reception Committee for the excellent arrangements made for the convenience of the members who had come from various parts of India.

Mr. Knox, on behalf of the Reception Committee, expressed thanks to Dr. Slater and other members of the Association. He said that the future of India was dependent very largely upon the right understanding of economics and the spread of knowledge of the subject would solve many of the problems with which they were faced.

Prof. Jevons spoke and paid a tribute to the services of Dr. Slater.

The Conference then dissolved.



**A**N extraordinary session of the Congress was held at the Colombo Public Hall on the 18th December under the Presidency of Mr. James Peiris to consider the assurances given by Government for rescinding the more obnoxious clauses in the new Reform Scheme. A Committee of the Congress interviewed Mr. Gollan, the Attorney-General and determined to interview the Governor to have those clauses relating to the Governor's power to suppress discussion in the Council and the anomalies connected with the three electorates in the West Province removed. The settlement with the Governor arrived at in that Committee was as follows:—

I. His Excellency expressed his intention of appointing a Committee of the new Council, soon after its first meeting, to consider the standing orders in Schedule III to the Order in Council. In particular His Excellency gave an assurance to the deputation that the matter of the standing orders dealing with the limitation of speeches and of the time allowed for discussion would be left to the decision of the unofficial side of the Council.

II. With respect to the representations made by the deputation as to the residential qualification for candidates, His Excellency stated,—

(a) He gave the assurance that he was prepared to recommend that the Order in Council should be amended so as to allow of candidates residing in any portion of the Western Province being eligible for any of the constituencies included within that Province.

(b) As regards providing for a property qualification as an alternative to residence, he was prepared to submit the views of the deputation, and those of the supporters of residential qualification to the Secretary of State, for his decision.

III. As regards Clause 51 of the Order in Council, His Excellency explained that its provisions were only intended to be applied in times of grave urgency, and that therefore it was improbable that these provisions would be ever brought into operation in Ceylon; but as they were regarded as a slur on the loyalty of the colony, he was prepared to recommend to the Secretary of State the elimination of that clause; provided that it was clearly understood that, if experience in the future proved that it was required, Government would be free to take measures for its re-enactment.

IV. His Excellency stated that as soon as the Amending Order in Council required to give effect to the amendments above referred to was passed the first Reformed Council should be dissolved, and a general election under the new conditions should take place.

The Congress was to consider whether the settlement was satisfactory. Mr. Peiris explained that this settlement was only just a concession and that plenty of work still lies before the Ceylonese, and that this first advance would convince those who stood aloof that the constitutional agitation movement has not failed.

The Hon. Mr. A. Sahapathy moved the principal resolution:

"In view of the assurances of the Government contained in the memorandum of the 6th December, 1920, signed by the Hon. Mr. H. C. Gollan, Attorney-General, and submitted this day to the Congress by the President, this Congress recommends participation in the elections under the Order in Council, unsatisfactory as it is, in order to utilise the opportunity now assured to the Congress of shaping the new constitution and of working for the early realisation of the full Congress demands on reform."

and remarked that this compromise opened the way for attaining most of their objects within a definite period of one year.

Mr. F. R. Senanayake seconded the resolution and said that the one thing which they should do was to enter the Council and fight for more privileges and that the Council was the best place for them to put up a fight.

The motion was opposed by Mr. Victor Corea on the ground that Sec. 52 of the Order which is very objectionable is allowed to stand. This section runs as follows.

(1) If the Governor is of opinion that the passing of any Bill, or any clause of it, or of any amendment to any such Bill, or any resolution or vote, is of paramount importance to the public interest, he may declare such Bill, clause, amendment, resolution or vote to be of paramount importance.

(2) In any such case only the votes of the ex-officio members and nominated official members shall be recorded, and any such Bill, clause, amendment, resolution or vote shall be deemed to have been passed by the Council if a majority of the votes of such ex-officio members and nominated official members are recorded in favour of any such Bill, clause, amendment, resolutions or vote."

The resolution was carried, only eight voting against it.

The second resolution moved by Mr. Jayatileke ran as follows:—

This Congress recommends that the country do return as members of the Legislative Council only those candidates who, while accepting the assurances of the Government contained in the memorandum of 6th December 1920 signed by Hon. Mr. H. C. Gollan, Attorney General pledge themselves:—

1. To support zealously the policy of the Congress as to the constitution and powers of the Legislative and the Executive Council as laid down in the first Resolution (annexture A hereto) of the Ceylon National Congress held in December 1919

Other resolutions supported the cause of the Kandians and Muhammadans to incorporation in the general electorate. Nor was the representation of Indians in Ceylon forgotten—they were recommended to one seat.

# THE REFORMED LEGISLATURES

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[The Reform Act has brought into being a number of newly constituted Councils which, it is hoped, will play an effective part in the future governance of the country. The elections are over; and popular representatives, elected by a wide franchise of varying interests and communities have been duly returned to these Councils. It is to be regretted, however, that other issues have obscured the importance and significance of the great constitutional changes that the Reform Act has introduced in our polity. Though, owing to Mr. Gandhi's scheme of Non-Co-operation, some estimable men have stood aloof from the elections, the new Councils are, on the whole, representative of the diverse interests in the country. The percentage of votes recorded and the competition of candidates who stood for elections show the keen political sense of the community (remembering that it is the first time that such elections on a wide scale have been held.) The persons elected to the different Councils represent the talent and public spirit of the country. With the new Ministers and Members of the Executive Councils there is no doubt that the Reformed Councils will tackle the problems before the country with the vigilance expected of them. Already the list of questions and interpellations covers a wide field and affects many aspects of the country's needs. It is proposed to give in these pages, month by month, a resume of the activities of the various Councils. The Editor of this journal will feel obliged if members communicate to him the resolutions and interpellations or other papers they may submit to the respective bodies. *[Ed. I.R.]*

## THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

Up to the time of writing no less than 28 resolutions besides a large number of questions covering a wide variety of subjects have been so far put on the list of the Council of State.

Sir Dinshaw Wacha asks for a definite policy regarding waterways. He further wants to know the procedure for the discussion of the annual Budget, and the capacity of the people to bear further taxation. He has also two questions on the Esher Report.

Sir Manindra Chanda Nandy wants to know the composition and cost of Sir William Meyer's new office in London. He further asks:—

What effect had been given to the recommendations of the Financial Conference at Brussels, asking for a reduction of expenditure on armaments, compatible with the preservation of national safety?

The Hon'ble Sir M. B. Dadabhai has sent notice of a series of interpellations which he intends to ask at the forthcoming session. He asks:—

Are Government aware that the present system of the examination of accounts for the purposes of assessment to income-tax, involving disclosure of the financial position, leads to considerable irritation among people engaged in business?

He further asks what measures have been taken to secure to Indians in Kenya Colony the ordinary rights of British citizenship.

The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has an important resolution on the subject of the repressive legislation that disfigures our statute book:—

This Council recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council, that a committee should be appointed to examine the repressive laws now on the statute book,

and to report whether all or any of them should be repealed, and in cases where the repeal is not desirable whether the laws in question should be amended, and if so, how.

Sirdar Jogendra Singh has about 80 questions on various subjects. One of his resolutions recommends the release of all Martial Law prisoners and other prisoners detained in India without trial, failing which they should be given an opportunity to prove their innocence in regular courts.

He also moves two resolutions urging amendments to the leave rules to the Provincial Services and also to the rules contained in the Civil Service Regulations.

Mr. Annamalai Chettiyar moves three resolutions:—

Firstly, that in the matter of the Kannambadi Dam, Mysore, full scope be given for the views of landholders of Tanjore and Trichinopoly before a final decision be arrived at; secondly, that export of finer rice be allowed for consumption by Indians abroad; and thirdly, adding a new rule under section 43 (1) of Act VII of 1918 so that in ascertaining taxable income under the Income Tax Act allowance be made for any bad debts.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. Maricair asks:—

(1) Whether it was proposed to call upon the Local Governments to introduce a land revenue legislation shortly in accordance with the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. (2) Whether orders have been issued to all Local Governments to follow Bengal's lead by releasing all detenus and political prisoners, in view of the inauguration of the Reforms.

And then follow others suggesting increase of Mahomedans in high offices in Government employ.



The Resolutions and interpellations in the list of the Legislative Assembly are mainly of general political interest, some of which relate to the Punjab, to Currency problems and the Esher Committee Report. Up till now there are in all 48 resolutions and 141 questions on the list.

Sir P. Sivaswami Aiyar has forwarded a batch of important resolutions and interpellations bearing mainly on the Esher Report. He urges that such reports should in future be published first in India and that adequate opportunity should be given to Indian Legislatures to express their opinion before decision is taken by the Government. Other resolutions urge that the army in India should be free from the domination or interference of the War Office in England; that it should not be employed outside the external frontiers of India except under special circumstances; that the military contribution of India should be determined on a fair and equitable basis; that Indian subjects should be freely admitted to all arms of His Majesty's Forces; that invidious distinctions in the Indian Army should immediately be abolished; and that a proper committee should be appointed to examine the methods of recruitment to the commissioned ranks, etc.

Dr. H. S. Gour has so far eight resolutions standing in his name. He wants the Government to enquire into the whole question of exchange and currency with a view to placing the same on a self-adjusting basis and so as to promote the best interests of commerce and industries.

Dr. Gour wants the Government to take steps to arrest the intense public feeling aroused by the conduct of certain officials in the introduction and enforcement of Martial Law in the Punjab as also to appoint a mixed committee to enquire into the cases of the recent Fiji riots including the methods employed in suppressing them.

Mr. Venkatapathi Raju, has sent six resolutions one of which urges the reduction of Indian military expenditure to 20 per cent of the normal public revenue of the State.

He recommends to the Government to take steps

to rescind the order imposing fines on towns in the Punjab on account of the disturbances therein and to remit fines already levied.

He also wants steps to be taken either along with the census operations or separately to find out the economic condition of agriculturists in the several Provinces.

Another resolution aims at amending the Court Fees Act, while yet another recommends direct representation to the League of Nations.

Mr. Anna Babaji Latthe has two bills and one resolution. The bills relate to amending the laws

touching the emoluments claimable by Watandar Hindu Priests, to adoption by unchaste Shudra widows, and to the inheritances of illegitimate children among Shudras.

His resolution requests His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council to appoint a representative committee:—

(1) to enquire into and report on the question of reconstituting the various Provinces of British India on more natural lines, so that greater administrative efficiency and a more rapid growth of provincial autonomous institutions in each one of them may be secured, and (2) to investigate and report on the changes incidental to such a reconstitution of the Provinces.

Mr. Harchandra Vishindas, has given notice that he will move a resolution urging the Assembly to recommend to His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council to make a definite declaration that the time has arrived for the complete severance of Judicial from Executive functions.

Mr. Raghubir Sinha asks:—

Do Government realise the seriousness of the political situation in India and have the Government gone into the root of the causes that have brought about this discontent? If so, what immediate remedies have the Government thought of in order to remove the evil?

Mr. Manmohan Das Ramjee will ask among other questions:—

When are the Government going to appoint a Trade Commissioner for East Africa? Will they at the time of making this appointment bear in mind the recommendation of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and other bodies that the Trade Commissioner should be an Indian?

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas has a string of resolutions relating to the general policy of the Government and the Punjab tragedy. The first part of his resolution runs:—

This assembly recommends to His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council to declare the firm resolve of the Government of India to maintain that the connection of India with the British Empire is based on the idea of equal partnership and perfect racial equality, Indian lives and Indian honour being held as sacred as British lives and honour.

Mir Asad Ali Khan asks for a Muslim Judge for the Madras High Court in place of Sir Abdur Rahim.

Rao Bahadur T. Rangachari asks:—

Whether the Government of India consulted the Local Governments of Madras, Bombay and Bengal, while increasing the strength of their respective Executive Councils, and, if so, asks the Government to lay on the table the correspondence on the subject.

Rao Bahadur Jadunath Majumdar's questions relate to military expenditure since the Mutiny

A notification of the Government of India was issued on December 17, bringing into operation on that date in the Presidency of Madras and in the Central Provinces, the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1919, and directing that the same shall be brought into force in the Province of Behar and Orissa on December 29, and in the rest of India on January 3. The various Provincial Governments have accordingly been installed. So far as it is known we give the personnel for each province.

#### THE EXECUTIVE COUNCILS.

*Bengal.*—The Earl of Ronaldshay (Governor); Sir Henry Wheeler (first assumed office April, 1917); the Maharaja of Burdwan (first assumed office January, 1919); Mr. J. H. Kerr; Sir Abdur Rahim.

*Madras.*—Lord Willingdon (Governor); Sir L. Davidson (first assumed office February, 1919); Mr. C. G. Todhunter, (first assumed office July, 1919); Khan Bahadur M. Habibulla Sahib; Mr. K. Srinivasa Aiyangar.

*Bombay.*—Sir George Lloyd (Governor); Sir George Curtis; Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola; Mr. N. H. W. Hayward; Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.

*Behar and Orissa.*—Lord Sinha (Governor); Sir Walter Maude (first assumed office April, 1917); Mr. H. LeMesurier (first assumed office November, 1917); Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahai (first assumed office July, 1919).

*United Provinces.*—Sir Harcourt Butler (Governor); Mr. L. C. Porter; Raja Sir Muhammad Khan of Mahmudabad.

*The Punjab.*—Sir Edward Maclagan (Governor); Herbert Maynard; Sirdar Bahadur Sundar Singh Majithia.

*Central Provinces.*—Sir Frank Sly (Governor); Mr. B. B. Standen; Mr. Moreshwar Vishwanath Joshi.

*Assam.*—(Governor) Sir William Marris; Mr. W. J. Reid; Mr. Abdul Majid.

#### THE NEW MINISTERS.

*Bengal.*—Local Self Government and Public Health—Hon'ble Sir Surendranath Banerjee.

Education—Hon'ble Mr. Provash Chandra Mitter.

Agricultural and Public Works—Hon'ble Nawab Ali Chowdhury.

*Bombay.*—Local Self-Government—Hon'ble Shaik Gulam Hussain Hyatullah.

Education—Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye.  
Excise, Forest, etc.—Hon'ble Mr. C. V. Mehta.

*Madras.*—Local Self-Government—Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur P. Ramarayaningar.

Education—Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur A. S. Reddiar.

Development—Hon'ble Rao Bahadur K. Venkata Reddi Naidu.

*United Provinces.*—Local Self-Government, Public Health and Primary Education—Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narayan.

Education, Industries, Public Works, Secondary and Higher Education, Co-operative Societies and Excise—Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

*Behar.*—The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Syed Muhammad Fakhr-ud-din and the Hon'ble Mr. Madhu Sudan Das, C.I.E.

*Punjab.*—The Hon'ble Mr. Fuzli Hussain and the Hon'ble Lala Harikissen Lal.

*Central Provinces.*—The Hon'ble Mr. S. M. Chitnavis and the Hon'ble Mr. Kelkar.

*Assam*—Rai Ghanasyam Barua Bahadur and Khan Bahadur Syed Abdul Majid.

#### Financial Audit

The rules framed by the Secretary of State in Council under the Government of India Act regarding the Indian Audit Department, are published in the Gazette of India dated 29th Jan. The new Department is defined as that part of the Department, heretofore known as the Indian Finance Department, which is exclusively employed otherwise than in an excluded audit department, on the compilation and audit of accounts of Government transactions in India, and it includes all specialised audit departments, which have not been declared to be excluded. An excluded audit department is defined as a department in charge of the accounts and audit of the transactions of the military department in India and any other specialised audit department, which the Secretary of State in Council, may declare to be excluded.

The Auditor-General's pay is fixed at Rs. 5,000 a month and on vacating his office he will not be eligible to hold another post under the Crown in India. He is to be the final audit authority in India and will be responsible for the efficiency of the audit of expenditure in India to the extent authorised by the rules by the administrative head of the Indian Audit Department.



## MADRAS.

H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught formally inaugurated the Madras Legislative Council, on 12th January, with an impressive ceremony in the presence of H. E. Lord Willingdon, the President of Council (Sir P. Rajagopala Chariar) Ministers and Members of the Council.

The Duke addressing the Council urged the members to sink differences and magnify the points of concord and, thus united, use their political machinery to raise the depressed and destroy antagonisms between creeds, castes and hostile interests.

The resolutions on the agenda of the forthcoming session of the Madras Council relate to a variety of subjects of public interest. Mr. T. A. Ramalinga Chetty moves for the reduction of the number of the Executive Councillors and of the salary of the Ministers, a subject on which there are resolutions in almost all Provincial Councils. Mr. C. V. Venkatarama Iyengar proposes to bring a resolution recommending reduction of establishment charges in all departments, notably the pay of higher officers including the Ministers. Dr. U. Rama Rao, Mr. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, and other members have put in questions relating to medical and other general matters.

## BOMBAY

The Bombay Legislative Council will be formally opened by H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught on the 23rd February. The Budget will be presented by Government on the opening day and it is proposed that twelve days will be devoted to the debate on the same.

The remuneration of Ministers in the position of Under-Secretaries or Parliamentary assistants to Ministers, the formation of a Standing Committee to act as a link between the Executive and the Council, the election of a Deputy President and a panel of four Chairmen to act in the absence of the President and Deputy President, are among matters which will form the subject of discussion during the first session of the Legislative Council.

## CENTRAL PROVINCES

Sir G. M. Chitnavis has been appointed President of the C. P. Council. At the first meeting on January 27, Mr. Dravid proposes to move that the salaries of Ministers should not exceed Rs. 2,000 per mensem. Rao Saheb Mahajani recommends that a mixed committee be appointed to consider the proportion of Provincial revenues and expenditure on Berar for the next ten years.

## PUNJAB

The Reformed Legislative Council was inaugurated on the 8th instant. Sir Edward Maclagan, speaking of the Reforms said to the Princes of the Province :—

In every country the advent of democratic ideas has involved a change in the attitude of the nobility towards public affairs; but in countries like England, where the upper classes have a long standing influence and a great and noble history, they have by adapting themselves to modern conditions been able to preserve an immense amount of their influence in public matters, and there is no reason why the aristocracy of India should not, by adopting the same means, secure the same results.

## BENGAL

Among the resolutions on the agenda of the forthcoming session of the Bengal Legislative Council which is to be presided over by Sir Shamsul Huda is one by Mr. Surendranath Mullick :—

That this Council desires to place on record the fact that the procedure adopted by His Excellency the Governor in appointing Ministers without consulting elected members of the Council is not in accordance with the spirit of the Joint Select Committee Report.

Rai Bahadur Debendra Chunder Ghose has notified that he will move for a reduction in the salaries of the Ministers.

## BEHAR AND ORISSA

His Excellency Lord Sinha took charge as Governor of the Province on Dec. 29. It is notified that the first session of the Council will commence on Feb. 7. The Budget will be presented on the 15th. Mr. Ganesh Das has given notice that he will move a resolution recommending that the salary of Ministers be fixed at Rs. 12,000 a year.

## THE UNITED PROVINCES

Rai Sahab Pandit Sitha Ram will move a resolution in the United Provinces Legislative Council that the annual salary of the Executive Councillors and Ministers should not exceed Rs. 42,000 each while Mr. Radhakanta Malaviya would reduce that of the ministers to Rs. 3,000 a month.

## ASSAM

As in almost all the Provincial Councils the reduction of Ministers' salary forms the subject of a resolution in the Assam Council. Babu Krishnasundar Dam has given notice of a resolution proposing the maximum salary for a Minister at Rs. 1,500 a month.

### The Probable Future of Mankind

In the course of an article on "The Probable Future of Mankind" in the *Review of Reviews*, Mr. H. G. Wells writes that at the present day unless some unity of purpose among the different nations of the world is achieved, the history of humanity would ultimately culminate in some sort of disaster. The League of Nations as it is constituted at present does not possess the necessary amount of representative sanction and armed authority to form the basis of a world wide political organ. There could be no world control without a merge of sovereignty, without an effective control of all the military organisations and resources of the world. "A world control would mean a Government that must have a navy that will supersede the British navy, artillery that will supersede the French artillery, air force superseding all existing air forces and so forth. For many flags there must be one flag."

"But the common man is supposed to be so blindly and incurably set upon his British navy or his French army... that it is held to be impossible to supersede these beloved and adored forces." Upon a deeper analysis, however, the common man is not so narrow in his world-outlook judging from the enthusiastic response to President Wilson's advocacy of the League of Nations' idea in its first phase in 1918, before the weakening off and disillusionment of the Versailles Conference. There was scarcely any country from China to Peru whose inhabitants did not respond for a "world law transcending and moving counter to all contemporary diplomacies. It displayed a possibility of the simultaneous operation of the same general ideas throughout the world quite beyond previous experience."

It is upon this universal spirit that we have to seize and create a new world state. This task of bringing about a "consolidated world state which is necessary to prevent the decline and decay of mankind is not primarily one for the diplomatists lawyers and politicians at all. It is an educational one." The generality of mankind are scarcely more capable of apprehending and consciously serving the human future than a van full of well-fed rabbits would be of grasping the fact that their van was running smoothly and steadily down an inclined plane into the sea. It is only as a result of considerable educational effort and against considerable resistance that our minds are brought to a broader view. In every age the ordinary man has submitted to the teachings of

men of exceptional vision. In this lies our hope. Man hates to be put right, and yet also he wants to be right.

Therefore, the idea of a world commonwealth has to be established as the criterion of political institutions, and also as the criterion of general conduct in hundreds of millions of brains. It has to dominate education everywhere in the world. When that is achieved, then the world state will be achieved and it can be achieved in no other way.

### The Rights of Youth

In the December issue of the *English Review* Mr. Edward Cecil makes an eloquent plea for conceding to youth an important share in the task of post-war reconstruction and refutes the charges of immorality levelled against the youth of England.

It was the young men who won the war. And the young women who were munition workers were the young women who really mattered at home. As regards the charge of immorality against them what is really happening is that they are quite determined to destroy the old fashioned immorality which was decked out in the clothes of respectability.

The forces of reaction in England were fighting against what they consider to be the dangerous tendencies of youth. But youth has a right to be heard. The one place where the spirit of youth is required is in the House of Commons. That House is now represented entirely by middle aged and elderly men, most of whom are full of old fashioned, middle-class notions.

Another place where the youth is profoundly needed is in the Government Department which is suffering from the incompetence and the ponderous stupidity of middle age. In the industry and commerce of the country also the spirit of youth, of enterprise and of hope is quite essential. In all spheres of activity, political, social and moral youth has a right to be heard. The tendency to depreciate and villify youth should be steadfastly snubbed and discouraged. There has been enough of suffering from the futilities of the middle aged mind and the stupidity of the middle class stand point. The country wants the clear vision of youth to purify our outlook upon the future in order that we may better ourselves.



### A Prehistoric Survey of India

Mr. Hayavadana Rao's paper on the above subject read before the Bangalore Mythic Society and published in that Society's *Journal* for January, 1921, contains the following interesting observations. Where historic ethnology begins and where prehistoric ethnology ends, it is hardly possible to say, as the one imperceptibly merges into the other. Historic ethnology deals with researches into the origin, the filiation, the customs and institutions of wild and barbarian tribes still existing, or of whom we have authentic records. Prehistoric ethnology deals with researches into the early condition of man founded not on positive testimony, but on deductions. In India the study of the existing animistic tribes has thrown us back into times far anterior to them.

The material for south Indian ethnology, especially primitive, consists of remains closely connected with old sites both residential and sepulchral; and the prehistoric population was made up probably of racial types which have got superimposed one over the other. Mr. R. Bruce-Foote was one of the pioneers in the field. Such work would enable us to find evidence as to the quarter from which the Dravidian tribes entered the peninsula, to settle whether they were in a neolithic state of culture when they came into the land and whether the early iron people appear to be the direct descendants of the Neolithic tribes and the ancestors of the present inhabitants. The evidence thus far gathered supports the latter inference. It also indicates that South India had at least three stages of culture (1) Paleolithic (2) Neolithic and (3) Iron when the art of iron-smelting must have been known. Brecks' collection of the Nilgiri Antiquities is the gem of the prehistoric series. The prehistoric remains hitherto unearthed have yielded few human skeletons to judge aright the type to which the primitive paleolithic man belonged. If the Dravidian of to-day is the descendant of the neolithic man of prehistoric times, there is at least the possibility that the pre-Dravidians represented by the jungle and hill-tribes are the descendants of the paleolithic man.

The writer puts in a plea for the separation of all work connected with prehistoric archaeology, for creating a suitable agency for the work and for the appointment of a trained prehistoric archaeologist for co-ordinating the work done all over the country and presenting the results once a year.

### The Conception of Evolution

Prof. Alban G. Widgery, writing in *The Indian Philosophical Review* (vol III. No. 3, traces the growth of the idea of evolution from the times of Anaximander and Herakleitos. The latter's theory of flux is a broad generalisation insisting on the essential character of change and movement in reality. Empedocles has been called the father of the Evolution Idea. Aristotle's views are not definitely evolutionary; but he shows the influence of the environment upon the determination of the forms of animals. During the middle ages the conception of evolution was not prominent. Leibnitz suggested the reality of evolution in two ways. Kant hinted out a type of nebular hypothesis; while Herder concerned himself more specially with the development of human culture and civilisation in relation with the advance of human life in interaction with the environment. Goethe maintained the idea of metamorphosis in the region of Botany. Hegel made the idea of evolution one of general application; but there is no room for any real evolution in his philosophy. Herbert Spencer endeavoured to apply the concept of evolution universally. He did not apply the biological conception of evolution to non-biological elements of reality. Bergson makes the idea of evolution fundamental at least in the sense that reality is, in essence dynamic and that the forms have been attained by a process or a number of processes. Among biologists, Buffon held that structural changes are introduced by environment and passed on by heredity. He anticipates ideas such as pan-genesis, the struggle for existence and natural selection. Van Baer, Lamarck and others made clear the fact of changes of species and that higher organisms also become modified by habit and inheritance. The biological conception of evolution, of the rise of a new species by a process of change from earlier species, owes its establishment to Darwin and Wallace. Their essential doctrine is that of variation and natural selection. The Mutation Theory, according to which the variations are not gradual is due to De Vries; while Romanes and Lloyd Morgan carried the idea of subjective selection to the position it merits. Kropotkin emphasised that the survival and evolution of species depends not only on struggle, but also on co-operation between individuals. Haeckel established the reality of the parallel between Ontogeny and Phylogeny. Wiesman enunciated the germ-plasm theory according to which the ova and the spermatozoa pass on from parent to offspring.

## Village Education in India

Sir. M. Sadler, reviewing in the pages of *The International Review of Missions* (Oct. 1920) the book on Village Education in India issued by the Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, says that the Commissioners never regard education as being a thing apart from social traditions and economic surroundings of the families and communities from which the pupils are drawn. They regard that the towns have an interest in village schools and that in this matter adults have to be thought of as much as children.

The Commissioners point out that more than half a million of villages in British India are unsupplied by a primary school; that in each village the average number of children of school-going age is under 60; that one teacher schools are at best ineffective; that the type of teacher required for the Indian villages is very difficult to define and to provide; that, even if little beyond a living wage be paid to the teachers, the cost will be enormous; that the economic level of many of the villages is so low that the inhabitant can contribute little or nothing to the support of the schools, and that the wealthy landowner and even the well-to-do farmer has not yet discovered that it is to his interest to educate the agricultural labourer, still less the outcaste. Among the common folk there is very little public opinion in favour of education. Moreover, social and religious differences divide the village community, with the result that some groups of children will not attend school along with others living in the same place.

Again the Commissioners point to the forces working for the wide extension of primary education.

The first force is social compassion. India suffers through ignorance. The needs of the poor touch the conscience of the social reformer. He sees them in poverty, in humiliating dependence, and at every disadvantage in their struggles against debt, oppression and unhealthy surroundings. Education, though not in itself a complete remedy, is an indispensable part of the reforms which can alleviate these social evils. Therefore the social reformers are earnest advocates of primary education for the people. They are few in number but their influence spreads widely.

The leading idea in the educational recommendations of the Commission is that the village school should be organized as a centre for the activities which promote spiritual, physical and economic welfare of the community. Its teaching should be permeated by the spirit of social service. Its course of study should bear upon the practical and social responsibilities of life. Its methods of teaching should encourage initiative, resourcefulness and co-operation. Its teachers should respond to the need for social leadership and community service, and be so trained and remunerated as to have the ability and the position thus

to bear a responsible and influential part in village life. The school is not for little children only. 'A large part of the education needed in the impoverished villages of India is adult education.' And a chief purpose of this adult education should be to encourage 'hesitant' personalities to throw themselves in some positive way into the social regeneration of their little world.

The Commissioners recommend a new type of rural middle school which should be vocational and also a boarding school. In each class of it there would be vocational as well as academic training. There should be effective supervisors over these and in each province there should be a thorough inquiry into the social and economic conditions of the depressed classes with a view to their better education.

## The Indian Temperament

Mr. C. Jinarajadasa, writing to *Britain and India*, (which has now ceased publication) (Oct—Dec, 20) says that the Indian can complete in everything with the rest of the world but has always got the specific characteristics of his nation. His temperament likes to proceed from a great idea, it tries to grasp a principle first and then to apply the principle in practice. The Indian tries to see clearly into everything before he plunges into action. The Indian in other words is *subjective*, seeing things not only from the standpoint of the outer world of action, but also from inner and fundamental principles. Thus he explains:—

You have the Indian temperament, whether it is in the Hindu or the Mussulman, well described in a mystical phrase that is so typical of the highest forms of Indian mysticism. It is the prayer in the heart of every Hindu: "From the Unreal lead me to the Real, from Darkness lead me to Light, from Death lead me to Immortality." All life is seen as unreal; all the activities in which one is immersed are not real; they are only, as it were, shadows behind which is the great Reality. All your highest mysticism has the same message in slightly different form; it is the fundamental doctrine of obedience to God's will, the attitude of the soul which tries to see in what happens the working out of a great will to which man must subordinate himself. "Thy Will Be Done" is a belief in the inmost nature of the individual, because he feels that in the world around we have the manifestation in forms of activity of that which is planned in the inner world. While in the West we try to get to Reality from the outer world by excelling in the outer, the Indian tries to gain Reality by acquiring from within, by becoming master in his inner world.



### The Exploiters of the East

Mr. Ikbāl Ali Shah, writing in *East and West* (October, 1920) stresses upon great Britain's knack of sympathising with and respecting the prejudices of Asian peoples and traditions and explains that the success of England is to be attributed to her constancy in walking in that line. The German political absorption of Turkey was the first step in the propagation of Prussian designs in the East and the first challenge to Great Britain.

But all German plans of self-aggrandizement in Asia failed—failed without the slightest hope of redemption. Two things have been mainly responsible. They are discourteous and unfaithful to their promises. Uncertainty in manner is generally the very first point which prejudices the mind of an eastern. It is felt that a German is always wrapped up in the superiority of race and tradition, and this inordinate pride must estrange all friends—if they ever had any in the real sense of the word—and alienate the sympathies of those who worked for the German cause. Moreover they are adepts in breaking most solemn promises.

Mr. Har Dayal, a strong pro German Indian Nationalist has given out in a book some observations on his experiences in Germany.

His views may be quoted for the reason that he is one of the most remarkable cases, when a vigorous anti-British preacher was converted to strong pro-British policy. The *Indian Sociologist* stated in 1907 that Har Dayal had resigned his scholarship for the reason that "he holds that no Indian who really loves his country ought to compromise his principles and barter his rectitude of conduct for any favour whatever at the hands of the alien oppressive rulers of India." He was also one of those misguided Eastern young men who had gone to Berlin to shape, as it were, the destinies of their countries. The net result is his complete reversal of policy. Speaking of Germans he says that they considered self their God, and had no regard for anybody where their interests or even their whims were concerned. That trait in the German character he contended, destroyed and made all co-operation impossible between fellow-workers.

The British way, we are told, is radically different.

The British way of dealing with the Asian peoples has been radically different. When Lord Salisbury was once requested to address the University men going to take responsible appointments in the East, he delivered a long speech and concluded by saying, "I cannot repeat too often that the tradition and sentiments of those over whom you are going to rule, must in every case be respected, and respected fully even at the risk of drawing the wrath of your superior officers. The Government will forgive your omissions but Asia will not." This has been the guiding principle of British policy ever since, and the East is wise in choosing England as a friend.

### Sense of Right and Wrong

Mr. S. A. Dave writes an interesting criticism on the sense of right and wrong with regard to public property in the *Indian Education* (October). In his opinion, Education in India has not yet been able to develop in the minds of students a keen sense of right and wrong with regard to things public. The blame for this may be laid at the door of the masters themselves. "A glance at the masters' attendance roll will convince a visitor how carelessly it is kept; it will often be difficult to find a neat and tidy page. Boys take the cue from their masters, and then the responsibility of raising the tone of a school devolves upon those in authority." In public institutions other than schools the indifference of even educated persons towards public properties such as libraries and gardens is equally noticeable. "Newspapers and magazines are often taken away, pictures torn out, and books not returned in due time. Not infrequently, newspapers are detained by the honorary secretary (who is surely an educated man) for his private perusal, though according to the rules they ought to be lying on the reading tables. If this is the result of our educational system, then modern education does not prepare us for good citizenship." He therefore considers it highly necessary that people should learn to discriminate between things public and private, and develop in our children a real sense of right and wrong with regard to the former no less than to the latter.

### INDIA IN PERIODICALS

INDIA THROUGH INDIAN EYES. ["The Round Table," Dec. 1920.]

THE MARWADI—THE SALVATION OF INDIA. By D.A. Shah, Esq., M. A. ["The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly," Dec. 1920.]

SOME ASPECTS OF CO-OPERATION IN BENGAL. ["The Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Journal," November. 1920.]

FACTORY LEGISLATION IN INDIA, A HISTORICAL REVIEW. By Rajani Kanta Das, M. A., M. S., Ph. D., ["The Modern Review," January. 1921.]

THE VALUE OF THE INDIAN TEMPERAMENT TO CIVILIZATION. By C. Jinarajadasa M. A. ["Britain and India," Dec. 1920.]

REFORM IN INDIA. By Bernard Houghton I.C.S. Rd. ["Political Science Quarterly," Dec. 1920.]

EGYPT & INDIA: A Comparison. By Stanley Rice, I.C.S. Rd. ["The Asiatic Review, Jan. 1921.]

# QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

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## The Congress and Non-Co-Operation

THE following is the full text of the Non-Co-operation Resolution passed by the Nagpur Congress :—

Whereas in the opinion of the Congress the existing Government of India has forfeited the confidence of the country and whereas the people of India are now determined to establish Swaraj and whereas all methods adopted by the people of India prior to the last special session of the Indian National Congress have failed to secure due recognition of their rights and liberties and the redress of their many and grievous wrongs more specially in reference to the Khilafat and the Punjab, now this Congress while reaffirming the resolution on non-violent Non-co-operation passed at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta declares that the entire or any part or parts of the scheme of non-violent Non-co-operation with the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government at one end and the refusal to pay taxes at the other should be put in force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress or the All-India Congress Committee and that in the meanwhile to prepare the country for it effective steps should continue to be taken in that behalf. (A) by calling upon the parents and guardians of school children (and not the children themselves) under the age of 16 years to make greater efforts for the purpose of withdrawing them from such schools as are owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government and concurrently to provide for their training in National Schools or by such other means as may be within their power in the absence of such schools, (B) by calling upon students of the age of 16 and over to withdraw without delay, irrespective of consequences, from institutions owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government if they feel that it is against their conscience to continue in institutions which are dominated by a system of Government which the nation has solemnly resolved to bring to an end and advising such students either to devote themselves to some special service in connection with the Non-Co-operation movement or to continue their education in National Institutions; (C) by calling upon the trustees, managers and teachers of Government affiliated or aided schools and municipalities and local boards to help to nationalise them (D) by calling upon lawyers to make greater effort to suspend their practice and to devote their attention to national service including boycott of law-courts by litigants and fellow lawyers and the settlement of disputes by private arbitration (E) in order to make India economically independent and self-contained by calling upon merchants and traders to carry out a gradual boycott of foreign trade relations to encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving and in that behalf by having a scheme of economic boycott planned and formulated by a committee of experts to be nominated by the All-India Congress Committee (F) And generally in as much as self-sacrifice is essential to the success of Non-co-operation by calling upon every section and every man and woman in the country to make the utmost possible contribution of self-sacrifice to the national movement (G) by organising committees in each village or

group of villages with a provincial central organisation in the principal cities of each province for the purpose of accelerating the progress of Non-Co-operation; (H) by organising a band of national workers for a service to be called the Indian National Service by taking effective steps to raise a national fund to be called the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund for the purpose of financing the foregoing National Service and the Non-Co-operation movement in general. This Congress congratulates the nation upon the progress made so far in working the programme of Non-Co-operation specially with regard to the boycott of Councils by the voters and claims in the circumstances in which they have been brought into existence that the new Councils do not represent the country and trusts that those who have allowed themselves to be elected in spite of the deliberate abstention from the polls of an overwhelming majority of their constituents will see their way to resign their seats in the councils and that if they retain their seats in spite of the declared wish of their respective constituencies in direct negation of the principle of democracy, the electors will studiously refrain from asking for any political service from such councillors. This Congress recognises the growing friendliness between the police and the soldiers and the people and hopes that the former will refuse to subordinate their creed and country to the fulfilment of orders of their officers and by courteous and considerate behaviour towards the people will remove the reproach hitherto levelled against them that they are devoid of any regard for the feelings and sentiments of their own people and this Congress appeals to all people in Government employment pending the call of the nation for the resignation of their service to help the national cause by importing greater kindness and stricter honesty in their dealings with their people and fearlessly and openly to attend all popular gatherings whilst refraining from taking any active part therein and more specially by openly rendering financial assistance to the national movements. This Congress desires to lay special emphasis on non-violence being the integral part of the Non-Co-operation resolution and invites the attention of the people to the fact that non-violence in word and deed is as essential between people themselves as in respect of the Government and this Congress is of opinion that the spirit of violence is not only contrary to the growth of a true spirit of democracy but actually retards the enforcement (if necessary) of the other stages of Non-Co-operation. Finally in order that the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs may be redressed and Swarajya established within one year this Congress urges upon all bodies whether affiliated to the Congress or otherwise to devote their exclusive attention to the promotion of Non-violence and Non-Co-operation with the Government and in as much as the movement of Non-Co-operation can only succeed by a complete co-operation amongst the people themselves. This Congress calls upon the public associations to advance Hindu Muslim unity and the Hindu delegates of this Congress call upon the leading Hindus to settle all disputes between Brahmins and non-Brahmins wherever they may be existing and to make special efforts to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability and respectfully urges the religious heads to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed classes."



# UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

## Mr. Andrews on Swaraj for India

Mr. C. F. Andrews addressed, at Calcutta on January 19, a largely attended meeting of students on "Swaraj or Independence." In the course of his address, he said :

Independence, complete and perfect independence for India, is a religious principle with me, because I am a Christian. I want to say quite clearly, that after ten long years of painful experience, travelling over the world and seeing the British Empire in all its different parts, in Fiji, in Australia, in New Zealand, in East Africa, in the Malay Peninsula, in Ceylon and in India itself, I have come at last to the conclusion that Indians cannot stay any longer in the British Empire as it stands to-day. That Empire does not allow Indians as settlers over nearly four-fifths of its land surface, that is to say, in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and in South Africa; in nearly every other part it only tolerates Indians as subordinates, as the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. After over a hundred years there is hardly a single country in the Empire (outside England itself) where Indians have full and equal citizen rights, together with a free right of entry. I have seen, with my own eyes, in every land, in almost every part of the world, the religion of white race supremacy taught and practised. The arrogant creed makes it absolutely impossible for Indians to remain in such an Imperial system with any self-respect. I believe that this religion of white race supremacy is the greatest of all curses to the human race to-day. I hate and detest this white supremacy religion. It is fundamentally opposed to my own Christian religion, the religion in which Christ himself declared the brotherhood of all men in the common Fatherhood of God.

I wish to say, with deep conviction, that independence can never be won if the fifty to seventy millions of the untouchables, the depressed classes of India, remain still in a subjection which amounts almost to serfdom. No one can be truly free himself, no one is worthy of freedom who enslaves others. To take my own case; I am an Englishman, but England cannot be England to me, the England of Hampden and Cromwell and Milton, Burke and Shelley, of Byron and Clarkson and Wilberforce, and Bright and Gladstone. England cannot be England to me, the England I love, if she keeps others in subjection in her colonies and in her Empire, and if she holds down Ireland and India by military force and repression; and India cannot be India to you, the India of your dreams, and

of my dreams also, if I may speak as one of her children, if she keeps others in subjection. That is why the Mahatmaji himself has said that India cannot win Swaraj in one year or in a hundred years, if she does not give Swaraj to her own depressed classes, her own untouchables.

One more point, and I have done. India will not be the India of my dearest religious hopes of earth, if, in her great struggle for freedom, she turns from the path of love and peace to follow the paths of bloodshed and violence, the pathway of the sword. It has been the one dream that has sustained me all through these hideous years of blood-stained war and no less blood-stained peace, that India may show to Europe the true and living picture of Christ, that India may show to the world, in acts and deeds of love, what the Sermon on the Mount really means. There is no room for Christ in Europe to-day. Come O Lord Christ, come to India, take Thy stand in Asia, in the country of Buddha, of Sebak, Jabir, Nanak, Nimai, Nitai, Sook and Sanak. If this great and pure movement, which Mahatma Gandhi has begun, only ends in violence and bloodshed, if this great and pure movement does not win by suffering, and suffering alone, then my dearest religious hopes will have been in vain. But I still believe, with all my heart and soul, that the people of India are gentle and humane, as no other people. I still believe that the religious message of Buddha, Kabir and Nanak, and a thousand others, the message of my own Master, Christ, is still a living message in India to-day. Keep to that pure and true independence, the independence of the soul that wins by suffering and by loving service.

## Non-Co-operation.

St. Nihal Singh, in the course of a recent speech at Bristol made the following remarks :

If the British had not been so absorbed as they have been in critical domestic affairs, I am sure the situation in India, daily growing graver, would have attracted their attention.

... To ignore the "Non-Co operation" movement, or to jeer at it, will not, however, diminish its potentiality for harm. Even if it be supposed for the sake of argument, that it will fail in its immediate objective . . . it is still likely to inject into the Indian relationship with the Empire a feeling of bitterness which may poison the whole system. If it does nothing else, it may turn India's face from peaceful progression within the Empire towards independence, the way to which cannot but lie through bloodshed.

## The Chief of Aundh on Indian Art

In proposing a vote of thanks to H. E. Sir George Lloyd, Governor of Bombay, at the distribution of prizes to the students of the Sir J. J. School of Art, Bombay, Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., Chief of Aundh, spoke as follows :—

The European School of Painting and the Indian School of Painting have originally started from quite a different standpoint. Therefore, sometimes it is unavoidable that the rise of one should be the fall of other. It will be seen that such a thing has taken place, in this respect in India. The School of Art has been imparting knowledge of European Drawing and Painting to Indian Students, for the last so many years; but it is necessary to add that this education has made the students of this institution quite incapable of knowing the beauty of the Indian Art. Under the present circumstances, one cannot expect an art student to know the spirit of the Indian Art and the ways of developing it. I know that the intention of the first promoters of European Art in India was very noble; but nobody can deny that the rise of this new school has completely ruined our own old Art. In the European School as well as here a student first learns to draw and paint from model. The imitation of nature is the chief thing, at least in the beginning of the course. When once this habit grows firm on the student he becomes quite useless for the Indian Art afterwards. The reason of it is that in Indian Art, the artist has not to copy nature exactly, but has to see and try to show the spiritual duplicate that is behind nature. This does not require only the copy of the material but wants a very high imagination. European Art is Realistic while the Indian Art is Idealistic.

## H. H. The Maharaja of Patiala.

His Honour the Lieut. Governor of the Punjab visited Patiala recently. At the State Banquet held in his honour His Highness the Maharaja, in proposing the health of Sir Edward and Lady Maclagan, in the course of his speech, said :—

"Your Honour, the crying need of the hour is reform and I believe the Ruling Princes of India are alive to what is happening in the present-day world. But their anxiety to do something for their people in the way of granting concessions and privileges is not evidently the outcome of a desire to pander to popular clamour. Their only

motive can be their solicitude for their subjects whom, in the fulness of time, they would wish to associate in the administration as helpers and co-operators. One might plausibly urge that the Ruling Princes of India have nothing to do with the problems with which British India is confronted; but while I agree with it on general principle, I am sure there are matters of no mean importance common to the interests both of British India and the Indian States in which such an argument would be un-warranted. We cannot forget that India as a whole forms an integral part of the great British Empire, and since the connection of one part with the others is organic, it is not possible to isolate problems of joint interest and their effects. Far be it from me to say anything in disparagement of the legitimate aspirations either of the peoples of British India or of our own, but it is my firm belief that the only policy which is likely to bear fruit and show solid results is that of steady evolution.

## The Maharaja on Non-Co-operation

Speaking on the occasion of Sir Edward Maclagan's visit to Nabha, His Highness said :

He was afraid that the doctrine of Non-Co-operation, like its predecessor, Satyagraha, would prove a suicidal and dangerous weapon in the hands of the masses. The boycott of educational institutions, for instance, led the students to flout the authority of even their parents, thus leading to the most injurious disintegration of the hoary family system underlying the Indian civilisation. To say that Non-Co-operation did not end in violence was just to say that fire did not emit smoke. We hoped that the Sikhs would remain loyal, and would stand by their religious teachings which were hardly reconcilable to the cult of Non-Co-operation. Liberty did not mean licence, and stable Government, and not anarchy, was the true condition of progress.

## The Gaekwar's English Home

"Lord Tennyson's Aldworth Estate, near Haslemere, has been sold by Mr. J. S. Castiglione to the Gaekwar of Baroda," says the *Mail*, "for £ 30,000. The mansion was built by the late Lord Tennyson about 50 years ago from the designs of his friend, Mr. James Knowles, and commands lovely views. The library remains as when used by the Poet Laureate, and it is understood that the Gaekwar of Baroda intends to preserve it."



# INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

## The Natal Indian Congress

The revised draft constitution of the Natal Indian Congress embrace twenty-eight sections. The headquarters of the Congress are at Durban, and the fundamental objects aimed at are the following :—

(a) To improve the relations between the Indians and Europeans and promote friendliness between those resident in the Province and the Union.

(b) To guard, protect and improve by all legitimate means the status of Indians resident in the Province, and take all necessary actions against all or any encroachments upon existing rights.

(c) To educate Indians, especially those born in the Colony, in Indian history, and generally to take an interest in the education of Indians, and, if necessary, to make provision for their education.

(d) To co-operate as far as possible with Indian and other Committees and organisations in matters affecting the interests of Indians resident in the Union and elsewhere.

(e) And generally to do every thing that would tend to place the community on a better footing socially, intellectually and politically.

The clauses governing the Natal Indian Congress are 28 in number. Most of them are of a routine character.

## Indians in Fiji

The following letter has been received from the Hon'ble Mr. C. A. Innes, Secretary to the Government of India, by Mr. J. B. Petit for the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, regarding recent disturbances in Fiji:—

With reference to the suggestion of your Association that a detailed enquiry into the causes and incidents of the recent riots in Fiji is desirable, I am to point out that the Government of India have no power to order any such enquiry and that, as they have already stated in their reply to the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri to which you refer, they do not feel justified in asking the Secretary of State to move the Colonial Office to institute such an enquiry. The Fiji Government have already appointed a Commission under the Chairmanship of the Chief Justice to enquire into prices and wages, and in so far as the causes of the riots were economic those causes are already being investigated. It would be an extreme and unusual measure for the Government of India to move for a Commission of enquiry into the

measures adopted by a Government over whom they have no control, in order to deal with what was obviously a very difficult situation. The Government of India have again read the despatches with the utmost care. The position was evidently serious. They are unable to find ever *prima facie* reason for supposing that it was handled with undue severity, and they can discover no reasons which would justify them in adopting the very unusual course which your Association recommends. The Government of India will always be jealous of the rights of Indians, who are overseas as British subjects and will vigorously protest when they find those rights assailed, but the Government of India are not in a position to order or institute enquiries into matters affecting Indians in countries not under their jurisdiction to which Indians have voluntarily gone. To attempt any such cause as suggested will be to lay the Government of India open to rebuff and ridicule.

If a Commission is sent to Fiji as recommended by the recent Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council to enquire into the conditions of Indian labour in the Island, the Government of India will, of course endeavour to make it as representative as possible of public opinion in India, but it will be no part of the Commission's duty to make any enquiries into the recent riots.

As regards paragraph 5 of the Association's letter, I am to say that Mr. Manilal is now understood to be in New Zealand and the Government of India do not propose to press that he should now be formally brought to trial by the Fiji Government.

## S. Africa Indians

About 150 Indians, comprising men, women and children, who were repatriated from South Africa under the voluntary repatriation scheme, arrived in Bombay in the second week of this month. They belong chiefly to the Madras Presidency. To a press representative they said that they had one and all been provided with free passages and expected to get free railway fares inland. Those who had money with them were allowed to take £50 in gold, the balance to be paid over here. People with no money were given £2 each.

## The British Congress Committee

In accordance with instructions from Bombay, the British Committee of the Indian National Congress is being dissolved, and the last issue of their organ, *India*, appeared on January 14th after an existence of 30 years.

# INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION <sup>61</sup>

## Cottage Industry.

Mr. C. F. Strickland, I. C. S., has an article in the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* on Weavers' Co-operative Societies in the Punjab. According to him—

"The most widely distributed cottage industry of the Punjab is that of weaving and the weavers' community was recorded as numbering 6,35,000 at the last census; a certain number of Chamars and low caste Hindus and Sikhs also practise the art. They are being rapidly ousted from the town markets by the product of large mills, and competition is following every new means of transport into the remoter villages. The peasant, whose father was content with home-spun cloth, now buys English or Indian long-cloth at war prices. In order to hold his own, the cottage worker must secure the advantages of (1) wholesale buying of raw materials, (2) a standardized product which can be advertised and can be sold without inspection, (3) and improved methods of production. These should be the object of co-operative societies for weavers."

After four years of work with the weavers' societies of the Punjab, Mr. Strickland feels that

"It would be unwise to prophesy whether the cottage worker can finally be saved or not. If it be possible it is possible through co-operation alone. No doubt can be entertained by the observer of social conditions that the cottage-worker is, on the whole, happier, healthier, and a better citizen, than the manual labourer of a factory. The effort to save him may fail, but it is worth making."

## Soap Factories in India.

There are now in India over a hundred soap factories, large and small, says a contemporary. Though the indigenous manufacture has increased appreciably, India imports soaps of foreign manufacture to the tune of nearly three-quarters of a million sterling. The bulk of this foreign trade is with the United Kingdom, but the United States also export toilet soap to this country in greater quantities every year. Of the factories in this country, the Madras Presidency has probably the largest number. The western coast of this province is famous for the production of coconut-oil and fish-oil obtained from sardines which teem in the neighbouring seas. Calicut occupies an ideal place for a great soap-making centre. Being a sea-port, it can obtain cheap sea-freight to Bombay which may be used

as a distributing centre for the rest of India. There are now firms in this country which manufacture caustic-soda, glycerine, and other chemicals used in soap-making. If such concerns are opened in the Madras Presidency, wherever suitable raw material is found, this province may in time have a flourishing soap industry, with markets not only in India but in East Africa, Persia, Mesopotamia and other neighbouring countries. The city of Calcutta has a few good machine-worked factories. In Bombay too there are over a dozen soap factories, but people are not aware of their existence as they rarely seek the limelight of newspaper advertisement. Other places having soap factories are Cawnpore, Delhi, Agra, Ahmedabad and Lucknow.

## Russo-British Trade.

The reason why Great Britain is anxious to resume trade with Russia is twofold :—

1. For putting Russia once again among the civilised nations of the world.

2. Hostile action by Russia should cease, and all other trading nations to have a great country like Russia to interchange commodities with.

The following are the conditions we laid down, to quote a recent speech by Sir Robert Horne :—

1. All prisoners were to be repatriated. That to a large extent had been carried out.

2. Hostile action by Russia should cease and propaganda inimical to our interests should be put an end to.

3. Debts arising out of goods supplied and services rendered to Russia, which had not been paid for, should be recognised by the Soviet Government as debts for which they would be liable to pay.

4. The granting of commercial facilities on both sides.

## The Weavers' Conference.

The first session of the All India Weavers' Conference was held at Nagpur on December 25th with Mr. Gandhi in the chair. In the course of his address Mr. Gandhi laid stress on the importance of producing more cloth in the interests of the poor. He said he was not keen on mill-made cloth but cloth hand-spun and hand woven. He deprecated the craze for mill-manufactured cloth and urged in conclusion that without being Swadeshi in the true sense of the word Indians would find it difficult to win Swaraj. The proceedings, it need hardly be added, were mostly in Hindi.



# AGRICULTURAL SECTION

## The All-India Cow Conference

The fourth session of the All India Cow Conference was held at the Congress pandal in Nagpur on the 27th December under the presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai. There was a large attendance. Mr. B. V. Buti, Chairman of the Reception Committee, urged in the course of his address that for the proper protection of cows export of cattle should be prohibited and pasture should be made available at cheap rates, while the supply of beef to the British Army should be stopped at once. He pointed out:—

.In a country like India, 78 per cent. of whose population subsists on agriculture alone, the battle of life has assumed an aspect it never had assumed before. The only instrument that we have for cultivating our land is cattle. Looking at the phenomenal poverty of the agriculturists on the one hand and their palpable illiteracy on the other, the prospect before the country is really very dismal. The ruin of the agriculturists is our ruin, and unless we of the upper and enlightened classes concert measures calculated to improve the lot of the farmer, it will ere long be impossible to avert that ruin.

Lala Lajpat Rai, in the course of his presidential address, emphasised that the cow question would not be satisfactorily solved as long as Swaraj was not secured. India's economic condition was getting worse, he said, as the result of cow slaughter which was due to the policy of the Government with regard to revenues, forests and tariffs. After pointing out that the economic prosperity of India depended upon cattle and that they were necessary for the health of the country, the President discussed the subject from the point of view of infant mortality and deplored the reduction in size and areas of pasture grounds and of fodder crops, due to the anxiety of foreigners to use India as a supplier of raw materials required for mills in Europe and America. The President then advocated some restrictions on export of foodstuffs in place of those raw materials now cultivated mainly for export purposes. He also urged the necessity of abolishing cow slaughter on a general scale, both out of respect for the religious sentiments of the large bulk of the people of the country as well as on economic considerations. He referred to the Mahommadan attitude against the slaughter of cows even on religious occasions, praised the *firman* of the Nizam of Hyderabad on the last occasion and the general attitude of Mahommadan community throughout India.

## Food for Animals

Among the foods used for cattle in times of food shortage, mention has never been made of banana stalks although banana leaves are sometimes given to animals. A Note issued by the Department of Agriculture, Bombay, says that experiments made in certain villages of the Belgaum district show that banana leaves, stalks, and roots may be fed to stock without any unfavourable effect on their health. It is recommended to cut the stalks right down to the ground, or even 6 inches below the surface of the soil, remove all the dry leaves and sheathes, and feed the remaining part to animals. Experiments made on the Dharwar and Gokak farms show that one of the daily meals of draught oxen may consist solely of banana stalks.

## Agricultural Bank in Japan

An official telegram from Tokio says that the Bank of Agriculture and Industry has suspended payment. This has depressed the industrial circle and the continued fall in the prices of silver, cotton and rice. The stagnation in sugar trade, the dullness of export market and the unfavourable information from foreign markets have caused apprehension in the money market.—

## Cattle Breeding

The recent number of the *Journal* of the Mysore Agricultural and Experimental Union has some illuminating things to say on the subject of cattle breeding. It suggests that closer attention should be paid to the quality of the bulls which serve the cows of a herd. "Bulls of a high grade," says the writer, "might be kept at all veterinary hospitals and dispensaries at taluk headquarters, and a small service fee charged to pay for maintenance. In considering suggestions, such as the above, let me point out the fact that the number of bulls required runs into thousands, so that some means must be provided to maintain and increase the supply of high class sires."

## Agricultural Machinery

As a result of the internal emigration from rural to urban areas taking place on a large scale in India, the cost of farm labour is rising and will continue to rise. If agriculture is to be profitable, Indian landholders are advised to use labour saving machinery on a large scale and take to intensive methods of cultivation all round, involving manuring and irrigation on an extensive scale.

# NOTICES OF BOOKS

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SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.

**Mr. Balfour.** By E. T. Raymond. W. Collins, Sons & Co., Limited, London.

Mr. Raymond's witty and vivacious sketches of contemporary celebrities have prepared the public for a more exhaustive volume like the one before us. But "Uncensored Celebrities" is too exacting an ideal to be followed by any work of the same author without creating a sense of disappointment. Mr. Balfour's personality has puzzled a generation and Mr. Raymond could hardly have pitched upon a more fitting theme for the full play of his critical faculties and his pungent style. Mr. Balfour has played a leading role in British history and this incisive, though in the main admiring, biography is a tribute to his brilliant capabilities. Mr. Raymond quotes a happy saying of the French critic to whom Mr. Balfour appeared "a living problem, a personality of irreconcilable elements all compact—a Tory preaching democracy, a sceptic with a mania for theology, a politician profoundly disgusted with politics. . . . If he were sincere what a riddle ! And if he were not, what a comedy !"

**Women of India.** By Otto Rothfeld, F.R.G.S., I.C.S., D. B. Taraporavala Sons & Co., Bombay.

The women of India have always been a mystery and an enigma to the average European who seldom understands the subtle gradations of caste and has no facilities for probing into the sanctity of the home. These are formidable handicaps for a faithful attempt at portraying the life of Indian women. Mr. Rothfeld has brought to the study of this fascinating subject a genuine interest and understanding of the varying types of Indian women and the lofty ideals that inspire them. His warm appreciation of their culture and his chivalrous sensibilities save him from the too common spirit of condescension and superiority which mar the judgments of most western interpreters of things Oriental.

There are in this sumptuously got up book critical and descriptive sketches of the life, ideals, customs and features of distinctive types of women in varying grades of Indian society. It is not necessary to agree with all Mr. Rothfeld's criticisms of the Hindu ideal of marriage and the problems connected with child marriage and widow remarriage and all the complicated questions of social polity to appreciate his evident candour, his sympathetic understanding and his genuine admiration for the ideals of Indian womanhood. "The women of India" he truly says, "have raised an ideal, lofty and selfless, for all to behold ; and they have come near its

attainment. And with all its self-sacrifice and abnegation, with all its unremitting service, the ideal is not inhuman, nor is it alien to the nature of womankind. It allows for weakness, it is kind to faults, and it aspires frankly to the joys of a fulfilment deserved by service. Not without reason did the writers of old India liken the perfect woman of their land to a lotus, in that she "is tender as a flower."

The book is handsomely got up with forty-eight full page pictures of different types of women drawn by Mr. M. V. Dhurandhar, the well known artist. We congratulate Messrs. Taraporevala on the excellence of this charming production.

**Modern Saints and Seers.** By Jean Finot, William Rider & Son Limited, London.

This interesting book which has been translated from the French by Evan Marrett contains a vivid account of the many strange religious sects that have arisen in that land of strange happenings—Russia, during the last half a century. Some of the chapters are devoted to a critical study of Mormonism, Christian Science, Theosophy and other modern religious movements in the west. Every one interested in the vital religious problems of the day will find much food for reflection in this collection of spiritual experiences.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

INDIA IN 1919. By L. F. Rushbrook Williams. Government Press, Calcutta.

PHILLIPS' SENIOR SCHOOL ATLAS. By George Philip. George Philip & Son Ltd., London.

AN INTRODUCTION TO HINDU ART. By Benoy Kumar Sarkar. B. W. Huebner, New York, U. S. A.

THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA. By H. M. Morris. Sherratt and Hughes, Manchester, England.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE WORLD WAR (Vols. I and II.) By James Wilford Garner. Longmans Green & Co., Ltd., London.

CONSTRUCTIVE NON-CO-OPERATION. By Asaf Ali. Ganesh & Co., Madras.

EVERY BODY'S WORLD. By Sherwood Eddy, The Religious Tract Co.

MORALE. The Supreme Standard of Life and conduct by G. Stanley Hall. Appleton and Co.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND MONARCHY. By Hilaire Belloc. George Allen and Unwin Ltd.



# DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Dec. 15. Mr. N. Priestley, formerly Agent of the S. I. Ry. in India and the present Managing Director of the Home Board, died in London.
- Dec. 16. News is received of an accident to Sir Asutosh Mukerjee.
- Dec. 17. In Madras the newly appointed Members of Executive Councils and Ministers under the Government of India Act entered upon their duties formally this afternoon.
- Dec. 18. Lord Sinha was entertained by the Indian Association of Calcutta to-day.
- Dec. 19. Ex King Constantine arrived in Athens and proceeded to the Royal palace.
- Dec. 20. Debate on the Irish Home Rule Bill in the House of Lords.
- Dec. 21. The General Election in Spain has resulted in a victory for the present Conservative Government.
- Dec. 22. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru assumed charge of the office of the Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.
- Dec. 23. The news is announced from Dublin of organised armed attacks on the forces of the the Crown.
- Dec. 24. Exchanges of mutual greetings between H. E. the Viceroy and His Majesty the King-Emperor on account of the Durbar Day.
- Dec. 25. H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught arrived to-day at Port Said.
- Dec. 26. The Indian National Congress commenced its sittings at Nagpur to-day under the presidency of Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Chariar of Salem.
- Dec. 27. The fourth session of the All-India Medical Conference was held to-day at Nagpur under the presidency of Dr. Maharaja Kishna Kapur of Lahore.
- Dec. 28. The third annual session of the National Liberal Federation of India was held to-day at Madras at the Gokhale Hall under the presidency of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.
- Dec. 29. Sir Benjamin and Lady Robertson and Sir Valentine Chirol arrived at Bombay. Lord Sinha Governor-Designate of Behar and Orissa assumed his high office to-day.
- Dec. 30. Twenty-two nations signed a protocol for the establishment of an International Court of Justice.
- Dec. 31. The French Chamber has passed a vote meeting the expenses for Syria.
- The agreement between the Fiume Delegates, and General Ferrario was signed to-day.
- Jan. 1. Babu Surendranath Banerjea has been knighted.
- Jan. 2. Col. and Mrs. Wedgwood arrived at Madras to-day.  
The news is announced of the death of the Ex-German Chancellor Von-Bethman Hollweg.
- Jan. 3. Rustomji Jivanji a Parsi of Surat has offered Rs. 40,000 to Mr. Gandhi for opening 4 National schools in Guzerat.
- Jan. 4. Mr. Justice Odgers who has been appointed as a puisne judge in the place of Sir Abdur Rahim assumed charge of his duties to-day.  
The Marian Congress met at Madras to-day. Over 15,000 delegates were present.
- Jan. 5. The British Mission to Afghanistan reached Jalalabad this evening.
- Jan. 6. The Amir's treasury officers and other civil officials received Sir Henry Dobbs and the members of the Kabul Mission on the Frontier and honoured them with salutes.
- Jan. 7. Sir Lancelot Sanderson unveiled the marble bust of the late Sir Chunder Madhub Ghose a Judge of the Calcutta High Court for 22 years this evening.  
Hon. Mr. Muddiman took charge of the Presidentship of the Council of State to-day.
- Jan. 8. Mr. Ben Spoor and Mr. Holford Knight sailed for England to-day.
- Jan. 9. The news is announced that His Majesty the King-Emperor has appointed Lord Reading as Viceroy and Governor General of India.
- Jan. 10. H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught arrived at Madras at 4 p.m.
- Jan. 11. B. D. Shukul of Shihora an ex Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council died to-day.
- Jan. 12. H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught opened the new Legislative Council at Madras to-day.  
The news is announced that the French Cabinet has resigned.
- Jan. 13. The Conference of Anglo-Indian and Domiciled Europeans was held at Nagpur to-day.
- Jan. 14. News is announced of the death of Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, Judicial Commissioner of the Central Provinces.
- Jan. 15. Commander and Lady Wedgwood left Madras to-day for Colombo *enroute* to England.

## Literary

### Philip Gibbs on Journalism

Sir Philip Gibbs, lecturing to the journalistic students at London University, said:—

"We are at a period in the world's history when I think the journalist has the great responsibility and wonderful opportunity. At the present time journalism, in my opinion, has sunk very low. I think it has sunk lower than it has ever been since the old bad days long ago. The public have a great suspicion of journalism and journalists, which is largely justified. The justification is that when the public takes up its newspaper it expects to get the truth, and it does not get it.

"Before the war there was a certain assurance that the presentation of facts by the special correspondent and by the ordinary reporters presented a fair and accurate picture of the world. Since then the public feel—and I think they, to some extent, are justified—that their paper does not give them an accurate presentation, that the facts themselves have been doctored, and that each paper selects those items of news to suit its policy, and by that they create a false image of life.

"This is disastrous to the reputation and honour of newspapers, and it is especially disastrous at the present time, when there are about us in the world the tremors of a new life that is beginning. To you taking up the career of journalism falls the responsibility, the privilege, and the honour of bringing back journalism to its old reputation by insisting on that faithful presentation of truth which is the vocation of the true special correspondent.

### Are Newspapers True

Mr. Gilbert Chesterton lecturing recently on "Nonsense and the Newspapers" observed:

Journalism as a picture of life must be consistently and systematically false, because it is always a description of exceptional things. I have come to the conclusion that the police news is the most honest and probably the most elevating part of the newspaper. To begin with, it is generally true, and it is human and interesting. If a man murders another man that raises a large problem which is genuine, and the story is in itself a vital story, from which something may really be learnt about the nature of the human soul.

The legends of mankind are much more true than the newspapers. Wherever the whole conception turns upon the minute record of certain entirely exceptional things we are in danger of getting our whole view of human life distorted. I think that is a thing to be said to newspaper readers, newspapers writers, and newspaper editors. Whether it is worth saying at all to newspaper proprietors I do not know, and in the case of the millionaires who control the great monopolies of the Press I think we must wait for a revolution to guillotine them.

### The "Leader"

Consequent on his appointment as Minister, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani has resigned the editorship of the "Leader" and will be succeeded by Mr. Mehta Krishna Ram, who had been Mr. Chintamani's colleague on the staff of the paper for several years.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE HOME AND THE WORLD. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Macmillan & Co., London.  
 STIRRING DEEDS IN THE GREAT WAR. By Charles E. Pearce, Stanley Paul & Co., London.  
 SPEARS OF DELIVERANCE. By Eric Reid, Stanley Paul & Co., London.  
 THE LURE OF THE PAST. By Anthony Armstrong, Stanley Paul & Co., London.  
 STATEMENTS SHOWING PROGRESS OF THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA 1918-19. Government Printing, Calcutta.  
 REPORT OF THE TELEGRAPH COMMITTEE 1920. Government Printing, Delhi.  
 REPORT OF THE POSTAL COMMITTEE, 1920. Govt. Press, Simla.  
 JOSIAH C. WEDGWOOD: THE MAN AND HIS WORK. With a Foreword by Lajpat Rai, S. Ganesan and Co., Triplicane, Madras.  
 THE CHARM OF KASHMIR. By V. C. Scott O'Connor, Longmans Green & Co., London.  
 LITERARY PORTRAITS. By Charles Whibley, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's St., London.  
 THE EASTERN QUESTION AND ITS SOLUTION. By Morris Jashow, J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia & London.  
 THE GROWTH OF RESPONSIBILITY IN SIKHISM. By Teja Singh, M.A., Khalsa College, Amritsar.  
 GEOGRAPHY OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. C. L. S. I., Madras.  
 THE WORLD'S ETERNAL RELIGION. Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, Benares.  
 TAMIL FIFTH BOOK. By S. G. Daniel, B.A., C. L. S. I.



## Educational

### Mahomedan Educational Conference

The Mahomedan Educational Conference which met at Amroati on December 27 was presided over by the Hon. Mr. Haroon Jaffer, Member of the Council of State.

The President delivered a lengthy address dealing with various aspects of Muslim Education. He began with a reference to the excitement caused by the Khilafat question and discussed the soundness of the Non-Co-operation movement with reference to the education of young men.

Religious considerations apart, however, every sane man can realise that a sudden boycott of educational institutions will spell disaster for the nation and specially for the Moslems.

As a member of the third or Moderate Party, I shall refrain from giving any lead to the people as long as the joint decision of the "Ulema" is not before me, and in the meantime I shall not forego any of the rights which I can legitimately demand from my Government, specially those concerning education which I consider to be the most important of all. To forego this right would, in my opinion, almost amount to treason against our community, and hence in view of the poverty of our people, I would most emphatically condemn all attempts to reject educational aid as a part of the Non-Co-operation movement.

Regarding the Non-Co-operation agitation to refuse Government's financial aid he pointed out that "the whole sum spent on education amounts to nearly 12 crores per annum and it would hardly be wise on our part to refuse to take advantage of it."

The Conference met again in the evening after prayers. Resolutions expressing sorrow at the death of Maulana Mahmudal Hussain and Mumtas Hussain of Lucknow and Moulvi Abdul Abad of Delhi were passed. Further resolutions welcoming the inauguration of the Aligarh Moslem University, the appointment of Raja of Mahmudabad as the first Vice-Chancellor and thanking him for his munificent donation of a lakh of rupees towards the University funds for professional and industrial studies were also passed.

Mr. Ghulam Mohiuddin Sufi, M.A. Principal of the Amroati Normal School delivered an interesting speech on the Progress of Education among the Muslims of Berar." Several donations towards scholarships from the President and Honorary Secretary of the Conference were announced before the session came to a close.

### College Students' Conference

The first session of the All-India Conference of College Students was held at Nagpur, on December, 25. Mr. R. J. Gokhale, Chairman of the Reception Committee struck the note of warning when he said in his address "that the genesis of the present situation is to be found in the political rather than in the educational problem."

Lala Lajpat Rai in his address pointed out the need for national culture at the present time.



Touching the question of Non-Co-operation, Lala Lajpat Rai said, his views on this subject were by this time fully known to the law college students who came to him for advice. He had been saying, leave at once. To medical, engineering and technical college students his lead was not to leave the present courses and to the arts college students he said, consider the situation well and be under no delusion that any body was going to make provision for their education in national colleges thereafter although attempts in that direction were being made.

The Conference passed among other resolutions one approving the boycott of colleges unconditionally.

## Legal

### The Lawyers' Conference

The first All-India Law Conference met on Sunday, the 26th Dec. at the Town Hall, Nagpur, with Sir Ashutosh Choudhuri, late Judge of the Calcutta High Court in the chair. About 200 delegates from different parts of India, representing various sections of the legal profession, were present.

Dr. H. S. Gour, the Chairman of the Reception



Committee, opened the proceedings with a short speech which touched on almost all the grievances of the lawyer class. He said:

We and our profession are attacked both from within and without. Persons who ought to know better denounce our profession as fomenting strife and ourselves as human parasites, but nothing can be further from the truth. The profession of law has from the days of Demosthenes and Cicero attracted some of the best intellects of the age and the service it has

rendered and is universally rendering to humanity by protecting both person and property can never be overestimated. Indeed, the extent of civilization and culture of a nation may be gauged by its lawyers. People in their primitive culture need no lawyers, but as they advance their minds expand and grow more subtle and refined, their laws multiply and their administration follows a definite course which calls for the presence of lawyers, and if the laws of a nation are enshrined in the temple of justice, lawyers are its high priests and have been so regarded and revered by the two great nations of antiquity. Even at the present day the influence of lawyers is felt in every stratum of society, and while it is true that lawyers are perhaps the most abused of all mortals it is equally true that lawyers are probably the most indispensable adjunct of their happiness. Take, for example, our own country. I dread to think what would become of it if all our lawyers were to go on strike. All our public bodies would be denuded of their best men. Many of them would have to suspend their work while the courts of justice would unconsciously deteriorate into so many courts of injustice, multiplying crime and unsettling the very foundation of society.

He then urged the establishment of a Privy Council in India and the complete overhauling of the composition of Indian High Courts which were now more a nuisance than a vehicle for the administration of justice. He also criticised the policy of the Government appointing as judges senile members of the Civil Service who were not fit to do executive work. This was a bad bargain he said, and the Civil Service element must be swept off.

The President endorsed Dr. Gour's observations and suggested the house going into committee, as the assembly was not representative, and informally discussing all subjects pertaining to the welfare of the profession and reporting in the first week of March so that the real Conference might be held in Easter next year. The suggestion was carried and a working committee was appointed with Dr. Gour as Secretary.

### Mr. C. R. Das

Mr. C. R. Das has announced that he has given up his practice for ever. If he is not released from the Dunning case and the Munitions Board case which he had already accepted, the entire sum he would get would be devoted to the work of the nation.



## Medical

### Medical Conference

The fourth session of the All-India Medical Conference was held on the 27th December at Nagpur with Dr. Maharaj Krishna Kapur of Lahore in the chair. Over 190 delegates representing all grades of the medical profession attended. Dr. G. R. Tam, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates laid stress on the necessity for the reorganisation of medical services in India and improvement in medical education. He dwelt upon the want of medical relief in the interior of the country and expressed a hope that sanitation and medical relief as Transferred Subjects would receive in future better attention and a bold policy would be followed. The President then condemned the Government policy of subordinating the independent medical profession to the interests of the medical service and urged for better facilities for higher training, research and post-graduate course. He emphasised the necessity of separating the military from civil medical services and also the establishment of private hospitals and medical institutions. Professorial appointments should be thrown open to all qualified men and should not be the monopoly of Indian Medical Service as hitherto. He further declared that they must stand on their own legs for growth of indigenous medical profession and the starting of hospitals and colleges.

### Medical work in Bengal

A Resolution on medical work in Bengal for the last three years says that to meet the demand for a greater number of qualified medical practitioners, the sanctioned strength of students at the Calcutta Medical School and the Dacca School has been raised to five hundred and four hundred respectively. A medical school at Bardwan, with accommodation for two hundred students, will be opened next year, and the question of establishing medical schools at other centres is under consideration.

### New Health Board

It is understood that the Secretary of State's sanction has been received to proposals of the Government of India for the creation of an Imperial Board of Health to be known as the Central Health Board for strengthening the central organisation for combating epidemic diseases in India.

### Facts About the Fasts

The amazing facts said to have been made lately by prisoners in Ireland have astonished those who have been educated to believe that even a few days, abstention from food is to be regarded as a fatal accident. The curiosity has been intensified by the record achievement of MacSwinney, the late Lord Mayor of Cork who succumbed after a valiant stand of 74 days. Fasting, however, has its uses, we are told. Thus a doctor writes to the 'Chemist and Druggist' as follows:—

In fasting the changes by which energy is liberated in the body continue, but since no source of energy from without is introduced the animal's own tissues are used up. The rate of wasting depends on the amount of energy required for muscular work and for heat production. An individual kept warm and at rest will endure a fast for a much longer period than one exposed to cold and obliged to carry on strenuous labour.

In the course of a fast the tissues do not waste equally. The more essential live on the less essential parts of the body. The heart, for example, hardly loses weight at all in the longest fast. It must live on the ordinary muscles of the limbs, which in their turn live on the stored fat of the body, which, of course, varies greatly in different individuals. At the commencement of a fast the rate of wasting is rapid, but after a time it diminishes, and the animal lives more economically, especially as regards proteins.

Fasting is the essential feature of the accepted modern treatment of diabetes. All food, with the exception of water, tea, coffee, or bouillon, is withheld for seven to ten days, until the urine is free from sugar. It is also the feature of a method of treating obesity extensively and successfully practised in India by a retired doctor of the R.A.M.C.

In fasting hunger tends to disappear in thirty-six to forty-eight hours. The duration of a fast depends on whether water is withheld or not. If water is withheld death ensues in ten days, but if water is taken the "hunger striker" may remain alive for a very long period. The writers on medical jurisprudence are very cautious in their statements, but apparently authentic cases are recorded where persons have done without every food except water for two calendar months. The older and fatter the individual the better he stands starvation, and, given a healthy elderly man, with plenty of fat to start with, he will stand three weeks' fast with impunity.

## Science

### Protection For X-Ray Workers

A discovery which promises to put an end to the dangers to life and limb risked by those engaged in working with X-Rays has been lately communicated to the French Academy of Sciences. It is the result of experiments by Dr. Pesch, who himself is one of the sufferers from X-Rays. He found that deep red rays are antagonistic to the ultra-violet rays which produce irritation and burning of the skin, and certain exudations. Thus, by the simultaneous application of both rays he hopes to secure immunity for X-Ray workers. He has already proved that erythema (redness of the skin) can be prevented by the application of red rays.

### Air Nitrogen

For the first time in history Britain has now acquired at home an insurance against the starvation of her soil. The insurance has been and is being extracted from the air in the form of nitrogen, the most valuable of all substances for maintaining the fertility of the soil, says the "Daily Mail."

We have at last fully penetrated the secrets of extracting nitrogen from the air by "chemical" methods requiring much less expenditure of power than those used in other countries, Scandinavia for example. In a very short time our nitrogen making factory will be able to produce all that the land of the country needs, and that bogey of world starvation due to exhaustion of nitrogen stores raised some years ago by Sir William Crookes is finally dissipated, even if all foreign supplies were cut off.

The process is so perfect and can make the air yield such vast quantities that some men of science are half afraid of it, since the nitrogen is as essential to explosives as to plants. Germany, which discovered one process just six months before the war was declared, now produces by chemical means some four times her own needs in nitrogen; and there already is in Europe an excess of this deadly explosive but beneficent fertiliser, and the preparation of quite colossal stores has become possible. Though the air, of which nitrogen is by far the most considerable element, will (after being first liquified) readily yield these vast amounts, no change in its constitution can be detected in the neighbourhood of the works.

### World's Biggest Waterfall

Which is the world's biggest waterfall? Probably, ninety-nine people out of every hundred, if asked this question, would promptly answer "Niagara."

They would be wrong; that is, if we are to accept as correct the statement concerning the great Iguazu Falls, in the Argentine Republic, made by Lord Frederic Hamilton in his book "The Days Before Yesterday."

Until recently, Lord Frederic points out, the very existence of this gigantic cataract was questioned, depending as it did on the testimony of wandering Indians, and of one solitary white man, a Jesuit missionary. Now, however, since the railway to Paraguay has been completed, they can be reached without any very great difficulty.

The Iguazu Falls are 250 ft. high and nearly a mile wide, as against Niagara's 160 ft. in height and approximately the same width, while the volume of water is about the same in both cases.

The Victoria Falls on the Zambezi River in South Africa, too, are 330 ft. high, more than double that of Niagara, and their width is almost exactly the distance between the Marble Arch and Oxford Circus, or just over one mile. Except in March and April, however, the volume of water hurling itself over the Victoria Falls into the gorge below is smaller than that at Niagara.

### Ascent of Mount Everest

The forthcoming attempt to scale Mount Everest, the approaches of which are still unknown to Europeans, was announced at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society by the President, Sir Francis Younghusband, who stated that the political obstacles have been removed and that the Indian Government had been given permission to send an exploring expedition which the Society and the Alpine Club would organise. He said that the expedition would be a great adventure. Apart from the risk and hardships, there was the unknown factor of human capacity to stand great exertion at that height. He declared that the summit of Mount Everest would never be reached unless all approaches were first explored most carefully. The reconnaissance party would go to India in 1921, and the climbing party would go to Tibet in 1922.

### Wireless Station

The most powerful wireless station in the world has been opened at Bordeaux, capable of reaching any part of the world.



## Personal

### Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar

We deeply regret to record the death at Nagpur on the 14th instant of Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, the veteran Congressman who was appointed Additional Judicial Commissioner, Central Provinces, only the other day. He joined the Congress at Allahabad in 1888 and went to England with Babu Surendranath Banerjee in 1900 as a Congress delegate. He soon rose to prominence in the Congress and he was elected President of the Bankipore session in 1912. Mr. Mudholkar interested himself deeply in



industrial and educational matters and his connection with the Industrial Conference almost since its inception is too well known to need repetition. He warmly supported the late Mr. Gokhale's Education Bill in the Supreme Legislative Council and took a leading part in its debates.

Mr. Mudholkar was a doughty champion of the liberal movement in the Central Provinces. He was one of the oldest contributors to the *Indian Review* and it is with deep pain that we record his demise.

### Mr. Ben Spoor on Mr. Gandhi

In his farewell letter to the press Mr. Ben Spoor who came to India to attend the Congress as a delegate of the British Labour Party writes of Mr. Gandhi as follows:—

Of course, the central figure (in the Congress) was Mahatma Gandhi. Who and what is this man of whom it can be said as it was said of one of old that even his enemies "can find no fault in him"? His bitterest opponents unite in tributes to his transparent sincerity, moral courage, and spiritual intensity. (One can, of course, disregard the irresponsible comments of certain members of the British Parliament whose cloudy prejudice obscures judgment—their remedy of "hang Gandhi" has just that weight which a pitiful bigotry ensures). Even Sir Valentine Chirol, while of opinion that Gandhi is "more unbalanced," suggests that he has "increased in spiritual stature." Some folks believe Mahatmaji is mad—all who know him agree that he is good. In this topsy-turvy world it may well be that goodness and honesty lie strangely near to madness. In an age of false values what chance has Right? And with Truth on the scaffold and Wrong on the throne, it is too much to expect fair estimates of men and movements. Still, to those who have met and talked with Gandhi, who have seen him in a small business meeting or holding vast multitudes under same subtler spell than mere oratory produces; who have sat alone with him in the quiet, or seen the eager throng pressing around to touch the hem of his garment or to kneel and touch his feet—to those he seems to possess a power granted to few. Call it madness if you like, there is a strength in that frail body which defies all the combinations of political expediency however highly-organised they may be. Gandhi has probably a larger following than any living man. And it is not the "masses" only who accept his leadership. He is "Mahatmaji" to intellectuals, even highly-placed officers of the Government exist who recognise in him the compelling authority of real character. The West has produced a Lenin, strong, masterful, relentless alike in logic and method. The East has given birth to a Gandhi, equally strong, masterful and relentless. But whilst the former pins his faith on force the latter relies on non-resistance. One trusts the sword, the other trusts the spirit. In an extraordinary manner these men appear to incarnate those fundamentally opposing forces that—behind all the surface struggles of our day—are fighting for supremacy.

## Political

### The Khilafat Conference

The All-India Khilafat Conference met at the Congress Pandal under the Chairmanship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Col. and Mrs. Wedgwood, Mr. Ben Spoor, Mr. Gandhi and several leading men of the Congress attended.

The President in his address reiterated the wrongs done by Britain to Turkey and said that unless those wrongs were redressed there would be no peace in the Islamic world. He urged perfect unity between Hindus and Muslims and pointed out that Non-Co-operation with Government would alone save their religion.

It was then announced amidst cheers that Seth Jaman Lal Chairman Congress Reception Committee had donated rupees ten thousand to Khilafat Funds and rupees eleven thousand to Moslem National University. Mr. Shaukat Ali then announced amidst acclamation that Amir Amanullah had sent a message of condolence at the death of Sheikh-ul-Hind, Mohamadul Hussain. Thereupon it was decided to thank the Amir for his message on behalf of all communities of India. The meeting ended after electing members for subjects committee and resumes sitting this evening when resolutions would be passed.

The conference passed resolutions requesting Amir Amanulla to reject the peace treaty with Great Britain, as the Indians had no quarrel with their Afghan brethren, and as any such alliance was meant more to strengthen the hold on India than to protect her and, secondly, reaffirming the Khilafat demands, which could not be modified in spite of any changed conditions in the Middle East. The Conference was then dissolved.

### The Depressed Classes Conference

The last session of the above Conference was held at Nagpur on Saturday the 25th December under the presidentship of Mr. Gandhi. There was a large gathering of over ten thousand men and women of all classes and castes. Most of the leading men who had come to attend the Congress were also present on the platform.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. V. Joshi, President of the Depressed Classes Mission, C. P. and Berar, and Member of the C. P. Executive Council, opened the proceedings with a brief speech in Marathi. Mr. G. A. Gavai, M.L.C. proposed Mr. Gandhi to the chair.



Mr. Gandhi delivered his address in Hindi which lasted for an hour. He said that untouchability was the greatest sin of India practised under the guise of Hinduism.

Till the problem was satisfactorily solved India was unfit for any sort of self-government. He was a student of Hinduism and Indian life, a follower of Varnashrama Dharma and Sanataniya Hindu, and could conscientiously maintain that untouchability was no part of orthodox Hinduism. While inter-dining and inter-marriage were prohibited by canons of Hinduism from a higher spiritual point of view, untouchability was an absolute sin practised even now with impunity. But he remembered the words of the late Mr. Gokhale that the wages of the sins of the Hindus in India were being strictly paid to them in South Africa and other foreign settlements. He warned both the depressed and oppressive classes in India to conduct this great movement as an ordeal of self-purification and self-elevation.

Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Choudhury then proposed the following resolution in Hindi:—

'That the depressed classes, in view of their most heroic loyalty to Hindu religion and the Indian nation, be forthwith granted full rights of religious and civic fellowship by their unrestricted admission to all public places of religious worship and secular usage.'

It was seconded by Mr. Chhaganlal Fakirjee who in a fiery speech characterised "untouchability as our own Rowlatt Act."



## General

### The Social Conference

The Social Conference was as usual held at the Congress pandal on the 1st January. Leading men of the Congress were present on the platform. Mr. S. M. Chitnavis, Chairman of the Reception Committee, gave a review of the progress of social reform in the country :—

'I would request you to look at our present society and compare it with what it was 30 years ago and you will find that our social surroundings have considerably changed. Social friction is materially diminished. The Conference has so moulded and shaped public opinion that actual practical reform has become possible and the society has become immensely tolerant and social ostracism has ceased to be unbearable or even uncomfortable.'

Mr. V. J. Patel in the course of his presidential address began by saying that social reformers all over the country had cause to rejoice over the momentous decisions of the Congress which meant an accession of strength for the re-organisation of Indian society.

The Congress had found that their salvation lay in setting their house in order by a process of purification. Politics were now transformed into social reform, and both had been elevated to a still higher plane of moral and spiritual advance. The great national decision asked society to organise itself, the state of its ideals and aspirations, instead of leaving it to their alien masters to devise means for the realisation of their dreams. There was but one programme before the country. A radical reconstruction had to set in to make social organisation an effective instrument to serve the ends of individuals and of national freedom. The Congress resolution on Non-Co-operation was indeed a comprehensive programme of politico-social reform.

The caste system, he said, must go root and branch, and he regretted to find Mr. Gandhi ranging himself in this matter on the side of reaction. Democracy, he continued, would be nothing but a dream if in the same breath caste distinctions were observed. The immediate necessities of the situation, therefore, required a wide network of national institutions in which the youth of the country might grow to the full height of their stature, breathing air of fearless freedom, gathering knowledge without losing the spirit of reverence, alive with the past and with a faith in the future, and mindful, above all, of the living present.

Concluding Mr. Patel warned against the danger of social boycott on political grounds.

I would urge you not to let politics any more than religion, interfere with the amenities of social life. Our freedom perishes if we do not raise those whom

we have kept down. Our workers claim the closest attention of social and political reformers who do not



wish for the repetition of the evils of western industrialism in India; and is it necessary to say that till our women take their rightful place in the affairs of the nation our advance must needs be slow?

Among the resolutions passed the important ones related to the untouchability of the depressed classes, the necessity for female education, the improvement of the labouring classes, the raising of the age of consent for girls to 16 years and the need for the abolition of the caste system. Referring to the labour problem the Conference resolved :—

That in view of the present and growing unrest among the labouring classes attempts should be made, by the public with regard to the satisfactory improvement of the condition and status of the labour and in order to achieve this end, the Conference urges upon the attention of the public the following needs of labour :

- (1) Hour of work of males, females and children (2) Wages (3) Housing (4) Education (5) Compensation for injuries (6) Sanitation (7) Abolition of the drinking habit (8) Old age pensions and maintenance (9) Co-operative societies and trade unions.

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## INDIA'S RUPEE

By SIR MONTAGU DE P. WEBB, KT., C.I.E., C.B.E., M.L.C.

*Author of "Britain Victorious!" &c.*

THE romance of India's Rupee is by no means ended. Indeed, never has its future been shrouded in greater mystery. Misunderstood from the first by most English traders and officials, frequently maltreated, it has now been more or less abandoned in despair by an anxious and puzzled Government. Yet it still goes on its way,—unconsciously defiant; and, for the great majority of the people of India, a thoroughly efficient and satisfactory Monetary Tool.

In the old days, for the purposes of foreign trade, the Rupee was the equivalent of Two Shillings. Then came the unhappy divorce between Silver and Gold,—provoked by the action of Germany and other nations who, copying Great Britain's single-metal, gold-standard monetary system, decided to adopt Gold as their chief monetary instrument rather than Silver. The increased demand for gold for monetary purposes that sprang up after the Franco-Prussian War was so great that the value (or purchasing power) of gold steadily advanced, and the prices of practically all commodities, including silver, fell. This fall in prices was so serious that several committees and commissions sat to enquire into its causes. In the United Kingdom the fall was thought to have ruined agriculture and numbed all industrial enterprises (1875—1890).

In India, prices remained relatively steady although the rise in gold was reflected in what appeared to be the fall in the rupee. India's chief silver coin would only purchase 1s 10d, 1s 8d, 1s 6d, and at last less than 1s 3d. It was not the Rupee, however, that was falling but the Sovereign that was rising! Sovereigns in 1893 cost as much as eighteen and nineteen rupees in place of the ten rupees of olden days. Then came the Herschell Commission of 1893. This Commission, notwithstanding that gold was yearly increasing in value owing to the demand exceeding the supply, recommended India to abandon its rupee standard and to pass over to a gold standard—thus increasing the currency difficulties of the day. The

Indian Mints were accordingly closed to the free coinage of silver, and an attempt was made, by restricting the supply of rupees, to force the rupee up to a fixed ratio with the appreciating sovereign. That proposed ratio was one-fifteenth of a sovereign, *i. e.*, 1s 4d.

This effort to increase by scarcity the purchasing power of the rupee would probably have ended in disaster had not an altogether unforeseen development taken place,—namely the discovery of a vast quantity of gold in the Witwatersrand, and of the cyanide process of gold extraction from the refuse of the crushed, gold-bearing quartz. By the middle of the nineties, the output of gold from the Rand was phenomenal, and South Africa soon began to yield over £30,000,000 in gold every year. The output from other of the world's gold mines also increased. The tide turned; and, after a period of over twenty years' steady rise, the value of gold at last commenced to fall.

By this time the policy of controlling the supply of rupees by the agency of the Secretary of State had produced its inevitable result, and the sterling purchasing power of the rupee rose to 1s 4d. In 1898 the Fowler Committee recommended a gold currency, *i. e.*, sovereigns, for India, the opening of the Indian Mints to the free coinage of gold, and the accumulation of the profits on a limited coinage of rupees, *in gold, in India, in a special Gold Reserve*. Having regard to the fact that supplies of gold were now increasing annually, these recommendations were sound. They were accepted by Government—but never carried out,—at least not for over ten years,—owing to the persistent opposition of the Banking, Bullion, and Currency interests of the City of London. The opposition to India receiving in gold the full balance of trade due to her culminated in 1912 when the publication of my "Britain's Dilemma" brought about the immediate appointment of the Chamberlain Indian Currency Commission, and the quick correction



of the actions of the India Office that had prevented gold from flowing freely to India. Before, however, the Chamberlain Commission's recommendations could be widely appreciated, the Germans launched their criminal attack on France *Via* Belgium. Great Britain moved to Belgium and France's assistance, and the whole world became involved in war.

Five years elapsed. In consequence of the war, the currencies of the world were watered by huge issues of paper money, and the foreign exchanges were in consequence largely reduced to chaos. India has emerged in a sounder financial condition than any other belligerent, or any other portion of the British Empire. India's Rupee, too, has proved itself a thoroughly popular and efficient coin. Whereas the sovereign and other gold coins have vanished from circulation in Europe and are now only hoarded in Banks, the rupee continues to pass from hand to hand as in days of old. But strange things have happened to the Pound Sterling. Reduced outputs of and increased demands for, silver have greatly increased its sterling price, with the result that the rupee *as metal* became worth more than the sterling equivalent at which Government had (in 1893 and 1898) fixed its exchange value. And so we have recently seen the rupee rise to 1s 6d, 1s 8d, 1s 10d, 2s, and even 2s 4d. The position was exceedingly difficult. Yet another Committee—the Babington Smith Committee of 1919—was appointed to advise Government. This Committee recommended India to stick to the Gold Standard, but, as there seemed little chance then of silver returning to pre-war prices, to make the sterling equivalent of the rupee one-tenth of the sovereign, *i. e.*, Two SHILLINGS GOLD. Thus the rupee officially returned to its sterling equivalent of fifty years ago.

Alas, in Indian Currency matters, Commissions of Experts propose, but some irresponsible autocrat at the India Office disposes. At the time that the Babington Smith Committee made its Report, the balance of trade (or of the demand for exchange) had turned against India, and Reverse Council Drafts, *i. e.*, Pounds Sterling deliverable in London, were being sold at about eight rupees eight annas each. Announcing its intention of establishing a Ten rupee Sovereign, the Government of India simultaneously offered Pounds Sterling for sale at SEVEN rupees! The demand for such cheap pounds was prodigious. Moreover, as Seven-rupee Pounds made British and American manufactured goods look very cheap *in rupees*,

enormous quantities of these goods—three times as much as India needed—were ordered. Those goods have now arrived; and as India cannot sell her surplus products in bankrupt Europe, yet has to pay for three times as many manufactured goods from Britain and America as she really requires, the balance of trade is enormously against her. Every trader in overseas goods now wants Pounds Sterling wherewith to meet his liabilities; and so the price of Pounds Sterling is going up daily from seven and eight rupees nearly a year ago to fourteen and even fifteen rupees now! And so the Rupee will once again only buy about 1s 4d. Where will these extraordinary fluctuations end? That is the question.

Government cannot say. Only a few days ago the Government of India informed the Karachi Chamber of Commerce that they were unable to guarantee to support sterling exchange at any particular level. This means that the purchasing power of the rupee in Pounds, Sterling, Dollars, Yen, or any other foreign currency will depend in the last resort upon the value of the coin *as metal*. At the present time the rupee is only worth about 1s 1d as silver, so that if India continues to buy abroad more than she can sell abroad, then she can only pay her debts by exporting and selling her rupees as metal. And if the sterling price of silver fall to pre-war levels, then the rupee may be able to buy only 10d or 9d sterling. On the other hand, if India is able to sell abroad more than she buys from abroad—and this is the normal condition of Indian trade—then buyers abroad will probably go to the Secretary of State in order to obtain rupees wherewith to pay their Indian creditors, and the Secretary of State can demand what price he thinks fit, in reason. It will be the Secretary of State then who, in the end, will determine whether he will sell India's Rupee at 1s 4d or 2s or 2s 6d sterling. He has been advised to make two shillings gold his goal, and he has accepted that recommendation. There seem some grounds therefore, for anticipating a two shillings rupee again,—some day.

In the meantime for all internal purposes, the good, old Indian Rupee continues to do its work as usual. Its purchasing power has been slightly blunted within India,—the inevitable result of world-war,—but everything points to a gradual restoration of its pre-war efficiency. And so long as our chief silver coin continues to command as much food and clothing for the peoples of this country as it did before the recent world-con-  
vulsion, who can find fault with India's Rupee?

# A MODERN PROPHET

75

BY

J. C. MOLONY, I.C.S.

IT seems to be the characteristic of each century to reproach itself with lack of religion, and certainly the nineteenth century was no exception to this rule. Here, for example, is a description of the Established Church, England's form of national Christianity, written by a man, nominally at least, in holy orders, in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign:

"A foolish Church, chattering, parrot-like, old notes, of which it had forgotten the meaning; a clergy who not only thought not at all, but whose heavy ignorance, from long unreality, hung about them like a garment, and who mistook their fool's cap and bells for a crown of wisdom, and the music of the spheres; selfishness alike recognised practically as the rule of conduct, and faith in God, in man, in virtue, exchanged for faith in the belly, in fortunes, carriages, lazy sofas and cushioned pews; Bentham politics, and Paley religion; all the thought deserving to be called thought, the flowing tide of Germany and the philosophy of Hume and Gibbon; all the spiritual feeling, the light froth of the Wesleys and Evangelicals."

And yet there surely have been few periods of time in which so many men really great, students of religion, arose and delivered some message to the world. Carlyle was born just before the opening of the nineteenth century, but he is that century's child; its first two decades saw the birth of Newman, Manning, Frederick Maurice, Charles Kingsley, Ruskin, Pattison, Jowett, the two Froudes, and doubtless many another of less enduring fame. In 1829 there emerged into the world of space and time the oddest, and in some ways the most remarkable, prophet of modern days, William Booth, son of a bankrupt tradesman, at first pawn broker's assistant, then Methodist circuit preacher, finally founder, organiser, and supreme autocrat, of a religious organisation as widespread and, for the present at least, as efficient as Loyola's famous "Company of Jesus". Less than eight years ago "the General laid down his sword" for the last time on earth; and now Mr. Harold Begbie in two large volumes\* essays to tell the world what sort of man William Booth really was, and to clear away any lingering shadows that may still darken his name. For of this kind of shadow there was, in Booth's life time, enough and to spare: it is not too much

to say that for many years his repute was that of a blasphemous mountebank, converting things of the spirit to his own material advantage and ease. For his self-appointed task Mr. Begbie has one patent qualification; as a hero-worshipper he would have been grateful and acceptable to the heart of Carlyle; for him there are no spots on his human sun.

William Booth arose from depths material and spiritual. His father, he himself tells us, was an honest man, but "a grab, a get"; on the making of money he set his heart; he made it and lost it; he died poor and left his family to the penury of a small shop in a Nottingham back street. William, his eldest son, brought up with the idea of being "a gentleman", at the age of thirteen had to turn to as a pawn-broker's office boy, and, for a time at least, to take on himself the burden of supplementing the meagre income that his mother earned by the sale of tape and cotton; his eldest sister marrying well, as was thought, ended in the mental and material ruin of agnosticism and drink; overwork, food, bad and insufficient, shop hours incredible to the youth of the present day, endowed the growing lad with dyspeptic misery that plagued him to his dying day. Teufelsdröckh himself had no harder fight with the "Everlasting No", but curiously enough Booth, like Teufelsdröckh, seems to have had a "baphometric fire-baptism" in the streets of Nottingham. He had done some service—the nature of it he does not state—for the young fellows with whom he consorted; they as a token of their gratitude presented him with a silver pencil-case. But in doing the service young Booth had made, all unknown to his admirers, "a bit for himself", and the silver pencil case was as a leaden weight on his soul. He resolved to confess and to hand back the gift: a devil's mouthful for a youngster to swallow.

Religious in a way Booth always was; God, Heaven, Hell, the latter perhaps in an especial degree, were to him plain, objective realities; and from his earliest days he expounded these realities in spare moments to any one who would listen to him. Yet till early manhood no thought of a "professional" career as a preacher of God's word seems to have crossed his mind; he regarded himself as a layman, and his ambition seems to have been to extort a decent livelihood from the trade to which he had been brought up, and which, however he disliked it, he at any rate knew. From the burrow of circumstance emerged

\* *William Booth, Founder of the Salvation Army.* Harold Begbie. (MacMillan & Co., Ltd., London 2 vols. 42 s.)



a rabbit, an all unconscious instrument of destiny.

Good Mr. Rabbits seems to have been a prosperous bootmaker; about all that is known of him is contained in a few dissected notes of his strange creation. "Self-made man. His beginning, borrowed half a crown. My last interview with him: he had just invested £60,000 in good building estate, the anxieties connected with which, I should think, helped to hurry him away". To young Booth Mr. Rabbits, religiously disposed, suggested that there was work to be done as a preacher. "After a careful calculation I told him that I did not see how I could get along with less than twelve shillings a week". "Nonsense" said Mr. Rabbits, "you cannot do with less than twenty". And Mr. Rabbits volunteered to put up the requisite pound a week for three months; thus was a crazy cockle-shell destined to *grow* in some strange way into an iron-clad, launched on a very stormy sea.

Mr. Begbie's account of the material events in Booth's subsequent career is clear in the telling if somewhat monotonous to read. Of these events the greatest was the meeting with, and marriage to, Catherine Mumford, the "mother" and, some think, more than her husband the creator of the Salvation Army. For long, Mr. Begbie tells us, it was cast up to Booth that he "lived on his wife's petticoats"; perhaps the only criticism that he ever felt. And yet it was untrue: in London drawing rooms Mrs. Booth appealed to an audience that her stormy uncouth husband could not touch; but he in the shadows of the East End was wrestling all the while with sturdy demons of vice and drunkenness of whose very existence polite society in those days was ignorant. Husband and wife were at last realised as a pair ideally fitted to aid each other in the task that they had undertaken; he was strength, she was light.

As to the value of General Booth's religious work opinions may differ. To the educated, to those reasoning in comfortable ease, his methods of "conversion" and the conduct of his converts are strongly suggestive of Colney Hatch. "A great smash" is a phrase of frequent occurrence in his notes: it signifies to him the welcome phenomenon of a frenzied audience stampeding to the "mercy seat", or "penitent form". Amid the outward and visible signs of salvation attained were the vigorous rubbing by one brother of another's head; convinced of divine mercy a penitent leaped out of the hall window and did an out-and-home four mile sprint; rolling on the floor, jumping, roaring,

weeping, laughing, were circumstances of conversion too common to merit any particular notice. And yet there was in it something more than the extravagance of the moment: bishops, archbishops, canons, the high-and-dry aristocracy of the Established Church, in the end bore ungrudging testimony to the solid religious result of the "Army's" work. It takes all sorts of people to make a world, and it takes perhaps all sorts of ways and methods to get a job of work done with the harlots, pimps, bullies, drunkards of a great city. Newman's magic voice might have fallen on deaf ears, his delicate reasoning might have induced, at best, sleep: Booth's roaring voice, his cymbals, his "blood and fire", at any rate awakened their attention; and, this once done, the "General's" marvellous personality kept at least a very considerable proportion of them.

Booth apparently thought more of his "spiritual" than his "social" work. The world will probably judge differently. "On the night that he died thousands of friendless men were sleeping in the shelters of the Army he had founded. In his homes thousands of women rescued by his pure hands from the uttermost ruin of body and soul were praying for him. In every continent a great host of people were sorrowfully telling each other that their father—the father who had sought them out and saved them from immemorial tragedy—was passing from the world". "*Darkest England and the way out*" is after all his greatest monument: he set up the work; time alone can tell if without him it can endure. Probably no other human being could have accomplished the first step in this gigantic scheme of philanthropy, the extraction from the pockets of the British Public of the vast sum needed to set the wheels in motion. And be the result success or failure it will be an unfading glory to Booth's name that the strict scrutiny, invited by himself, of his business methods resulted in the verdict that (1) the funds collected have been devoted only to the objects and expended in the methods set out in the Appeal and to and in no others (2) the methods employed in the expenditure of such moneys have been and are of a business like, economical, and prudent character, (3) the accounts of such expenditure have been and are kept in a proper and clear manner.

Did the perfervid evangelist, one wonders, ever realise how much he owed for the success of his undertakings, and for the fairly-won confidence of the public, to the early inculcated rigid, business-like, methodicalness of the pawn broker's shop.

# QUO VADIS ANGLO INDIA ?

77

By MR. A. P. SMITH

THE question may well be asked of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Community at this time of unrest and of changing conditions. Indians, of all shades of political opinion, of all degrees of education, high and low, caste and non-caste, rich and poor, have awakened to a sense of national life, to a consciousness of the necessity of unity, to a consciousness of their rights as free men in God's world. Apart from the European official, the non-official European, whether planter, merchant or professional, though confident of the support of the British Government in all their work and enterprise, their safety and their welfare, consider it their duty to stand shoulder to shoulder and be united in opposing, as much as possible, the introduction of reforms calculated to give Indians the smallest advantage over them, and in warning the Governments both in India and in England of the danger of acceding to the aspirations and ambitions of Indians for self-determination. In the opinion of practically every European in India, a benevolent despotism, tempered by boons and concessions of sorts and punctuated by repression and coercion, also of sorts, is the only rule the Oriental understands—and respects! To give him Home-Rule is absolutely absurd! And while Indian and European, each on his side, is doing all he can to obtain every advantage over his opponent, Anglo-Indians look on with apathetic indifference—alive only to picking up the crumbs that may fall their way in the shape of some petty employment and absolutely regardless of the days ahead and the fate of their children.

The various Anglo-Indian Associations are divided in opinion as to the policy they should pursue, and so far none has been promulgated, although Colonel Gidney, I.M.S., (Retired), F. R. S., and, F. R. C. S., is their elected protagonist in the Imperial Legislative Council. In his address at a meeting of his community in Bangalore two months ago, Colonel Gidney expressed the opinion that in ten years time from now, Europeans in India would of necessity have to give place to Indians in every walk of life. Indians, he said, do not tolerate being called a "damned niggers" now, and they claim equality of opportunity as a right, and the only thing for Anglo-Indians to do was to live peaceably among them and to co-operate with them without looking for preferential treatment. Colonel Gidney's advice is sound, but curiously enough he advocated the continuance of European Education

as a distinct branch of Educational work, and urged Anglo-Indians to enlist for training in the European Auxiliary Force to which Anglo-Indians are admissible and Indians are not. He did not make it clear why Anglo-Indians, as statutory natives of India, should be given a European Education at the cost, mainly, of the Indian tax-payer. The thousands of Anglo-Indians, in the various services of the State, in professional work and in non-official activities of different kinds—and many of whom have made a reputation for ability and force of character—and Colonel Gidney himself who is an Anglo-Indian by birth and is an ornament to the Indian system—received their education in Indian Schools. The fad of European education is a comparatively recent introduction and has still to justify itself. Were Europeans only given a European education, the fact might be defended, but the boys who are given the European education are all not Europeans and, according to *Anglo-India*, the organ of the Madras A. I. Association, 50 per cent. are pure Indians. How can Anglo-Indians co-operate with Indians if the policy of the former is to enlist in a European Auxiliary Force and cling to European education? The very distinction gives rise to racial jealousy and hatred. Colonel Gidney deplored the fact that the vast majority of Europeans domiciled in the country held aloof from the Anglo-Indian Associations. Colonel Gidney dubbed them "Indian Albinos" and said that in the estimation of Government these domiciled Europeans were Statutory Indians and of the same status as Anglo-Indians.

In these circumstances, whither is Anglo-India going? Anglo-Indians must either look upon themselves as Indians first and Anglo-Indians only second and co-operate with Indians in their efforts to obtain self determination, must recognise that India is their country and domicile, or they must consider themselves Europeans—as the great majority of them do—in an alien land: Europeans whom the Government have classed as Statutory natives of the country and whom the European Association repudiate. They cannot sit on the fence—and, as a matter of fact, a very large proportion of alleged Anglo-Indians are practically Indians in all but name and religion. To sit on the fence, dependent on the European Government for preferential treatment and European patronage on the one hand, and to solicit patronage at the hands of Indians on the other, is not a dignified



or selfrespecting position to occupy. And if Anglo-Indians do not bestir themselves they will have to serve in a country in which, if even now they co-operated with Indians, they may legitimately hope to share in ruling.

The reason why the Anglo-Indian is politically apathetic is that he has no love of country. He cannot claim England as his country and he does not love this great land. Is it any wonder that he is lacking in patriotism, in inspiration to take part in the political, industrial, social and moral advancement of the land of his birth? Scott asked "Is there a man with soul so dead who never to himself hath said, this is my own, my native land?" The average Anglo-Indian is such a soul-less being. In sorrow I say it. And this land is worthy of being loved. Many Europeans who know the country and its people love it—perhaps as much as their own—and it is a strange phenomenon that the average Anglo-Indian, living from his birth among Indians, knows less of them than the average non-official and official European. Anglo-Indians forget that if they have European blood in their veins they also have Indian blood and, in addition, that India is their birth place and in India the vast bulk of Anglo-Indians must live and move and have their being in the future. There is no question of disloyalty to England involved in co-operating with Indians, and in working for the benefit of this land. England herself recognises the Indian claim for self-determination as legitimate. England says in granting some measure of self government,—little as that is—"you are not yet fit for complete liberty and complete liberty will be granted later on." This may or may not be the case; and my

opinion is that the assumption is open to doubt. The majority of the Indian people do not wish to sever the ties that join India and England. All that the Indian people seek is self government in their domestic concerns, a responsibility to which, I venture to express the opinion, they are equal. Even if slackness and inefficiency results, it is their own concern, and in a few years they will learn to excel. Be that as it may, I ask "Why does the Anglo-Indian not recognise the claim that England recognises as just and legitimate? Why does he not co-operate with his Indian fellow subjects in a whole hearted, manly way, seeking to be part and parcel of Indian political parties working for the fruition of their hopes?" By doing so they will deserve and obtain the suffrages of their Indian compatriots and be able, in many important matters, to shape the destinies of this country and the destinies of their own community.

It seems to me there is no other way which Anglo-India can tread. For good or for ill the future of Anglo-Indians and that of Domiciled Europeans is cast in this country and to make India a power in the world, to make it respected, to help to keep it loyal to the Empire and to safeguard their future and the future of their children by taking a legitimate and influential share in the Government of this country—instead of supinely yielding to circumstances which will make them nought but hewers of wood and drawers of water, is the only policy to pursue. It is a task which should inspire the young men of the day and guide them to great achievement. Will they rise to it? *Quo Vadis Anglo-India?*

## Discontent versus Internationalism

By MR. N. SUBRAMANIAN, B.A.

**I**N the after-war struggle the beliefs and institutions of nations have either been swept away or are threatened with destruction. Political philosophers are paralysed at the discontent that gains in volume and intensity. The seemingly political atmosphere of Europe hovers between "financial sanity and political folly." The very seat of Leibnitzian optimism is the storm centre of revolution. America with her proverbial democratic instinct, has kicked off the League. Thinking minds could not own the League is a right move towards reconstruction. The *Palais des Nations* is anything but cosmocratic. From the triumphal state of a war cry, the

'Wilsonian Fourteen' is reduced to an echo of a disturbed imagination. Inactivity pays Germany well enough; at least it is indemnity-proof. The Irish question is a 'quagmire which has clogged the very foot-steps of progress.' The Spa Conference hopes to 'resolve only to dissolve and propose merely to dispose'. The fanatical zeal with which conscience was attempted to be introduced into politics has served but to obliterate all traces of returning good-sense. Religion is well-nigh dead. The generality has in a way lost faith in dogma and the formalism of form. Their religion is greed and their cult is gain. A pious indifference to human sentiments,

an imperious hatred of feelings both national and individual, a lofty contempt of disturbing truths, prevails all round.

Amidst all this, we hear of the gains of modern life, of what is called civilisation. Are there losses to be counted? That would perhaps act as a corrective to the inane self-worship which is at once the most ill founded and irritating feature of the age. Worst, certainly of all the distempers of the human mind is that of vague idealism. Taken up in the tide of whirling aestheticism and almost cloying under the pathetic sweetness of blushing expectations the spirit of Man turns towards the vision of ideal unity. The intellectual revolt of youth stirred by faith in trumpet-tongued progress, seeks in vain to attain the ideal. Most of us struggling under the spell of automatic advancement are oblivious to grim realities. What with all the bloated talk of progress, is man more contented than he was before? Are we any the nearer to the ideal brotherhood of man? Are we yet earnest about clearing our conscience of cant in international politics! A plausible but an emphatic 'no!' meets us. The pessimism that accrues from cherishing an unattainable ideal tracks out all ambition. The idealism of a Lenin is no less potent an influence to day than that of Rousseau in an earlier generation. Yet the Khaki is not all gone even with the war. The embers die not but go on smouldering and gathering force. Depressed nationalities resting on worm-eaten prestige, slumbering tranquilly on the pillow of doubt meet our gaze everywhere and strike us dumb. The individual is ignored. Discontent grows apace. The virulence of it gains rather than loses its hold upon the public mind with the increasing disparity between the actual and the ideal.

'Every advance in human thought', exclaims the naive historian 'has brought home to us clearly and vividly the futility of ameliorating discontent'. 'It is no use attempting great changes without disturbance'. True it is that in an age of reformation there cannot be anything like prosaic uniformity. The mightiest changes have their reactions upon the human mind. Since political upheavals move on the quicksands of social disorder and contentment follows peace, the rank and file could not be left untouched by advancing strides in civilisation. The French Revolution was political, but above all, social. The revolution of 1848 was a greater convulsion than that of 1789. Waving the Red Flag it alarmed crowned heads

all over Europe. The war of 1914 brought out alike, essential traits of discontent. It disclosed a conflict between Liberal and Socialistic principles and saw face to face the workman and the capitalist. The 'economic society' to the rejuvenation of which Woodrow Wilson looked forward in his "New Freedom" is still but a deceptive spectre, when we see before our very eyes the race of rent and interest.

Few of the great political insurgencies of history are unaccompanied by racing economic conflicts. The democratization of commerce makes the wealthy capitalist tremble in his shoes. He has no faith 'in the internationalism of trade.' But he would do well to remember that only 'the common sense of commerce can rescue the world from politicians.' The monied few with power to make and unmake the trade of the world seem to grow more philosophically minded and less mindful of other's interest. They fear fluctuations as does a true Briton, the Red Peril. This economic domination has only been strengthened by those who rebuilt the world at Paris. The one real charge against them is that they raised the whole structure of peace on the rotten foundations of a "Militarist Economic Imperialism." Private depravity has thus only been pampered by political debasement. And so far intellectual awakening in Europe has only been instrumental in strengthening the hands of economists. Even poetry has allied itself with modern science and has left untouched the commonalty! It has instead of elevating, depressed sanity of judgment and promoted selfishness, violence and corruption. 'Eternal craft' instead of eternal youth is master! The practical revolt of the labourer in the field is an illuminating commentary on this new, conquering empire of economic imperialism. We hear politicians murmuring against industrial conscription in Russia. Turn to East Africa under the paternal care of Lord Milner and you find the old story of compulsory labour repeated. In Moscow conscription is reprehensible; but 60 days forced labour in East Africa is a beneficial political necessity!

In the sphere of political thought, we find the place of freedom as a moving ideal of liberal schools, is taken up by the principle of nationality. The so-called policy of the protection of small nationalities is now recognised to be a camouflage. 'The tyranny of self' in international questions has blotted out the large-hearted sympathy of depressed nationalities and reiterated aggressive nationalism as a massive force in politics. The promulgation of political



principles launched with a histrionic faith in their non-observance cannot deceive the world. The fate of the Krassin Mission brought home to all fair-minded men the difficulties in the way of peaceful settlement. Individual prospects of politicians merge in national need and shine out through the beacon light of international sympathies. The conventions of the Hague and the League do but reveal the extreme lengths to which politicians generously interested in themselves, are prepared to go towards the betterment of a degenerate world.

Under the tightening grip of reviving reconstruction, Asia is growing sick of the economic exploitation by the West. Article 22 of the League of Nations, expressly lays down that "Independent National Governments are to be set up in Asia under Native rulers and their integrity to be guaranteed by the League." The policy sounds grandiloquent. Armenia, Syria, Arabia and Mesopotamia are to be administered on the basis of this principle. But to-day France has its hold tight upon Syria. It imprisons the Maronites and shoots the Arabs, for they do not allow others to whip them into freedom. The well-being of the inhabitants of Damascus and Baghdad which was to be a "sacred trust of civilisation," is being assured by the rifles and machine-guns of the French and British armies. Perhaps these are the decencies of modern civilisation! The English are reported to have in this way accounted for 10,000 of the inhabitants entrusted to their sacred care.

In all these ways the politicians of the west are attempting to abolish power in politics. "If we succeed in abolishing power, politics would become an affair of consent," exclaims a stern thinker. But the age of consent is still dim in the horizon. Is it worth attaining after all these illuminating experiments? "Everything in flux, nothing is stable." Before the abolition of power could be real in international relations, before arbitration can take the place of field-guns, a strong faith has to be implanted in the minds of political thinkers. But when still there lurks in the mighty powers a convenient hope of national aggrandisement and policy fails to shroud it up in mystery, there can be peace and no contentment. Glory is still the watchword, "Glory fanned by conquest's crimson wing."

The boisterous intoxication of politics has not a little contributed to individual discontent. The political platform is still the recognising board of personal merit. The cant and the breezy easy

tongue of the politician can alone win him a thousand victories and make him the hero of pleasing ballads. In a Government by amateurs, perhaps, merit is not a cheap commodity. Yet the motto of the bill-stickers in America, "Right man for the Presidentship, never mind his party" smells not a whit pedagogic. Who would have thought that such sobriety, sincerity, calm judgment could ever accrue in such an era as the present when good feeling is but a moving farce. Such a wise nationalism must sound antiquarian; Yet it is not without a shudder we read of the American professor who for electoral purposes, took it into his head, to impugn the antecedents of Senator Harding. Events and policies, again follow the lines chalked out by fleeting personalities. An adroit pamphleteer who resigns his conscience to a vault finds his sly glances more effective than the steady views of thinkers who work and crack their brains. The influence of a clever literary artificer is potent. The reigning deities fear the quick turn of his pen. Those who float always drift, in politics. The politician who can pander to the tastes of the crowd commands and 'soothes our souls to pleasures'. Such a state of affairs is anything but conducive to the free play of human ideas and healthy sentiments.

The subordination of creed to policy is a by-product of this phenomenon. 'Never mind the feeling, talk out well,' is the cant of the party politicians. Keep your foothold firm, but never fail to look at the stars! He exclaims almost caught in party chains: "My very chains and I grew friends."

Success in politics goes not to the depressed minority. Freedom of thought with the individual is impertinence and originality is revolt. A cast iron programme shrouds the very being of a rising thinker. Conscience, then, is a back number in the politics of to-day. Those who believe "They are slaves who dare not be, in the right with two or three," have only to condemn themselves and curse their poetry.

The individual is left at a stage when he has little to love. The discontent that spells pessimism is only enhanced by illuminating sentiments that accrue from a new outlook and a perversion of human thoughts which is the natural sediment of disturbed fancies. It must take a long time before the average man could acquiesce in this modern pantheon. Only with a change of outlook in national affairs could there be the happy augury of a "New Freedom."

# Extravagance in Public Expenditure

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By MR. V. G. RAMAKRISHNA IYER, M.A.

**I**T is a cardinal principle of public finance that in all public expenditure the true standard is the advantage that it is likely to confer on the people. The present method of administration in this country reveals a total disregard of this sound economic doctrine. Public expenditure should be so apportioned between the different heads that the public may derive the maximum utility from each.

The gross annual expenditure in our country amounts to roughly 124 crores, the net expenditure to about 74 crores. The Finance Member of the Government of India who roughly corresponds to the Chancellor of the Exchequer usually budgets in his Financial Statement for a balance of a few crores.

The chief heads of expenditure are, Debt services, military services, charges in respect of the collection of revenue, salaries and expenses of Civil Departments, Famine relief and Insurance, Public Works Expenditure and miscellaneous Civil charges.

The debt services include interest on the ordinary debt, and other obligations. The National Debt is too large for a poor country like India. This is not the place to enter into the history of the Indian National debt. Suffice it to say the national debt has increased by 27 crores of rupees between 1909 and 1913, not to speak of the additions during the period of the recent European War.

One of the largest items of public expenditure quite novel to this country is the disproportionately large military expenditure. The net expenditure under the head of military services amounts annually to about 32 crores of rupees or nearly 43 per cent. of the total revenue. In spite of the frequent criticisms of Indian statesmen and publicists against this heavy charge on Indian revenue, the Government think it to be necessary for "the safety, tranquillity and interests of the British possessions in British India". The question of the curtailment of military expenditure is one of the vital problems that must be faced by the Government and the people under the new dispensation. The English portion of the army accounts for the greater part of the expenditure. Is it not right and just to say that the time has come for replacing a part of it by Indian soldiers so as to bring an appreciable relief to the public purse? Sir George White, Commander-in-Chief of India, said on one occasion, "We maintain that the Indian Army does supply

a great addition of military power to England, that a part of the British is trained at the expense of India, and that the whole of the men passed into the reserve have been maintained out of the Indian revenues".

Another item of expenditure that may be next taken is the charges incurred in the collection of revenue—an item described in the Budget as Direct Demands on the Revenues. There is no doubt that this is an absolutely necessary item of expenditure. It has been computed to come to about 14 crores of rupees or 18 per cent. of the total net revenue. In England, on the other hand, the charges of collection amount to a little more than 2 per cent. of the national revenue. There is room for the practice of greater economy in this matter.

The salaries and expenses of Civil Departments constitute one of the items of public expenditure, in which the money of the tax-payer is lavished in utter disregard of the wealth of the country and of the ability of its people to pay. W. Bagehot, the English economist, once observed "The primitive notion of taxation is, that when a Government sees much money, it should take some of it, and if it sees more money, it should take more of it." This remark of Bagehot is fully substantiated by the policy of the Indian Government.

There is no country in the world which can bear comparison with India in regard to the costly nature of its administration. During the last few years, the civil expenditure, has increased more than 50 per cent. As a matter of fact a very large part of this increase has been due to an unnecessary multiplication of offices and departments. As it has been well-observed, the tendency, especially of late years, has been to overdo the superintending and checking system, and the almost invariable remedy for an alleged defect has been the creation of a new department or the appointment of a special commissioner. In our country reforms, for instance, commence at the top instead of at the bottom. The demoralising influences of fat surpluses have enabled the Government of India to indulge in increasing the recurring expenditure and the Government is now faced with the difficulty of finding out ways and means to bolster up a time-honoured and effete system.

The Miscellaneous Civil Charges—territorial and political pensions, civil and furlough and absentee allowances, superannuation allowances and



pensions, stationery and printing, amount to about 8 crores of rupees, of which one half is spent in England. About 27 crores of rupees are annually spent on railways, 7 crores on irrigation and nearly 50 lakhs on civil works.

Retrenchment ought to be the watchword of the Government. It is high time to divert a considerable portion of the public funds for education, sanitation, and social reform. The minority Commissioners of the Welby Commission have ably stated the views of the enlightened section of the Indian people regarding the present management of Indian expenditure and the directions in which improvements may be effected to the advantage of the Indian people. It has been rightly observed that Indian expenditure is not always exclusively or even mainly governed by Indian considerations. Firstly, the Indian frontier policy has been adopted in furtherance of imperial schemes of trans-frontier territorial expansion more than for India's defence with the consequence that India has been loaded with indefinite and ever increasing liabilities. Secondly, railway extensions are forced on without due regard to the country's needs. Thirdly, the continued concessions, in respect of pay, promotion, pension etc., to the European services naturally create the impression that India exists for the services. The abnormal increase in the salaries of the European agencies, in recent times under the pretext of giving effect to the recommendations of the Islington Commission on Public Services and others, the changes contemplated in the Indian Army by the Esher Committee, the handling of the tariff question—all these rightly bear out the contention of the Indian people that Indian interests are often subordinated to considerations of Imperial expansion, British Commerce, and the European services.

Very little has yet been done in the way of substituting qualified indigenous agency for foreign agency in the various departments of civil administration. It is comforting to find at least the necessity for taking such a step has been recognised in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. As the Welby Commission observed, the organisation and maintenance of the Indian armies permanently on a war-footing, the disproportionately large number of British troops, the railway contracts and concessions to railway companies—all these are instances of the absence of strict economy in the spending of India's money.

As matters stand at present, there is no denying the fact that more than 40 per cent. of

the total revenue of India goes out of the country without any direct return. This is certainly not a satisfactory state of affairs.

India, politically free, but economically helpless, and enslaved, can never be happy and contented. It is high time that Indian patriots and publicists should realise the need for action in respect of not only political but also economic freedom. India is the only country in the world where we can realise the ideal of economic self-sufficiency. Any attempt to increase the cost of administration must be emphatically deprecated. The creation of Ministerships for the Transferred subjects on fat salaries with huge establishments, the creation of additional Members to the Executive Council, the proposal to enhance the salary of the Advocate-General, and various other incidental new charges on the revenue—all these are no happy augury of the future. It is sickening to reflect that the administration of the country is being made more and more costly and burdensome.

The following remedies, to begin with, may be suggested. (1) Reduction in the number of officers whose duties are of a supervising, as distinguished from an executive character. (2) The curtailment of military expenditure (3) The substitution, in a large measure, of Indian for British agency in the administration as well as the defence of the country. (4) No railways should in future be constructed or purchased by the State with borrowed capital. The debt now held in England should gradually be redeemed. (5) The Forest Department deserves to be abolished and be absorbed into the districts. The Public Works Department deserves to be cut down. The Conservators of Forests and the Superintending Engineers may be taken as typical instances of over-paid supervising agency.

In conclusion, less heroic and expensive methods should be adopted. More ought to be done by the people and less for them, if we are to arrest the growing demoralisation of the country. It has become the fashion of the day, to speak of the panorama of progress under British rule, in terms of the many thousands of miles of railways which have abridged distance, the opening of fresh markets, the rise of towns, the growth of municipal institutions, and the security against violence within and without. But many of us do not care to examine the economic and social effects of these achievements on the silent myriads. "Here is everything advantageous to life" says India's Gonzalo. Our reply is "True; save the means to live".

# HOW HISTORY SHOULD BE TAUGHT

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BY MR. R. R. PAWAR, B.A., LL.B.

*History should evoke civic spirit.*

[In the preceding article published in the December Number of the *Indian Review* the writer explained how the study of History is related to Civics. It would be needful to know how History should be taught in our schools and colleges, so as to evoke civic spirit among the students.—Ed., *I.R.*]

HISTORY is being taught in this country with the aid of text-books which are prescribed by the authorities. This is true in our secondary schools as well as in our colleges. These books are very carefully selected in such a way that they should not represent anything which would be unpalatable to the Government. Thus the study of History becomes only one-sided. There is no discussion and freedom of opinion. As a matter of fact History is such a subject that it should be always open for discussion, so that it should lead to the assertion of the real causes of the past events and their consequences. The want of such a scientific study of History has led our past educated generations to some dogmatic beliefs. In addition it has failed to evoke any spirit of civic rights and responsibilities. The minds of the young people therefore are always ready and willing to listen to any new interpretation of History offered from the press or the platform. This is the reason why the young folk attend the public meetings against the wishes of their teachers, parents or guardians. The attendance at public meetings by school children and college boys has become a serious subject not only for the parents and guardians, but even for the Government. The boys are often admonished as to the evil effects of attending such meetings and they are exhorted not to believe in anything or in anybody unless they have come to that belief as a result of their own mature study and consideration. But this is putting a horse before the carriage. Unless and until the boys are habituated to the study and belief in things, it is difficult for them to practise this advice; and this habit does not come overnight. It is the result of many days and years. It requires a constant cultivation of it. It must begin in the schools and the colleges. It must be the result of free thinking and teaching. Thus if subjects like History be taught in a stereotyped method, the results are obvious. From such a study of History, we cannot expect any good spirit of citizenship. In this connection it would be highly interesting to know how History is taught in some of the important countries of Europe and America.

## TEACHING OF HISTORY IN FRANCE.

Before the French Revolution little was done with History in French schools. In the 18th century the subject was chiefly prized as furnishing necessary instruction in Government to princes and fitting themes for the rhetorical essays of "*Les beaux esprits*." The Revolutionists although they recognised its importance endeavoured to enslave the subject to their cause, offering the history of the Revolution itself for the learning of the French youths. In France there are two great groups of schools. There are the elementary primary schools attended by the majority of the population, and the secondary schools including the Lycées and the communal colleges. As these schools serve different objects, the aim in teaching History also differs; although the main object is the training of patriotism. The motive of patriotism is most powerful.

In the lower grades emphasis is laid on the past great deeds of the people, so as to create an interest and love in the minds of the young generation for their mother country. In the upper grades the narration of the progressive welfare of the people is especially emphasised.

## TEACHING OF HISTORY IN GERMANY.

In Germany as well as in France the study and importance of History were belittled till the reorganisation of Germany, and the gradual rise of Prussia to the position of leadership (1870). In Germany there are two principal classes of schools, each with its own constituency, and governed by an aim determined by the supposed destiny of its constituents. The People's Schools, or the *Volkschule* offer to the children of the common people a course of study which is believed best to meet their needs, and which is intended to occupy them 8 years, from the age of 6 to that of 14, or from 7 to 15. Over against these schools stand the secondary schools which receive the children of the more fortunate, and by a course lasting from 6 to 9 years, beginning with the age of 9 prepare them either for the University or official, or business life. Although the objects of the various secondary schools differ they may never-the-less be grouped together



because they agree in assigning a similar amount of time to the study of History, and in offering practically the same course of study with one section of it omitted in the 6 year schools. The attendance at these schools in Prussia is very small as compared with the attendance at the People's Schools. This fact emphasises the importance of the work done at the People's Schools, and yet it would be wrong to belittle what is done in the secondary schools for these latter furnish the makers of public opinion.

#### HISTORY OF FOREIGN NATIONS NOT NEGLECTED.

While teaching the history of their own nation the history of foreign countries and its lessons are not ignored. Dr. Rein asserts that the Germans are in no danger of such narrowness for they have a clear cosmopolitan tendency, and that the limitation means only that the history of a foreign nation will be given whenever it throws light upon the development of Germany rather than for its own sake. (*Das Fünfte Schuljahr*, 31-32). Another writer remarks that the studying of German History makes necessary the incidental study of much of the general history of Europe. These men argue that as it is impossible to cover the whole field without reducing the subject to a mere mass of names and dates, it is important to choose that part already interesting to the pupils and not even all of that for fear of wrecking the enterprise by the mere weight of the matter. If the work of History is to have beneficial results on the growth of character and of patriotism the pupil must be brought into contact at many points—with actual men, their struggles, and their achievements, so that his judgment and his feelings will constantly be called into activity (*Kornrumpf* 1 introduction, ii-iv.)

#### GERMAN GYMNASIUM

In the classical gymnasium (Real Secondary Schools) it is not usual that an emphasis is placed on the teaching of patriotism. In these schools the object of History teaching is to arouse in the pupils a respect for the moral greatness of individual men and nations to make them conscious of their own imperfect insight, and to give them the ability to read understandingly the greatest historical classics. Besides this every opportunity is seized to bring into view the social and industrial development and the settlement of the general condition of living and well-being of the people. While bringing these things clearly and impressively to the minds of the young folks, local history also is made equally interesting and inspiring.

#### CASE IN FRENCH SCHOOLS.

A similar purpose is attempted to be served in the programmes of the French elementary and secondary schools, but in the instructions which accompanied the programme of 1891 Professor Lavissee declared it the function of History to give the student—a clear notion of his duties as a Frenchman and of his duties as man. In order that such an aim may be realised the pupil is to receive an exact idea of successive civilisations, and a precise knowledge of the formation of the development of France, including the action and the reaction of each upon the other. Professor Lavissee says, no "country has been moved more than France by influences from without, since it is a mingling of races and since at its origin it received from Rome and from Germany adverse elements. On the contrary no country has acted more than ours upon the world. We have never been, we shall never be particularists. It is a part of our profession as Frenchmen to love humanity and to serve it. The knowledge of general History is then indispensable to us" (Lavissee 81.)

#### HOW MUCH TIME GIVEN TO HISTORY.

In both French and German programmes History receives an adequate amount of time. This is due to the recognition of the fact that if the pupil's knowledge is to be something better than a shallow familiarity with scattered facts, his attention must be directed towards historical events continuously through succeeding years, as his experience becomes broader. He will in this way form the habit of thinking historically, and the natural interest every healthy-minded child feels in the world events will be nourished, and may grow into one of the enduring forces of his intellectual life. In the elementary schools the work with History begins with the third or the fourth year of the child's school life and continues to the end. During the whole period, the French schools give two hours a week to the subject, an addition to what is assigned to Civics. The German schools give approximately the same amount of weekly attention. In the French secondary schools History and Geography together are granted three hours for four years after which History receives between two and three hours; about the same time is given in Germany. The Prussian plan, for example, provides for an hour for the first two years, two hours in the succeeding four, and three hours in the final three years.

# Case for and Against the Control of Rents

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By

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(Madras Publicity Board Prize Essay.)

## I.—CASE FOR THE CONTROL OF RENTS

THE movement to control house-rents through legislative action has become world-wide in importance especially after the War. The problem of housing is, next to that of food, the most acute one now in the world, and profiteering by house-owners is more oppressive to the community than by other traders. Hence the increasing advocacy to check this by controlling the rents through legislation. It is not easy to trace the genesis of this idea of control, but the following line of argument seems to be in the main what the advocates of such control could possibly put forth.

Profiteering results as in other trades because of the tremendous disparity between the supply of and demand for house accommodation. While the demand goes on increasing in geometrical progression the supply becomes shorter and shorter. This places practically the entire community at the mercy of a handful of house-owners who can relentlessly exploit them with impunity. This causes acute distress especially to the poor. The possible remedies against profiteering in house rents are three: (1) Free individual action. The slow operation of economic causes may bring about an adjustment of supply to demand even under an individualist economy. But as a rule this method has proved ineffective and it is this individualist regime that has produced this economic evil. Free economic competition under unequal conditions has led to the incidence of all distress in the country on the poor. The poor have been made the scapegoat for all the other sections of the community to shift their burdens on to them and to mercilessly exploit them. Hence it is being increasingly felt since the latter half of the nineteenth century that some other remedy supplementing if not supplanting private enterprise is necessary. The results of private enterprise are very slow and not all to the favour of the poor. (2) Moral restraint and sympathy on the part of the owners might operate as a remedy against profiteering, but no hopes can be set on this so long as human nature retains its present constitution. (3) Collectivism is therefore advocated by some as the only radical remedy against all the evils of *laissez-faire*. Free but unequal competition causes

grave distress as well as injustice to the poor and considerations of socio-economic justice. Social welfare and sympathy alike demand the supersession of the individualist system. It is obvious that the demand for governmental or municipal succour to the house-tenants arises out of the collectivistic plea.

But since the objections to the adoption of a full programme of Collectivism are serious, the champions of house-tenants hasten to add that their plea should not be mistaken to be one advocating the adoption of complete Socialism. Nor would they suggest the introduction of full Socialism in the case of houses. Very few might ask for the nationalisation of the building trade. The present plea is a modest one, though it might be Collectivistic. None suggests that all building trade should be exclusively carried on by the public authorities, that private ownership in houses should be abolished and the Government alone should lease them out to the community at equitable and cheap rates. Private enterprise should not be supplanted but only supplemented. What is proposed is therefore a limited and more beneficent form of Collectivist action.

But the proposal to control rents is still more modest in scope. It is not even asked of Government to engage itself in building, owning and leasing out houses along with the private builder and owner, but only to come to the immediate rescue of the poor tenants who are mercilessly and unjustly being preyed upon by private house-owners. It is no attempt at Socialism of any kind but a temporary device to check profiteering. Profiteering exists in other trades and Governmental action is indispensable in all cases, but the form of such action need not necessarily be that of controlling the price of the commodity or the service offered, while in the case of houses control of rent, though not the only device, is perhaps the most profitable and successful one to check profiteering. The position of a house tenant, though closely analogous to that of a wage-earner, general consumer, debtor and agricultural tenant, is very peculiar.

In securing relief against his employer the wage earner is not entirely dependent upon governmental help like a house tenant or a general consumer. He can resort to strikes which are impossible in the case of house tenants. They



cannot vacate the houses and hold out in the streets refusing to enter them unless the rents are reduced. And if they combine and refuse to pay-rents at all till reduced it would amount to passive resistance against the existing civil law of eviction. Even if labour wins over capital by private or public effort the latter has nothing to lose as it shifts the burdens on to the community of consumers.

But in the case of *consumers* and *producers* as well as *house-tenants* and *house-owners* the mutual adjustment is self-contained and cannot be effected by drawing upon any third party. If so, are house tenants strictly consumers? A *consumer* is a purchaser, but a tenant does not buy the house he goes into. If profiteering in trades of commodities like rice or cotton cloth is to be checked, the Government may practice other methods than the control of prices only, since its hold over transport and the movement of commodities gives it considerable powers to regulate the supply of them, but in the case of buildings such methods are practically useless. The very existence of a general producer can be assailed by government but builders being neither large in number nor perpetually in existence cannot so be dealt with. But if control of price is the only desirable remedy such control of the price of houses would only help the buyers of them but not the tenants who temporarily occupy them in return for a payment.

In this respect the tenants resemble *debtors*. The distress of the debtors may also be relieved by Government in other ways than by a legal control of the rate of interest. The Government being the ultimate source and backbone of all the credit power of the community can effectively device other steps to check the vagaries of moneylenders. Besides, the distress of the borrower is neither so widespread nor so perennial as that of the tenants. Habitation is as much of a necessity as food, and unlike credit, would cause acute distress if profiteered in. If, inspite of all this, control of the interest rate is felt to be necessary in the case of debtors, then control of rents becomes a hundred times more necessary in the case of tenants in addition to and notwithstanding the possibility of other ways of help available. A debt or a house may be taken for satisfying the necessary wants of life or for investing in some productive undertaking. In the latter case the burden can be shifted on to a third party and no extra-economic restraint is justified. In the former case the right thing to do for a debtor living upon debt is not to restrain

the creditor but to ask the former to curtail his expenses so as to live within his income. But in the case of a tenant who takes the house for dwelling purposes only there is no such self-curtaiment possible and control of rent is absolutely indispensable. A tenant like a pure consumer purchases for a price the 'use' of the house and destroys it by consumption. The house tenant differs in this respect from an *agricultural tenant*.

#### 4. AGRICULTURAL TENANT.

The latter is more like a labourer and can resort to strikes. The control of land rents will not be a far-reaching remedy to the land problem. From all this it follows that the tenant of a dwelling-house has no remedy of his own against exploitation, cannot have the burden shifted on to any third party, and Government aid in the form of control of rents cannot be lightly and profitably given up in preference to other possible methods.

In addition to the above ideas that would lead to the conception of the idea of control of rents there might also be another one supporting the same. It is certain that most of the advocates of this proposal support it in the honest belief that such a step is just, really beneficial to the tenants, and practicable in action. It is difficult to know if all advocate such control permanently but some at least might do so. Some others might feel diffident as to the practicality or the ultimate usefulness of this device but still advocate it as an effective transitory remedy checking unjust exploitation till supply is adequately adjusted to demand, and also as one giving relief to the present tenants immediately as against relief to future tenants.

The above is in substance, apart from sentimentalistic rhetoric, the full case for the legislative control of house rents. It is sought to be made out that the proposal is a very modest one, though Collectivistic in scope, but at the same time the most effective as well as the indispensable way of doing good and showing justice to the poor tenants. But most unfortunately the proposal is replete with shortcomings and a dispassionate study of the above arguments will prove its untenability.

#### II. CASE AGAINST THE CONTROL OF RENTS.

##### A. COLLECTIVISM NOT ACCEPTED BY ALL AS GOSPEL TRUTH.

The advocates frankly admit their disapproval of the present individualistic regime and state that their proposal is Socialistic. But even now high authorities are not certain that the

individualist system should be definitely taken to have failed and that Collectivism is a proved necessity. Marshall, for instance, the doyen of living English Economists, while he defined 40 years ago that the aim of Economics is the elimination of poverty, still persists in his recent work (National Industry and Trade) in believing that on the whole free individual enterprise alone makes for maximum national efficiency and welfare. But whatever might be urged against the adoption of complete Socialism all excepting a very few are agreed that some Collectivistic action is necessary as well as useful in some well defined fields. The problem of house accommodation comes under this. It may be conceded that it cannot be solved without collectivist action.

#### B. MERE CONTROL IS INADEQUATE, INEXPEDIENT, AND UNJUST STATE ACTION.

Grant that Government should come to the help of the house tenants in the interests of welfare as well as justice. In what way and to what extent should this help be given? The advocates of control of rents think they ask for only a very modest and humble kind of help. They desire neither Socialism in all trades nor Socialism even in the building trade. But unfortunately their proposal would in the end lead to the very results which they take care to disclaim. The control of rents if it is to be really just as well as successful will inevitably necessitate complete socialism either in all trades or at least in the building trade.

As already pointed out restraint in the case of non-dwelling houses like shops or business concerns is quite unnecessary and unjustifiable.

It will be shown later that the control of rents would completely kill the building trade by leading to endless litigation and corruption, by making the investment on houses unprofitable, by destroying the economic value of 'land' or site as such, by causing the house to cease to be a free economic commodity, by putting a tax on ignorance and a premium on dishonesty, and by destroying all higher motives of house-ownership.

If the building trade disappears, the entire burden of adjusting supply to demand in the case of houses falls directly and exclusively on Government. Control thus leads to the supplanting rather than supplementing the enterprise of the private builder.

Even supposing the Government is prepared to accept all this burden and undertakes house building on an extensive scale, can it really build

cheaply and rent out cheaply in an economic sense? Of the four ingredients of the product, 'land,' labour, capital and enterprise, the Government by nationalising the building trade and house-ownership would only be nationalising the first factor. By destroying the economic 'value' of this factor the dividend going to its share would be saved. But that is not much. Unless the Government takes under its control all the other factors also no permanent solution will be possible. If, say, the Government builds a house for Rs. 10,000 it cannot charge a rent less than Rs. 50 per month so long as the rate of interest in the money market remains at 6 percent. But if capital also becomes nationalised then it lies with the Government to arrange for any rate of interest, wage, rent or profit it likes. This means the adoption of complete Socialism in all the trades and not merely in the case of houses.

Justice also demands the same. Like all other producers the house-owner also offers his services to the community in return for a reward, and under conditions of free competition he is allowed to put his own value on his time and labour. If the community rejecting this wants to put a value of its own upon his services none can question its right to do so. But the owner might very well ask why on earth he alone of all the rest of the producers and traders should be selected as a victim. People like lawyers or doctors can prey upon the community more dangerously than money-lenders or house-owners. The community would not be doing justice by choosing alone the house-owner or the money-lender for special action while allowing all other professionalists to freely exploit the consumers. If this is to be avoided national control of all production must be set up. This is Socialism pure and simple in all the trades and industries. The control of rents is not thus so very 'modest' in its results as is thought of. If this problem of profiteering in house-rents is to be tackled the Government cannot stop with the control of rents. Such control inevitably leads to other far-reaching steps to be taken. It follows that if the control is undesirable on other grounds it is better to discard it altogether and take up other more effective steps which cannot be avoided in any case.

#### C. CONTROL NOT THE BEST REMEDY AGAINST PROFITEERING EVEN IN THE CASE OF HOUSES.

The argument that in the case of house-tenants the control of rents is the only sure remedy against profiteering and the most appropriate form of Governmental action, is equally unsound.



It is true that unlike debtors, agricultural tenants or general consumers the house tenant has no remedy of his own against exploitation and cannot have the burden shifted on to a 3rd party. But it is not so very true that control is more appropriate against house owners than it is against the other classes of exploiters. The results of control are the same in all cases. Possibly it may prove a more efficacious cure in the other cases. The distress in the other cases being less widespread, less acute and more occasional, this sort of control may be of considerable relief. Control by its nature can only be of a temporary character which suits these cases well. It is also easier to organize and manage such control. But to speak the truth control in every case is a wrong cure. Profiteering is the result of a wide disparity between supply and demand which is especially great in the case of houses. Under free economic competition this results in high rents, prices or interest which cause much suffering to the poor. The real remedy is to increase the supply or to decrease the demand. The latter being impossible in the case of houses the only right remedy is to increase the supply of house accommodation. What is sought instead is to artificially check the operation of economic causes which is neither practicable nor ultimately beneficial. The task of control as will be shown is not so light as is thought of. If the same effort is directed rather to increasing the supply better success would attend. Both control and attempt at building are socialistic in character. If Governmental action is indispensable why not then adopt the latter instead of the former? It has already been shown that in the case of control the Government cannot stop with control merely but must inevitably take the other step also. If so why not adopt the latter directly and at once and avoid all the trouble incidental to control?

#### D. OBJECTIONS REGARDING THE MODE OF CONTROL.

The real objection to control of rents is in the impossibility of devising a successful mode of such control. What is usually proposed is to fix a maximum legal rent. It is no easy task to do this. It can be set up in two ways:

##### A. CONTROL BY JUDICIAL DISCRETION.

A. Instead of fixing a legal rent by law most of the control might be left to judicial discretion as in the case of usury. This no doubt avoids many of the difficulties besetting the former mode, but is equally impracticable and harmful. A tenant is more helpless than a borrower, and since almost

everyone is a tenant such judicial discretion without a standard would lead to hopeless confusion and lead to endless litigation.

##### B. CONTROL BY LEGISLATION.

B. The other mode which is more popular is fixing a maximum legal rent by legislation. It is doubtful if this will succeed in relieving the distress of the poor tenants.

##### 1. DETERMINATION OF THE MAXIMUM LEGAL RENT.

To start with the determination of the legal rate is very difficult. It cannot be arbitrarily selected. If so, how is it to be calculated? What is the basis of calculation? What items should it include?

##### 2. ALLOWANCE FOR REPAIRS ETC.

Allowance for repairs, improvements or extensions. The Madras Bill arbitrarily fixed this to be 10 per cent. of the capital expenses for these extensions or repairs. Litigation will flood in regarding proof of the exact amount spent for this purpose. Where no such provision is made the necessary repairs will be neglected and the tenants will suffer. A tyrannous legal rent will discourage the construction of spacious houses. The owners will cut down to a minimum all conveniences of habitation and would build henceforth as well convert the existing houses into chawls to crowd in as many families as possible.

##### 3. PROVISION FOR FUTURE CONTINGENCIES.

It is always difficult to make provision for future contingencies. For instance the Madras Bill ignored the case of leasing in the future for the first time.

##### 4. SCOPE FOR EVASION.

The difficulties of drafting the law will be very great. The owner can evade and defeat every possible provision of the law and make legislation a dead letter in practice. To give only 2 instances, how to define "a house?" A little alteration in the structure can possibly evade the law. Litigation will be endless. The other instance is supplied by a Bombay case under the Rent Act there, where the tenant got the house for the legal rent of Rs. 500 but sublet it for Rs. 1,110. The law was helpless against him. Every owner can thus evade this law by *benami* transactions.

##### 5. EXACTION OF PREMIUMS.

In spite of the rigours of law the house owner by his greater holding-out power is in a position to exact a premium over the legal rent. This

will encourage profiteering by dishonest means rather than destroy it. In Bombay the premium has become almost a normal affair.

#### 6. A TAX ON IGNORANCE.

Such legal control of rents is rather a tax on ignorance and sets a premium on dishonesty. It goads the owners to resort to underhand means and they would persecute the tenants all the more bitterly for their foolish provocation.

#### 7. APPALLING LITIGATION.

The litigation that results will be appalling and the strength of the existing courts may even have to be doubled. Should the general community bear the cost of all this for the temporary and uncertain relief of a few? Nor would the tenants gain anything. For, apart from being required to pay additional taxation to meet the increased expenditure of the community they will also have to pay a more dreadful class of teachers—the lawyers—and this practically exhausts and even goes beyond what they might, if at all, save from the owners. The worries of litigation will scare most of the tenants to agree to pay a premium, while it might on the other side stop further construction of houses.

#### C. DETERMINATION OF THE MAXIMUM LEGAL RENT.

The calculation of the legal rent should not be allowed to be entirely swayed by considerations of pity. The house-rent is not merely the economic 'rent' of the 'land' element *i.e.*, the site of a building, but is the price for the use of the building covering up all the expenses of production—the 'rent' for the site, the interest on the capital expended including labour expenses, and the profits for the work of management and the enterprise thrown in. It is just for the owner to expect that the rent should cover up all these items. If the rate of interest, 'rent' and profits has gone up on account of high prices it is necessary that house-rents also should go up proportionately. In addition to this the owner has also to recover (1) house taxes, State and municipal, (2) expenses of periodical and special repairs, (3) compensation for vacancies, (4) money for depreciation fund and insurance fund, (5) expenses of collection, (6) compensation for irregular payments or losses by death or deceit of the tenant. The expenses are special to the house owner which he has to incur over and above what a money lender or one who invests

his money in banks would have to do. Suppose the saleable value of a house is Rs. 15,000 which A intends to purchase by way of investment. Instead of buying the house if he loans out the money on excellent house security he can get in Madras an interest ranging from 9 per cent. to 50 per cent. Leaving this out if he puts the money in the Government of India Loan, he gets income-tax free interest at 6 per cent.—the Mysore Loan would fetch  $6\frac{1}{4}$  per cent.—and this means for Rs. 15,000 Rs. 75 per month. But if he buys the house and lets it out he has to incur additional expenditure amounting to, say, Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 a year. Then, he has to get for his house a rent of Rs. 100 a month at a minimum. But does any house owner get such a rate now? If a house of Rs. 15,000 is charged Rs. 40—50 it will be branded as wreckless profiteering. It is because houseownership stands largely on extra-economic motives that the tenants are getting houses at far below the real economic rate of rent. Profiteering, if at all it exists, is only occasional and very rare. But the real object of the promoters of control is that for a house of Rs. 15,000 the legal rent should be about Rs. 30—35. This can never be possible nor equitable so long as the saleable value of the building remains at Rs. 15,000. If this could be cut down then the rent also could be cut down. It is difficult to calculate upon the value of the building but that of the site can be handled easily. The economic value of the site may be destroyed entirely or reduced to a minimum. Thus the fixing of a maximum rent demands a further fixing of a maximum land price. Otherwise it cannot succeed.

#### D. MAXIMUM LAND PRICE.

##### 1. ITS PLAUSIBLE JUSTIFICATION ON THE DOCTRINE OF UNEARNED INCREMENT.

But it is not easy to fix a maximum price for land. 'Rent' proper in the economic sense is the return for the differential advantage in fertility and situation. The 'rent' of building land is the differential return for situational advantages only. A maximum land price involves the artificial destruction wholly or largely of this 'Rent' element. The action can only be justified on the famous doctrine of "unearned increment." Growth of population, improvement of the city, the general progress of the people in the place cause the value of house sites to go up by leaps and bounds for which the capital or labour of the owner is not in the least responsible. In fact



unlike agricultural land the owner of house sites does not contribute anything at all to create the differential situational advantages. Mill followed by Henry George suggested the appropriation by the state of this 'unearned increment' through taxation. This holds good more in the case of house sites than in the case of agricultural land.

## 2. DIFFICULTIES.

But the difficulties of applying this idea and controlling the price of sites are insurmountable.

### I. IMPRACTICABILITY OF CORRECT CALCULATION.

It is impossible to correctly calculate the value for the unearned increment. Especially when it is to be artificially controlled the supply and demand forces cease to operate freely and measurement of the price is not practicable.

### II. EXEMPTIONS.

This can never be applied to an owner who has not reaped the increment on account of recent purchase or recent construction. What to do with the tenants of all such houses?

### III. COMPENSATION.

If this principle is to be uniform, compensation should be accruable to owners of property which is depreciating through social and economic causes.

### IV. BENEFIT TO HOUSE-BUYERS ONLY.

In the case of houses this idea can properly apply to dealers in houses rather than owners who let them out for rents.

### V. THE DOCTRINE INAPPLICABLE TO THE CASE OF TENANTS.

It is difficult to know how the control of land price gives effect to Mill's idea. Such control would destroy the value of the unearned increment which is not Mill's idea. What Mill proposed was that the owner should be allowed to reap this benefit in full and then the State should snatch it from him. But the point here is that this benefit should be reserved to the tenants in the shape of exemption to that extent in their rents. But this benefit is the result of the tenants' excessive demand for houses. It cannot be reserved to them unless it is realised and it cannot be realised unless the owners are allowed freely to extract it from the tenants themselves. This can be effected not by control of land value but by the State appropriating this benefit and then distributing it among the tenants as bonus or otherwise.

## VI. HELP TO FUTURE TENANTS ONLY.

Control of land price can help only future tenants.

## VII. DESTRUCTION OF THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF 'SITES.'

It is evident that a control of land price practically destroys the 'Rent' of site or the value for the differential advantage of its situation and produces the absurdity of reducing all situations to a common economic level in spite of glaring differences having natural economic value. Then a house of a building value of Rs. 15,000 should economically mean the same both to owners and tenants whether it is situated in East end or West end, Parel or Malabar Hill, Choolai or Egmore. But how to ignore the obvious advantages of the latter places for which tenants are rushing to pay a price? The owner is indifferent to have any tenant, but a tenant who desires an Egmore house which he finds occupied, how can he, since economic competition is taken off, get into it except by the personal favour of the owner or the occupant? If tenants secure, like rent legislation, other kinds of protection against eviction then the owners also would be helpless to oblige anybody. Then a situation might arise compelling the Government itself to study the needs of every inhabitant and put him in the locality most favourable to him. Judged by the law of supply and demand house-sites have a value which the Governmental action seeks to relegate to some etherial region. Mill never suggested this. According to him the tenant or the buyer has to pay for this but only the owner is then—afterwards to be deprived of it by the State.

## VIII. UNJUST PARTIALITY TO TENANTS.

Even supposing it is possible to save this increment to the tenants, is it right to do so? If the general community that really has produced it should not have it, it is but right that the owners also should be allowed a share of it. But how to effect this?

## IX. SALE OF STATE LAND FOR SITES.

If the economic 'Rent' of land is artificially made extinct what will the Government or the Municipality do in transferring sites to the public? If the price is not to be nominal or arbitrary how far can economic competition operate to determine it? It is difficult to decide since a maximum price exists it increases the rush of competition, and, as

in all cases there will be a large number of persons ready to pay the maximum price, it will always be nice question to decide upon the auction purchaser unless lot is resorted to. This will considerably add to litigation as well as official corruption which always defeat a poor man against a rich competitor. The professional house-owner will not compete here since the official blackmail cannot bring him any return through rents, and only those who want houses or themselves to live in will seek sites and resort to building. Building trade will disappear. This is harmful to the tenants themselves in the long run.

#### E. IMPRUDENCE OF CONTROL.

If a maximum land price is thus infeasible then a maximum rent is impossible. Apart from its impracticality the control of rent is also imprudent even immediately. It has already been shown that investment on land and houses are not now fetching even the market rate of interest. It is only a very few owners that are getting a completely adequate return covering all the items of expenses enumerated above. Profit-eering is almost non-existent.

##### 1. A 'CLASS LEGISLATION.'

An attempt to control rents is at best only a 'class legislation.'

##### 2. IMPRUDENT PROVOCATION.

This would be an imprudent provocation of the owners who would open out their eyes and try to retaliate.

##### 3. IMMEDIATE RISE OF RENT.

The immediate effect of control would be the rise of rents in every case to the economic margin or the legal maximum. The majority of the tenants who had escaped this by the inadvertance, ignorance or sympathy of the owners will have to thank themselves for the increase.

##### 4. DESTRUCTION OF ALL HIGHER MOTIVES OF OWNERSHIP.

Traditional respect, social distinction, a safe and permanent field of investment for the upper middle class—it is these sentimental considerations that induce ownership in the majority of cases although the return is considerably less than what the same investment of capital and other items of production would fetch in other fields. A reckless control of rents would tend to the destruction of all these extra-economic motives for ownership and make it a purely business affair. This compulsory divorce of

ownership from sentimentalism is disadvantageous to the tenants immediately as well as ultimately.

#### III. CONCLUSION—THE ALTERNATIVE TO CONTROL OF RENTS.

In one sentence, then, the control of rents is impracticable, stops future building, sets up locality against locality, class against class, the present against the future, and is unjust to the owners. It is a false cure. It brings in new batches of evils without curing the old ones. The question for the statesman is not to artificially bolster up the tenants for a time but to set himself earnestly to the task of reducing the ever increasing gulf of disparity between demand and supply of habitation. Control of rents can never give permanent relief to present as well as future tenants. Such relief is possible only in two ways: (1) by a complete adoption of Socialism in all the trades and industries. This would at least be just to all the sections of the community. But as this remedy is almost revolutionary in scope it cannot be utilised immediately. (2) Instead of this the State might increase the supply of houses by stimulating private building extensively supplemented by its own undertaking the same. Some might object even to this on the score that the State is not justified in expending public money in the interests of a section. Apart from other arguments this might be met in other practical way. The State might appropriate as far as practicable the unearned increment of land from the owners and set it apart for the above purpose. Under a non-socialist regime the economic conflict between two sections can only be fully solved by shifting on their burdens to a 3rd party. As there is no private 3rd party in the case of owners and tenants the problem would remain unsolved. If the State wants to solve it the best way would be by becoming the 3rd party to them and accepting their burden on its own shoulders subject to the above limitation. It is true this may not bring relief to the present tenants but it is difficult to know which other devise can do so. The distress of the tenant is occasioned not by the owner exclusively. It is some other sections of the community that determine the rate of interest and profits which the owner himself is compelled to accept and shovel on to the tenants. Immediate relief is thus impossible in any case.

The several ways in which the State can try to adjust the supply to the demand in the case of houses cannot be dealt with here.



# SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY

By SIR RAJENDRANATH MUKERJEE.

**I**N the past, business men were inclined to disregard the usefulness of science as applied to industry or accepted its benefits without being conscious of their source; but they are now firmly convinced that science is an invaluable aid to the development of industry, and that the dissemination of scientific knowledge with its experiments and discoveries is an essential condition of industrial progress. They are, moreover, fully alive to the fact that applied science is nothing but the application of pure science to a particular problem, the solution of which some manufacturer has found necessary in order to improve, if not, indeed in some cases, to save his business. The improvement in manufacturing processes can only be achieved by the application of science and the prosperity of any industry is based on this fundamental truth. It has been truly said that the foundation of industrial advance was laid by workers in pure science for the most part ignorant of its utility and caring little about it.

It has now been generally recognised by every business man that scientific research is an absolutely necessary condition of industrial advancement. The progress of Indian industry in particular owing to our lack of scientific knowledge of its raw materials and special problems is inseparably bound up with the progress of science, research and discovery. We must recognise that science is our best friend, a working partner always willing to work for a bare subsistence to increase our profit. Scientists are sometimes looked on by business men as rather impracticable individuals; but it seems to me that the latter do not make sufficient allowance for the ideals and methods of scientists. Scientists and poets alike are inspired by their need for self-expression rather than the hope of making money. Neither of them can hope to succeed without originality and inspiration, and both have, each in their separate ways, laid the human race under a deep obligation. I would ask my fellow workers in the field of industry to recognise the value of scientific workers, both by liberality towards the individual, and towards the cause of science.

If India is to advance commercially and also economically, she must spend money on scientific investigation. After the lesson the Government of India has had during the war, there is no doubt that more attention will be paid to and more money spent on the encouragement of scientific methods in our industries. The scientific investigator should be provided with means

and facilities necessary for the proper pursuit of his work. If scientific research is to yield the maximum benefit to industry, research students must live in close touch with industrial conditions. The gap between the laboratory and the shop must be bridged.

Apart from the practical help and encouragement given by Government, I think it is part of the duty of all commercial and industrial concerns which benefit, directly or indirectly, from scientific research, to set aside a portion of their enhanced profits for the purpose of contributing to scientific associations like this to enable its members to extend their work and devote more time to further discoveries.

This Congress has charged itself with the function of bringing together from year to year in a convenient form the results of the researches and discoveries of those who are engaged in the different branches of science. Sufficient funds should, therefore, be in the hands of your Committee to enable it to make its work known to the public, so that any one who takes an interest in a particular subject may readily obtain information. The objects of the Congress should be the advertisement of its activities to the non-scientist; the exchange of information between scientists, and the encouragement of them in their several activities. Make clear to the industrialist and to Government the practical benefit you are conferring on them and on the country generally, and they will give you their money and their support. Show the intelligent public that practical work is going on, in which their interest, though often indirect, is always considerable; make them realise what the spirit of science means, and familiarise them with scientific methods; it will be good for their minds, and will educate public opinion in a direction helpful to the cause you all have at heart.

It has been aptly said that science has its hand on the lever controlling the major physical facts of our existence. The war has shown us the way, and we now see before us a new prospect of unlimited possibilities of developments. The importance of the skilled chemist has been abundantly shown by the war which has proved beyond doubt that the best assets of a country are its scientific investigators and inventors, and that wars are won not only by the strength and number of the armies engaged but in the laboratory and the factory. (*From the Presidential Address to the Indian Science Congress.*)

# THE MARIAN CONGRESS

93

BY

J. D. MATHIAS, M.A.

IN the beginning of January, Madras was privileged to witness a Congress, the like of which no city in the East has ever witnessed before. The Marian Congress, as it was called, was the first of its kind held in Asia, a fact which no doubt explains the intense interest and enthusiasm it evoked among the Catholics of all parts of India, Burma and Ceylon. The Marian Congress was neither a political nor a social Congress. It was essentially a religious one, and it had for its main object the giving of public honour and glory to the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of God and also of promoting devotion to her in the future. Incidentally the Congress helped to promote unity of mind and heart between all classes and races within the Catholic Church.

The Marian Congress was not altogether a new movement in the Catholic Church. The first Congress of the kind was held at Leghorn in Italy in 1895. From Italy the idea of Marian Congresses quickly spread over many parts of Europe, including France, Spain and Switzerland. The first great International Marian Congress was held in the Sanctuary of *Notre Dame de Fourvieres* from the 5th to the 8th September 1900. The Congress was a unique success. Three Cardinals, five Archbishops, twenty-two Bishops, three mitred Abbots, assisted at the opening Session and 100,000 Catholics took part in the festivities. Encouraged by these results, other countries and other cities vied with each other in holding similar Congresses, and in less than ten years as many as six Congresses were held in Spain and Switzerland. These then were the precursors of the great Marian Congress held at Madras from the 4th to the 6th January 1921.

Coming now to the genesis of the Marian movement in India,—it is necessary for me to take the readers back to the year 1912, when the third Eucharistic Congress in India was held at St. Thome, Mylapore. Among the numerous Catholics that attended the Congress, was an old Sodalist of the Assumption, whom the grand ceremony had so greatly impressed that soon afterwards he ventured to suggest in the *Catholic Watchman* the idea of holding a similar Congress in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This suggestion was enthusiastically taken up in

Trichinopoly, which city deserves the credit of having carried through the whole of the preliminary organisation of the Congress. All arrangements to hold the Marian Congress in December 1914 were almost ready when the unhappy war broke out, which necessitated the postponement of it to a more propitious time. The most astonishing feature of the preliminary work of organising the Marian Congress, was the eagerness of the Catholics of India, Burma and Ceylon to make a sacrifice in order to honour Mary. As soon as the Hierarchy formally blessed the devotional enterprise and commended it to the generosity of their diocesans, subscriptions and donations came flowing in from all quarters, so that in less than six months a sum exceeding thirty thousand rupees was collected. The question of holding the Marian Congress was again taken up in January 1920, and at a special meeting of the Hierarchy convened at Trichinopoly, it was decided to hold the Congress at Madras. And judged by its unique success I should think that the choice was well made. The effect of the Congress upon non-Catholics was surely greater than what would have been the case if it had been held at Trichinopoly.

Unlike the present-day conferences and Congresses, the Marian Congress was intended not only for the delegates but for the masses as well. Accordingly the programme was drawn up so as to include religious services and sessions. For three days religious services were held both morning and evening at all the Congress centres, which were the Congress Hall on the Island, St. Thome Cathedral, Mylapore, Sacred Heart Church, Egmore, St. Anthony's Church, Pudupet, St. Mary's Cathedral, George Town, and the Refuge Church, Broadway. The Congress Hall was a huge pandal in the form of a cross, richly decorated with Papal colours, paper flowers, flags and bunting. It was perhaps the grandest pandal ever exhibited in Madras. A temporary altar was also put up beneath the central dome of the pandal, where the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was offered. From 10 a. m. to 12 noon and from 2 p. m. to 4 p. m. Sessions were held in English simultaneously in the four halls of the Congress Pandal, each hall accommodating over 2,000 persons. These Sessions were presided



over by Bishops and papers were read on twenty one different subjects, covering a wide range of activity of Catholics within the Catholic Church. The subjects were properly discussed and resolutions thereon were passed, which were proclaimed on the closing day of the Congress. At the time when the English sessions were going on in the Congress Hall vernacular sessions were conducted by celebrated preachers at the other Congress centres. The two most striking events of the Congress were the opening ceremony and the closing ceremony. Referring to the former event the *Times of India* said, "the Marian Congress brought together the largest number of Catholics ever seen in India. There are 32 Catholic dioceses in India and 24 of them were represented by Archbishops and Bishops, while the remainder deputed Vicars-General to represent them. That there are some erudite and eminent scholars among these ecclesiastical dignitaries is evident from the inaugural address delivered by the Most Rev. A. Goodier, S. J., Archbishop of Bombay, at the opening session. He is reported to have impressed the large audience by his eloquence and the masterly disquisition on the Christian religion and its wonderful influence in all the countries of the world, including India". The Marian Congress terminated on the night of 6th January after a great procession and pageant representing the glories of Mary, in which about 40,000 Catholics, 300 priests and 24 Archbishops and Bishops participated. The various parishes of Madras assembled on the Marina. Each parish contributed some item to the pageant. There were about a dozen of these pageants. The Delegate Apostolic who was the President of the Congress headed the group of Bishops all attired in full ecclesiastical vestments and wearing mitres. The procession was such as was never witnessed in the annals of this country. It created a great impression upon the many thousands of spectators who witnessed it. The closing service was then held in the Congress pandal.

The brilliant success of the Marian Congress is to be attributed to its splendid organisation. The whole Congress Committee was divided into General Executive Committee, Reception and Accommodation Committee, Religious Ceremonies Committee, Sessions and Subjects Committee, Illumination and Procession Committee and Press Committee. These Committees had been working vigorously from June to December and the Secretaries of these Committees who had spared themselves no pains to carry out the duties

entrusted to them, deserve special congratulations on the success of their efforts.

Looking back on the Marian Congress which was a magnificent demonstration of their Faith and devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary by the Catholics of India, one would observe that for the first time laymen were privileged to confer with ecclesiastics in open Congress regarding the position of the Catholic Church and the ways and means of promoting the spiritual as well as the material welfare of Catholics. The Marian Congress gave an opportunity of showing to the outside world the strength of Catholicity in India and it also fostered unity and better understanding between Catholics of all classes and races from all parts of India, Burma and Ceylon. The first great meeting of Catholics on that memorable occasion indicated also the possibility of Catholic Conferences in the future. As a matter of fact, taking advantage of the presence of so many leading and representative Catholics from all over India, an informal All-India Catholic Conference was held in Madras on the second day after the Marian Congress. It was to have been held in the Congress Pandal itself on the day following the Marian Congress but the fire that burnt down the pandal with all its fittings on the closing night of the Congress, rendered that impossible. The fire, as most people are aware, was caused by a spark from a rocket, that dropped on the inflammable material of the pandal during the firework display at the close of the Congress. It is, however, consoling to note that there was no loss of life and that the material loss was covered by insurance.

The Marian Congress was voted a brilliant success, the fire notwithstanding, and it was characterised by peaceful and orderly behaviour of thousands of people for three days, a feature so rare in the Conferences and Congresses of the present day. The Marian Congress though not annual, will be held as often as it is found necessary but its venue will change, so that other cities also will have a chance of celebrating it in due course.

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Indian National Evolution. By Amvica Charan Mazumdar. New Edn. Rs. 3. To Subscribers of "I.R." Rs. 2-3.

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# State versus Company Management of Railways

**R**AILWAY construction began in India about 1850 and was carried on for a number of years through the agency of joint-stock companies under contracts with Government and with English incorporations and sterling capitals. The companies were given a guarantee of 5 per cent. on their capital outlay with half the surplus profits in addition. The terms of the guarantees usually imposed a considerable and unsatisfactory burden on the Indian revenues. About 1870 the movement for State Railways began and in 1879 the Secretary of State limited construction from borrowed funds to such works as might be expected to yield sufficient profits to cover the interest on the capital outlay. It was later decided to invoke the aid of private capital again; and a number of companies have been started in this, the third period, the terms of their contracts with the State exhibiting a great variety of conditions. All the old guaranteed lines have been purchased by the State by means of terminable annuities; but on the other hand many of the railways constructed and for sometime worked by the State have been leased to companies or to lines owned and worked by Native States.

From the beginning Government controlled the companies through its consulting engineers. In 1897 was organised the Railway Branch of the Public Works Department which included an expert secretary and three expert deputies. Lord Curzon carried out a change of system as the result of which a Railway Board of a chairman and two members with a secretary was formed in 1905. The Board prepares the programme of railway expenditure, discusses the railway policy and has administrative duties like the construction of new lines by State agency, the settlement of disputes between lines etc., as well as a general supervision over the working and expenditure of companies' lines.

For more than ten years past, the question of State management of railways has been seriously engaging the attention of the public and brought up before the Legislative Council many a time. Mr. Gokhale in 1910, Sir V. D. Thackersay in 1912, Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Acharya in 1914 and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola in 1915 raised questions advocating State management. Several communications were issued on the subject by the Railway Board and the answers to a questionnaire issued by the Board in 1916 showed us the fact that opinion was divided, but largely in favour of State management. Company management in India is not like that in other countries and it has

here no risk or responsibility for financial results. In the years 1917—19 there were various motions made in the Indian Legislative Council to take up the East Indian Railway under the State when its lease should expire, to examine into the working of the Railway Act and other questions.

Rai Saheb Chandrika Prasad, in the current number of *The Journal of the Indian Economic Society* examines the whole question on its broad principles of general application in great detail and besides gives us the benefit of his experience with regard to the lesson learned by India itself from railway companies. He sums up the disadvantages to the State of the company management of the Indian State Railways as follows.

(a) State management is amenable to the Government in India and indirectly to the representatives of the people. But company management is not so.

(b) The former naturally works in the interests of the public, while the latter aims at profits only.

(c) Treatment of Indian passengers and traders is generally better on State-managed than on company-worked lines.

(d) The profits made are, in the former case, entirely used for the public benefit or towards the reduction of taxation, while the profits made by the companies are divided between the Government and the share-holders of the companies.

(e) Government are much better able to obtain expert men on better terms than the Companies; and in fact the latter usually employ Government experts on higher emoluments.

(f) Government can obtain loans on cheaper terms than companies.

(g) Company management is partial to Europeans in service to the detriment of the children of the soil.

(h) Under Government management irregularities and complexities like complicated tariffs of rates and fares, anomalous and varying rates for goods, lack of carriage and waggon stock experienced by individual companies on occasions of fairs etc. and longer haulage of goods by circuitous roads would be avoided.

(i) Frequent unreasonableness of companies under the present management.



If all State railways were managed by the State, there would be uniformity and economy as regards administration, one simple tariff of rates and fares and a uniform classification of goods, the removal of block-rates quoted by one administration against routes served by other administrations, a great reduction in working expenses, advantageous concentration of surplus rolling-stock on occasions of fairs and rush of goods traffic, reduction of higher salaries, greater employment of Indians in the higher grades and abolition of the hire system for rolling stock interchanged between separate administrations. The Government help to industries would become more effective, first by placing large orders for railway requirements in the hands of Indian producers, by giving low rates for nascent industries and doing like things.

In India, unlike as in Europe and America, there are hardly any competitive lines and care has been taken not to build such lines. Moreover Government management is not more expensive than the present system of company management where the company has no risk or responsibility for financial results and Government either finds the capital or guarantees the interest. The present Railway Board has completely failed to meet the requirements of the public. The Industrial Commission has drawn attention to the absence of representation on the railway bodies of the provincial departments of commerce and industries and of British and Indian commercial bodies. The Commission recommended the appointment of a commercial member in the Railway Board. Mr. Chandrika Prasad suggests that the railways might be divided into convenient groups each placed under a Provincial Government which can administer the railways in its jurisdiction far better than a central board at Delhi or Simla, and look to local requirements much better and besides secure for the provincial revenues a share of the surplus profits.

Moreover, experts like Major Gordon, Sir Guilford Molesworth and others of a like reputation have been consistent advocates of a system of State railways. Lord Lawrence, Viceroy, wrote as early as 1867 that the history of the actual operations of the railway companies was bad and extravagant and that equal efficiency would be secured under direct Government control as under joint-stock company management. In all the continental countries of Europe Government railroads could boast of having given better service and lower rates to the travelling

and shipping public and better pay and better conditions of labour to their employees than have the company railways of the same countries. We have irrefutable evidence that the Companies have not at all treated India fairly and they have in some respects grossly mismanaged affairs. "We should however welcome companies if they should build new lines with their own risk without calling upon the general tax-payer to pay for their enterprise."

After so many years of persistent agitation the Secretary of State has at last appointed a committee to inquire into the working and the administration of Indian railways, so as to adopt for the future either State management or company control for railways owned by the State. The Committee is presided over by an eminent Railway expert (Sir William Acworth) assisted by five European and three Indian members viz., Sir, R. N. Mukherji, the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar and Mr. Thakurdoss. The proportion of Indians is not satisfactory as the questions at issue affect Indian interests so fundamentally. The terms of reference of the Committee include the consideration of the system of control to be exercised by the Government of India over the railway administration, the financing of railways in India, Government control of rates and fares and the settlement of disputes. The Committee has already done part of its preliminary work in England which in itself is a suspicious circumstance. The Chairman's predilection appears to be against State-management so far as can be seen from his book published last year—*Historical Sketch of State Railway Ownership*. We hope that the hardships suffered by all classes of Indians, passengers, traders, promoters of industry, railway employees, will be brought in all their intensity before the Commission and proper remedies found.

## THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

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# INDIAN LABOUR PROBLEM

97

BY

PROFESSOR A. R. BURNETT HURST.

[A striking feature of our industrial civilization is the development of labour organisations all the world over. Till recently labour was weak, unorganised, and consequently powerless. In the West it has to day become fully conscious, has organised itself and is exercising its newly earned power with increasing effectiveness. In fact, the political and economic life of the western world is largely conditioned by the attitude of labour towards Capital. For the menace of "direct action" is becoming a potent cause of world unrest. In India labour is bound to grow strong with the increasing consciousness of its potentialities. The lesson of the West will be lost upon us if we are in no way guided by its experiences. Only the other day the International Labour Conference passed some important resolutions which are being considered by the Government of India with a view to adapt them to the requirements of this country. In the following paper prepared for the Indian Economic Conference at Allahabad Prof. Hurst indicates the lines on which legislation in this country should be directed and he rightly points out that "no amount of international legislation can be a substitute for the framing by India of her own labour laws." *Ed. I.R.*]

THE International Labour Conference which met at Washington in October, 1919 drafted certain conventions and recommendations which have been submitted to the nations forming the International Labour Organization of the League of Nations for ratification. India being a member of the League of Nations was represented at the Conference. Accordingly the conventions, etc., have been submitted to the Government of India and the Board of Industries and Munitions have circularized the Local Governments and the Chambers of Commerce for their opinions. These are now being received by the Government of India and it is proposed to amend the Factories Act at the forthcoming session of the Imperial Legislative Council.

It is especially opportune for a representative gathering of economists in this country to give expression to their opinions before legislation is initiated. With a view to promoting discussion and eliciting certain definite expressions of opinion, I propose to state, in the course of this paper the main draft conventions, to indicate the extent to which these conventions can be adopted and further to suggest other labour laws which should at an early date find a place among the statutes of India.

The conventions and recommendations of the International Labour Organization may be summarized under the following main heads:—

1. The limitation of the hours of labour to sixty in the week.
2. The establishment of free employment agencies and an effective system of unemployment insurance.
3. The regulation of the employment of women before and after child-birth.

4. The prohibition of night work for women and young persons.

5. The prohibition of the employment of children under twelve years.

These to apply to extractive industries, transport, ship-building, generation and transmission of electricity, constructional work, and industries in which articles are mended, repaired, altered, manufactured, etc.

Other recommendations include the protection of women and children against lead poisoning, the prevention of anthrax, etc.

At the present time the only act concerned with the regulation of the employment of industrial labour in India is the Indian Factories Act, 1911. This Act applies to any premises wherein or within the precincts of which steam, water or other mechanical power or electrical power is used in aid of any process for or incidental to making, altering, repairing, ornamenting, finishing or otherwise adapting for use, for transport or for sale any article or part of an article employing 49 or more persons. The Indian Mines Act (VIII of 1901) empowers rules to be framed for the prohibition, restriction and regulation of employment of women and children above or below ground, but no rules have been framed.

The proposed conventions are for the most part to include many industrial undertakings which at present are not regulated by either of the above Acts—mines, railways, docks, etc. For this reason, the Government of India propose extending the provisions of the Factories Act to establishments employing not less than nineteen persons, and to empower Local Governments to extend the Act to factories employing not less



than ten persons whether they use power or not. While the need of control and regulation of small industrial establishments is undoubtedly of great importance since the worst abuses of sweating, ill ventilation and bad sanitation exist in such concerns, yet until Government is prepared to greatly increase its staff of factory inspectors and carry out more frequent inspection of factories, mere legislation will be of little avail. As matters stand at present, even with the factories which at present fall within the scope of the Factories Act, large numbers remain uninspected, especially in the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, and Bengal. While strongly supporting the suggested course of action of the Government of India that smaller industrial concerns should also be subject to the provisions of the Factories Act, unless this is to be accompanied by a large increase in the inspectorate, I feel that it would be not be wise for the existing body of inspectors to have to shoulder additional responsibilities.

#### SIXTY HOUR WEEK.

The first proposal of the International Labour Organization is the establishment, so far as India alone is concerned, of a sixty-hour week. For all other countries, except Japan, China, Persia and Siam, a forty-eight hour week is proposed. The Indian Factories Act limits the hours of labour of an adult male worker in a textile factory to twelve hours per day with an interval of at least half an hour after every six hours' labour. There is no limit to the working hours of persons employed in non-textile factories.

Actually we find that whereas in many parts of India the maximum, the twelve-hour day—is being worked, a large number of textile factories are already working a sixty-hour week. In Bombay, for instance, since the mill strike of last January, a sixty-hour week has been in operation. The results of the change from a twelve to a ten-hour day have not been unsatisfactory. While the total production is not as great as under the longer working day, production has in no way fallen in relation to the decrease of the working time. A prominent mill-owner recently remarked that mill-hands are now more energetic and are producing in ten hours what they formerly produced in eleven. Even before the sixty-hour day was adopted in Bombay, several textile concerns in South as well as in North India had adopted the ten-hour day and found it satisfactory from the standpoint of both employers and employees.

In Bengal the practice among the jute mills is to work a peculiar shift system. The system is peculiar to Calcutta and somewhat difficult to explain in detail, but under it the great majority of the general workers, including almost all the women, work from 8 to 9½ hours only, or about an average of nine-hours daily. Labour in the jute press-houses is by piece work, the men coming and going as they please.

Turning to non-textile establishments, no limit to the number of hours worked is laid down by Government. This is obviously an unfair distinction. If abuses are not to be tolerated in these concerns, it is essential that the discrimination between textile and non-textile factories should be swept away and a sixty-hour week made uniform in all industrial establishments, with certain exceptions. We find, for instance, the Calcutta paper-mills working on two twelve-hour shifts. On the other hand, in the Calcutta engineering workshops, the practice is generally to work 8½ hours on five days of the week and 6 hours on Saturday, Sunday being a holiday. On the tea estates of N.-E. India, factory work is carried out from May to November. The hours of labour for this work are irregular and depend on weather conditions and the amount of leaf to be manufactured; but not being a continuous process, the hours of work embrace considerable periods of standing by. On the average, the hours are not more than 7 to 8 daily. During wet weather labour is worked by shifts and the hours are longer. In the coal-fields, the miner works as he likes. He is paid piece-wages and he generally stays down until he fills two tubs. There is no regulation of hours at all.

I am of opinion that the sixty-hour week should be introduced and applied to all factories employing 20 or more persons, to mines, railways and docks, but that in the case of the miner definite shifts should be laid down.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT.

That India must work out her own labour code is no more strikingly shown than in dealing with the question of unemployment. The existence of the joint-family system and the ready aid of a caste fellow in cases of lack of employment do not necessitate a poor law system or call for schemes of unemployment exchanges and out-of-work benefit. The problem of under-employment and unemployment as it is known in Britain, the United States and the Continental countries is unknown in India. The nearest approach to it is to be found in the employment

of casual labour in our ports and chief towns but the methods of recruitment, of dock labour in Bombay, for instance, is far more satisfactory in its results than the system which gives rise to large masses of unemployed at the London and other docks of Great Britain. The persistent cry of factories and workshops in India, on the other hand, is for more labour. The problem in India is not so much one of unemployment as the scarcity of labour and the best means of recruiting fresh sources of supply to meet the increasing demand. Under these circumstances there appears to be no immediate need for agencies to cope with such unemployment as exists in India and the convention concerning this subject should not be ratified by the Government of India.

#### EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN BEFORE AND AFTER CHILD-BIRTH.

A grave omission in the framing of the Indian Factories Act is that it made no provision for the regulation of the employment of women before and after child-birth. There is no doubt that one of the causes of the heavy infantile mortality among the children of working women is that the women are frequently employed almost up to the time of their accouchement. Disgusting sights are unfortunately to be witnessed even in these days when, for instance, a woman is delivered of a child at the factory gates or in the factory compound. That such a state of affairs is allowed to continue is a disgrace. The proposed convention merely lays down that 'a woman shall have the right to leave her work if she produces a medical certificate stating that her confinement will probably take place within six weeks.' To any one who is acquainted with the life and habits of the woman worker in India, it must be apparent that this clause, would be nothing short of a 'dead letter.' What Indian woman worker would in the first place take the trouble and go to the expense of procuring a medical certificate? Whenever she wants to leave her work, she just stays away. What is more essential is that she should be compelled to stay away a stated period before her confinement. While this would be extremely difficult to accomplish under existing circumstances, yet if a scheme for the payment of maternity benefit for one month before and one month after confinement were introduced, this would in itself encourage women to temporarily suspend their work at mills. A careful actual analysis of the cost of such a scheme would probably prove

that it would not be so costly as may at first sight appear.

While it is extremely difficult to enforce absence from a factory before confinement, it would be a comparatively easy task to prevent a woman engaging in work immediately after her confinement. The compulsory notification of births provides an easy means by which mill managers may be informed of the accouchement of any of their employees. Further the very harmful practice of allowing women to bring infants and young children into the working rooms of factories, a practice which I strongly condemned in my paper last year, should immediately be stopped. It is to be hoped that a provision against this practice will be a feature of the new Factories Act. A mother will then be compelled to remain at home to nurse her new born infant or to employ a nurse or foster mother, the latter being unlikely.

#### PROHIBITION OF NIGHT WORK.

Night work in factories by children under age is already prohibited by section 23 (b) of the Indian Factories Act which lays down that no child shall be employed in any factory before half-past five o'clock in the morning or after seven o'clock in the evening. Section 24 (a) similarly prohibits the employment of women at night. Section 27 of the Act permits women in ginning and pressing factories to be employed at night and this frequently gives rise to great abuses. It is in these seasonal factories that the greatest evils exist for, owing to the scattered distribution of the factories, inspection is irregular and infrequent because of the difficulties of carrying it out. As stated in my paper last year, cases have been recorded where ginning-factory managers have been convicted for working their women labourers for twenty-four hours. Prosecutions for breaches of the law when detected have little deterring effects, as the fines are light compared to the gravity of the offences committed. There is no reason why seasonal factories should receive any differential treatment in the matter of the night employment of women. Section 27 should accordingly be deleted.

#### THE PROHIBITION OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN UNDER 12 YEARS.

The Draft Convention fixes the minimum age of employment of children at fourteen years for all countries except India and Japan. For India it is laid down that children under twelve years shall not be employed in



(1) Factories working with power and employing more than ten persons.

(2) Mining, quarrying and other extractive industries.

(3) Rail transport and at docks, quays and wharves.

Existing legislation in India fixes the age of employment in factories at nine years but even this limit is in practice lowered owing to the difficulty of ascertaining the correct age of a child, owing to children obtaining certificates of age before they are entitled to them. Seasonal factories are frequently found to employ children under age.

In mining no restriction on the employment of children is made. According to the Indian Mines Act, a 'child' means a person under the age of twelve years and the Governor-General is empowered to 'prohibit, restrict or regulate the employment of children either below ground or on particular kinds of labour where such employment is attended by danger to the life, safety or health of such . . . children'. But no use has up to the present time been made of this power. According to the latest available statistics, there were 681 children employed below ground and 2304 children employed above ground in coal mines in 1918. These numbers form 5 per cent. and 3.5 per cent. respectively of the total number of persons employed below and above ground. It is not likely that a restriction on the employment of children at mines would seriously affect the amount of work done. When it was proposed in the nineties of last century to prohibit the employment of children under the age of ten years below ground in any mine, the Committee of the Indian Mining Association objected to the proposal on the ground that the exclusion of children from mines would involve the mothers remaining above ground and that this would cause the fathers to strike work. Eventually the proposal was dropped.

*Apropos* the draft conventions, the Committee of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce are of opinion that the scope of the conventions should be narrowed and applied only to factories as defined by the Factories Act and possibly to the coal mines. They consider that nine years is not too young an age for children in India to commence work and that more harm would be done to allow them to run loose in crowded mill-areas than to keep them engaged in their present employment. They hold the view that until compulsory education is applied to all classes of children, the

minimum age-limit of children should not be raised but that the six hour day which is at present compulsory for children (between the ages of nine and fourteen) in textile factories only, should be applied to all factories.

While there is much to be said for the view that other employment must be found for the children released from industrial employment, this cannot be used as an argument to justify the health of the children being damaged by employment inside factories and below ground in mines. So long as the employment is in healthy open-air surroundings such as in building operations, at docks, on railways, etc., such employment may at any rate for the time being, be tolerated. But I do not share the view of the Chamber that nine years is not too young for children to commence work in industrial establishments in India. The Collector of Bombay, who may be regarded as an unbiassed person, in his note on the Bombay Factories Report for 1918 advocated the raising of the minimum age for employment in mills from nine to twelve. The Indian child is poorer in physique than his Western brother and he has to work under more trying conditions, climatically as well as industrially, than the European child, yet the age-limit proposed for the latter is not twelve but fourteen. If any thing, it may be said that the Washington Conference has erred on the side of leniency with regard to fixing the age-limit. On the whole, the best attitude for India to take with regard to this draft convention is that it should be ratified in so far as it relates to factories and to labour below ground in mines and quarries but that until such time as compulsory primary education is established in industrial areas, the terms of this convention so far as it relates to railways, docks, and 'open-air' employment should not be ratified.

This concludes the first portion of my paper, *viz.*, a discussion of the various proposals made by the International Labour Organization of the League of Nations.

It is now for us to consider whether apart from the above proposals, the existing Factories Act should be amended. Utilising my paper on 'Industrial Betterment' as the justification for making these suggestions, I intend merely to outline my proposals.

The Factories Act should be amended so as to provide that:—

(a) Every factory must have a rubber tyred ambulance stretcher which must be kept in a good state of repair;

(b) A first-aid chest must be provided in each department of a factory. Chapters 8, 9, 10 of the Indian Manual of First-Aid should be printed and hung up in prominent places in factories.

While it would not be possible to legislate on the subject, Government might urge employers to adopt the following suggestions in order to minimize the risk of accident and to facilitate the immediate treatment of injured persons:—

(1) The instruction of all new employees on safety lines, and the encouragement of suggestions by employers as to methods of preventing accidents.

(2) In those industries where labour is sufficiently intelligent and educated the establishment of safety committees are formed of representatives of workers and of the management. At Port Sunlight the result of safety-first-organization has been the reduction of accidents by 50 per cent. in 1917, a further 12 per cent. in 1918 and by 5 per cent. in 1919.

(3) The encouragement of first-aid classes among the foremen and more intelligent of the workmen.

Government may well take the lead in this matter by establishing such a safety-first organization in Government printing presses, State railway workshops, etc.

(c) Every factory must provide a messing place, its size to be determined by Government and to vary in proportion to the total number of employees in the factory.

(d) Every factory employing women-workers must provide a creche in the charge of a properly-qualified nurse.

(e) In cases of deliberate infringements of the law and where breaches of the Act are not the result of carelessness or neglect, the agent and employer, occupier or manager of a factory should be held jointly and severally responsible and should be held criminally liable for such acts.

(f) The limit of fines which at present is fixed at two hundred rupees should be raised to one thousand rupees and a term of imprisonment not exceeding two years.

The amendment of the Factories Act, however, will be of little avail unless it is accompanied by a great increase in the staff of inspectors appointed under the Act. There is also an urgent need for the appointment of women inspectors for factories where women are employed.

So far we have confined ourselves to a consideration of the existing labour legislation and amendments that appear essential in view

of the deliberations of the International Labour Conference and the existing conditions of employment in factories here. Apart from this, new lines of labour legislation are under consideration as a recent speech of Sir Thomas Holland indicates. They are:—

(1) The legal recognition of properly constituted trade unions;

(2) Workmen's Compensation;

(3) The establishment of conciliation and arbitration boards;

(4) The establishment of Whitley Committees.

Dealing with each of these in turn, briefly, let us consider the legal recognition of trade unions. The last two years have witnessed the rise and sporadic growth of a large number of self-termed 'trade unions.' The initiative in forming these small groups of workers (for in most cases they are comparatively small) has been taken by politicians and lawyers. Owing to the ignorance and lack of education on the part of the workers it is not surprising that the organization of these bodies has come from 'without' rather than 'within'; but while this was inevitable it is to be deplored that social workers did not take the initiative but that they have allowed the lawyer-politician class to capture and control these bodies. A feature of many of these so-called 'unions,' is the absence of any rules (at any rate any printed and published rules) and the organization and control of a large number of unions relating to different trades by the same group of persons.

Frankly these unions have not been established in the best interests of labour but are largely to be used to employ the voice and the strength of labour for political ends. But there exists in this country a few bodies which are being organized by the workmen themselves on the lines of the British trade unions and the objects of which are consistent with the best traditions of labour. Many employers would welcome the formation of such bodies as experience has shown that these unions are prepared to negotiate with employers and are in a position to enforce the terms of settlement. But this cannot be said of the vast majority of labour organizations in India. It would be in the best interests of labour itself if Government would undertake the legal recognition of unions by a system of registration. Such societies only should be registered as first submit their rules for approval to the Board of Industries and Munitions and the rules must indicate that the control of the



society is in the hands of the workers themselves. (This would not prevent the society having a legal adviser.) The registration of a society should carry with it the privilege that the union would be free from legal responsibility from action taken by the union in a strike, etc., which may lead to loss or damage on the part of the employer either directly or indirectly.

#### WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

The subject of Workmen's Compensation raises great issues of far-reaching effect and in considering it one has to bear in mind the interest of labour on the one hand and industrial development on the other. While no one will deny that the dependents of a worker who is killed in performing his duties should be compensated and that the worker himself, if permanently injured and incapacitated, should receive compensation, especially when the accident arises through no negligence on his part, yet when once this principle is recognized and put into practice it is but an easy stage to extend it to compensation for all types of accident whether permanent or temporary, serious or slight. And here lies the danger especially in a country like India. The number of self-inflicted injuries would immediately increase and may become such a menace to certain industries as almost to cripple them. With this reservation one can proceed to consider, first, whether there is a need for legislation establishing Workmen's Compensation and, secondly, if there is a need, to what classes of injuries and to what industries it should at first be applied.

A number of firms among the jute-mills, coal-mining companies, etc., are in the habit of making provision for a man or his dependents in the event of total disablement or death. Compensation takes the form either of a bonus, pension or the employment of the dependents if they are in a position to engage in labour. But no pension or gratuity can be demanded as a right, for it depends very largely upon the good-will and the charity of the employer. Unfortunately, it cannot be said to be the practice of firms to compensate and the question is immediately raised as to whether the frequency and nature of accidents is of such a kind as to demand some form of compulsory compensation. Dealing with dangerous callings only, we find that in 1918 nearly 200 coal-miners lost their lives whilst a larger number were seriously injured. Compared to the numbers employed in the industry, this gives a death-rate per 1000 persons employed below ground of 1·6

and above ground of '3—which clearly indicates the risk of death in a mine is five times as great as on the surface. When we commence to analyse the causes of the accidents and endeavour to locate the blame for them we learn some interesting facts. Half the accidents which occur are occasioned by falls of roof and of sides. 'Haulage,' and 'Shaft' accidents each form 10 per cent. of the whole. The development of deep-mining introduces a new danger in the form of falls of material from the sides of the shaft. 'It has not been the custom in India to brick or line shafts and at shallow depths this does not appear to have been much needed.... a limited experience of shafts over 800 ft. has proved the increased pressure due to depth is exerting its effect and the liability to falls of stone from the sides of such shafts is greater.' The increased use of electrical power in mines is also bringing its train of accidents. Apart from this, each year more collieries are reaching the second stage of working, *viz.*, winning the pillars which is more dangerous than gallery driving. Hence we are not justified in expecting any decrease in the number of accidents; on the contrary the number of accidents will most probably increase.

The location of blame for accidents is always a difficult matter but we are justified in accepting the statement of the Chief Inspector of Mines in India. He attributed 50 per cent. of the accidents in 1918 to misadventure, 30 per cent. to the fault of the deceased, 11 per cent. to the fault of the management, and 9 per cent. to the fault of fellow-workmen or subordinate officials, in other words one-fifth of the lives lost, in mines (coal and other mines) were attributed to the fault of the management, officials or fellow workers of the deceased and half the fatal accidents to misadventure. It is not surprising then that with the risk attached to mining a demand should be made for compulsory compensation.

A similar demand is being put forward by railwaymen. A study of accident statistics for 1918-19 show that 450 railway servants were killed and 850 injured. This compared with the numbers employed shows a death rate of about '8 per 1,000.

With these facts before us, one is justified in taking the view that a Workmen's Compensation Act applying to such dangerous trades as mining, railway employment, etc., should be introduced but that compensation should only be paid in the event of loss of life or permanent disablement.

I propose to dismiss the subject of Conciliation and Arbitration Boards in a few words. Knowing the nature of Indian labour as we do, it is only where well organized trade unions exist, (e.g., on the railways) or where labour is sufficiently intelligent and educated, (e.g., in printing presses and post offices) that one could utilize Arbitration Boards with any chance of success. It is preposterous to suggest, for example, that an Arbitration Board could be established for settling the disputes which arise in the Bombay cotton mill industry for who is going to enforce the terms of arbitration which must be based on the demands of the representatives of the employers and of the employees—but experience has shown that it is not possible at present at any rate to find any representatives of the mill hands who will see that the demands, if conceded, are enforced. Much the same can be said of Conciliation Boards and Whitley Committees. Experiments with these may well be made in Government printing presses and on the railways and only when sufficient experience has been acquired should the experiment be extended to other well-organized trades or to trades where well-organised and well-controlled unions exist.

Patchwork labour legislation at all times is unsatisfactory and places undue hardships on certain classes of employers while frequently failing to end the worst abuses. Detailed and comprehensive legislation is nevertheless difficult

and cannot be carried out unless based on elaborate investigation. It rests with the economists and social workers of India to carry out scientific investigations which will prove of value to the Legislature. Meanwhile, the responsibility of Government for conducting such inquiries still remains. The action of the Government of India in establishing a Labour Bureau under the Board of Industries and Munitions and the appointment of a Labour Advisory Board and a Labour Commissioner by the Government of Madras are steps which are to be commended but what is required is something more comprehensive, something which will place social workers and Government in close touch with one another. Periodic labour conferences between employers, labour leaders (so far as they exist), social workers, economists and officials could conveniently precede the establishment of a Central Labour Advisory Board (which to ensure the confidence of the people should have representatives from each of these classes) and the drafting of an Indian Labour Code embodying the labour laws for all trades and industries in the country. No amount of international legislation can be a substitute for the framing by India of her own labour laws. It is only those who are living in this country who know her interests best and provided the voice of all classes and interests can be equally heard, legislation based on the deliberation of those persons is infinitely superior to legislation by outsiders.

## Medical Activities Under Muslim Rulers

BY MR. Y. D. KHAN.

*Persian Teacher, High School, Jalgaon.*

IT is a pity that Moslem history has been, more often than not, misread and that only the darker side has been presented to the exclusion of its many points of relief. Quackery is common in every age and country and the Arabs are no exception; but that systematised and scientific treatment of diseases obtained even before the birth of the Apostle of Arabia is testified to, by the fact that Harith ibn-e-Kalda a resident of Taif went to Persia to study medicine which was there according to that age highly perfected and he was afterwards called the "Tabeeb-e-Arab" or the physician of Arabia. Ameer Moawia transferred the seat of the Caliphate to Damascus and appointed one Ibn-e-Asal as the court physician. With the gradual spread of civilization the proportion of physicians and surgeons grew in the land who practised in their

private buildings. But the inauguration of a system of public hospitals and dispensaries owes its origin to the Ommyad Caliphs, chiefly, but to Caliph Waleed bin Abdul Malik in particular. He was imbued with the spirit of philanthropy and many works of public utility stand to his credit. The distinctive feature of his reign was the erection of an asylum for the blind and for lepers; a record of all such defectives was laboriously prepared. The establishment of the medical department had one particular advantage: Greeks and Jews were appointed to responsible posts, in large numbers. That the Greeks were highly accomplished in the art of medicine in those days is common knowledge. Naturally therefore rare and valuable works on Medicine, Chemistry and Physiology were translated in Arabic, particularly in the reign of Omar



ibn-ul-Azeez and in a short time all the medical lore of the Hellenes was eventually transferred to the shores of Arabia.

Gradually the whole land was covered with a network of hospitals and dispensaries. At the commencement of the Abbasside period the famous hospital of Jondisapur was constructed, the supervisor and house surgeon of which was the renowned Gorgis. When in the year 148 A. H. Caliph Mansoor the Abbasside was in the throes of a deadly malady he effected a marvellous cure. In the beginning diseases were cured on Hellenic or Persian principles of medicine, but later on the Barmicides introduced the system of Vaidak also. Yahya bin Kheleed the Barmicide, who was the prime minister of Haroon-al Rasheed sent to India an envoy to import medicine, plants of medicinal properties and to bring with him physicians of renowned merit. Consequently Manka, Salee, and Ibnedahan the experts of the time were brought to Bagdad. Manka translated many Sanskrit works on Medicine in Arabic and Ibnedahan was posted as the chief physician of a hospital especially established for the Vaidik treatment of diseases. This fact brings, in no uncertain way, into bold relief the equity and the sense of justice of the Caliphs. Yahya also commissioned Manka to translate the voluminous work of Sushrut, an old Hindu physician in to Arabic. Ahmad bin Tuloon, the Governor of Egypt, and the West, laid the foundation of a magnificent hospital in the year 261 H. A. The total amount of expenditure ran to 6,000 dinars or 3 lacs of rupees roughly. At the time of admitting a patient within the walls of the hospital the clothes and cash on his person were handed over to the trusts department. He was provided with the special dress of the hospital and was examined by a physician in the morning and evening. When he arrived at the stage of convalescence it was left to his discretion to stay or to leave the precincts of the hospital. It is interesting to learn that a section of the hospital was reserved for lunatics. The progress of medicine received a great impetus at the hands of Caliph Muktdar Billah when a great many innovations were made. The prime minister at his court was Ali Ibn-e isa. The country at this time was in the throes of some deadly epidemic. Orders were therefore issued to Sinan bin Sabit bin Cora the inspector-general of hospitals to establish temporary dispensaries in the affected areas to bring medical relief within reach of the suffering populace. It will be news to many that hospitals were attached to jails also.

It will not be out of place here to make a pointed mention of the hospital built in the year 368 by the Caliph Azud-ud-daula one of the mightiest of Caliphs. Opinion is undivided on this point that the hospital referred to was the first of its kind and surpassed all others in the beauty of its architecture, in the store of its instruments and in the flawlessness of its organization. Another feature of interest was the staff of opticians. When Sultan Saladin struck at the root of the Fatimite Dynasty and assumed the royal sceptre he built at Cairo in the year 577 A. H. a hospital. Allama ibn-e jabeer writing about this hospital observes that it was one of the many monumental works of public utility with which the reign of Sultan Saladin bristles. The special feature of this hospital was the variety of apartments into which it was divided where beds were most tastefully arranged. A special section of this hospital was reserved for female patients which was solely under the supervision of female doctors.

It will be here pertinent to quote the remarks of the Chambers, Encyclopædia which writing about the medical activities under the Caliphs observes, "Many of these illustrious of Arabic philosophers were also physicians. The science of medicine is essentially a creation of the Arabs to whom the oldest sources of knowledge—that of the Indian *physicians*—had been opened. Chemical Pharmacy was created by the Arabs. Pharmacy, Materia Medica, naturally led to Botany and Chemistry. For 3 centuries from the 8th to the 11th, a rich scientific culture prevailed. Schools of Philosophy and Medicine sprang up at Jondisapur, Baghdaad, Isfahan, Feeruzabad, Cordova, Alexandria, Bokhara, Kufa, Basra etc. In all departments of medical science a great advance was made except in Anatomy, the koran forbidding the dissection of human bodies."

## ZEBUNISSA'S LOVER.

BY PROF. P. SESHADRI, M.A.

Reclining on her downy cushions lay  
The Princess Zebunissa, by her side  
The secret lover—thus the summer day  
In stolen revelry did gently glide ;—  
Till lo ! across the palace-yard, she saw  
Aurangazebe, her prying father speed  
Towards her room, as if at last to draw  
Her secret out, and sore-pressed in her need,  
Her lover in a cauldron did she hide ;  
"But what is it within that vessel there ?"  
He roared in ire. "Tis water," she replied ;  
"To heat it then," he said, "is only fair" :  
Around it soon the cruel flames raged high—  
The gallant lover died without a sigh.

## INAUGURATION OF THE NEW COUNCILS

### A HISTORIC FUNCTION

On the morning of Wednesday the 9th. February, H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught performed with befitting ceremony one of those functions of state which go to make history. The Council of State and the Legislative Assembly sat in joint session when H. R. H. the Duke accompanied by H. E. the Viceroy and Members of Council and the Presidents of the new Councils entered the hall in state.

### VICEROY'S OPENING SPEECH

Lord Chelmsford, in opening the proceedings, began with a reference to the announcement of August 1917. "That announcement has been described as the most momentous utterance in the chequered history of India" and His Excellency said that it merited that description.

The Act of 1919 involved a great and memorable departure from the old system of Government. It closed one era and opened another.

His Excellency vindicated the British policy in the past and said that the historian of the future will also recognise that, throughout the years of their rule, one increasing purpose has run and he will do justice to the unprecedented character and colossal magnitude of the task which they set themselves. For no such task was ever attempted by the empires of the past." He continued :—

But the destinies of India and Britain became linked together at a time when, in the latter country, self-government had become firmly established and it has since been the constant aim of the British Government to extend to India the benefits and privileges of her own institutions.

In evidence of this he appealed to the famous education minute of Lord Macaulay and traced the successive stages of political evolution since the Act of 1861 down to the Morley-Minto Reforms and the Declaration of August, 1917.

For the first time the principle of autocracy, which had not been wholly discarded in all earlier reforms was definitely abandoned, the conception of the British Government as a benevolent despotism was finally renounced and in its place was substituted that of a guiding authority whose role it would be to assist the steps of India along the road that, in the fulness of time, would lead to complete self-government within the Empire.

"According to our lights" said His Excellency with significant emphasis, in conclusion, "we have

striven to make the gift which we had to bestow worthy of Britain and worthy of India."

### THE DUKE'S SPEECH

His Royal Highness the Duke in inaugurating the Legislature read a message from His Majesty the King-Emperor. The message greets the new Councils and refers to the steps taken by the Government to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people for Swaraj—an expression which for the first time is used in a historic document. His Majesty says, in the course of.

### THE ROYAL MESSAGE

"For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their Motherland, an opportunity for progress to the liberty which My other Dominions enjoy. On you, the first representatives of the people in the new Councils there rests a very special responsibility, for on you it lies by the conduct of your business and the justice of your judgment to convince the world of the wisdom of this great constitutional change. But on you it also lies to remember the many millions of your fellow-countrymen who are not yet qualified for a share in political life, to work for their upliftment and to cherish their interests as your own. I shall watch your work with unfailing sympathy and with a resolute faith in your determination to do your duty to India and the Empire."

The Duke emphasised the significance of the Reforms and the awakening of the nation. His Royal Highness also drew attention to the unique nature of the political evolution of India.

In the annals of the world there is not, so far as I know, an exact parallel for the constitutional change which this function initiates. There is certainly no parallel for the method of that change. Political freedom has often been won by revolution, by tumult, by civil war at the price of peace and public safety. How rarely has it been the free gift of one people to another in response to a growing wish for greater liberty and to the growing evidence of fitness for its enjoyment.

He pointed out the generous principles of British rule and in an impressive passage said :—

"Speaking on behalf of His Majesty and with the consent of His Government I repeat in the most emphatic manner that the administration of India never has been, nor ever can be, based on principles of force or terrorism. (Applause.) All governments are liable to be confronted with situations which can be dealt with only by measures outside the ordinary law, but the employment of such measures is subject to clear limitations, and His Majesty's government have always insisted, and will always insist, on the observance of these limitations as strictly in the case of India as in that of England herself."



The Duke proceeded to discuss the work before the new Legislatures and exhorted them to conduct the proceedings with dignity and self-restraint.

It is the clear intention of the Act of 1919 that the policy and decisions of the Government of India should be influenced to an extent incomparably greater than they have been in the past by the views of the Indian Legislature and the Government will give the fullest possible effect consistent with their responsibilities to Parliament to this principle of the new constitution. From now onwards your influence will extend to every sphere of the Central Government. It will be felt in every part of its administration.

His Royal Highness then paid a tribute to the Viceroy and his labours and concluded with a touching personal appeal to Europeans and Indians to forget and forgive the bitter memories of the past and co-operate with a friendly zeal for the cause of the country.

Since I landed I have felt around me bitterness and estrangement between those who have been and should be friends. The shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the fair face of India. I know how deep is the concern felt by His Majesty the King-Emperor at the terrible chapter of events in the Punjab. No one can deplore these events more intensely than I do myself. I have reached a time of life when I most desire to heal the wounds and to re-unite those who have been disunited in what must be, I feel, my last visit to the India I love so well. Here in the new capital at the inauguration of new constitution I am moved to make you a personal appeal, put in the simple words that come from my heart not to be coldly and critically interpreted. My experience tells me that misunderstandings usually mean mistakes on either side. As an old friend of India I appeal to you all, British and Indians, to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, forgive where you have to forgive and to join hands and to work together to realise the hopes that arise from to-day.

At the conclusion of the Duke's speech Mr. A. P. Muddiman, President of the Council of State and Mr. Alexander Whyte, President of the Legislative Assembly begged His Royal Highness to convey a message of thanks to His Majesty, and the Viceroy added a few words endorsing His Royal Highness's last appeal.

### THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES

H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught inaugurated the Princes' Chamber at Delhi on the 8th instant amidst scenes of great splendour. The historic function took place in front of the Dewan-i-Am where were gathered rulers of ancient houses and representatives of Ruling Chiefs from all parts of India.

Soon after the Viceroy and the Duke of Connaught were seated, the Political Secretary to

the Government of India, the Hon. Sir John Wood, read the Royal Proclamation from His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor formally announcing the institution of the Chamber.

"The problems of the future, said His Majesty, 'must be faced in a spirit of co-operation and mutual forbearance,' and he called the Chamber into being in full reliance on the devotion of its members to His Throne and Person.

H. E. the Viceroy then delivered a lengthy address recounting the history of the formation of the Chamber. He traced the germ of the assemblage to the events of 1877 under the regime of Lord Lytton and reviewed the development of the idea through the days of Dufferin, Curzon, Minto and Hardinge down to the Chiefs' Conference under his own regime and the proposals of the Joint Report of 1918.

H. R. Highness in performing the inauguration ceremony conveyed His Majesty's greeting to the Ruling Princes and urged them to adopt an Indian name for a Chamber so unique and essentially Indian in character. No function had given him greater pleasure, said His Royal Highness, than to be associated with the Ruling Princes in inaugurating this symbol of progress and fraternity. The Duke referred to their great services during the war and His Majesty's appreciation of their loyalty, confirmed the pledges that had been given them and said :—

A generous spirit on your part will find its response in equal generosity on the part of the Government of India. You may rest assured that the Government and its officers will recognize freely the internal sovereignty to which your various treaties and engagements entitle you. We look to the Princes of India on their part to continue to administer their states with justice and enlightenment.

The Duke then declared the Chamber duly constituted.

The proceedings concluded with warm speeches of thanks by Their Highnesses the Maharajahs of Gwalior, Bikaner, Jodhpur and Alwar. His Royal Highness afterwards informally met the Princes at tea in the gardens of the Dewan-i-Khas.

In this connection we draw the attention of the readers to the communiqué on the constitution of the Chamber published on page 123.

We may add that the Chamber of Princes has appointed a Standing Committee, consisting of the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior, the Maharajah of Bikaner, the Maharajah of Patiala, the Maharajah of Jamnagar, the Rao of Kutch and the Nawab of Palanpur.

The first meeting of the Council of State assembled in the old Council Chamber at Delhi on the 3rd instant when the President and members present took the oath of allegiance. The President read His Excellency the Viceroy's message announcing that the Councils will be inaugurated by H. R. H. the Duke on the 9th. He also announced the appointment of a panel of Chairmen, who would preside in the absence of the President. The names, in order, were Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir A. R. Murray, Sir M. B. Dadabhoy, and Sir Dinshaw Wacha.

The Council met again on the 5th when more members took the oath. Sir William Vincent announced the subjects for the next meeting.

On the 14th February the Council met at the Assembly Chamber, the Hon. Mr. Muddiman presiding.

Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy moved the resolution that the speeches of the Viceroy and H. R. H. the Duke delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Indian Legislature be freely distributed throughout the country in all vernaculars. This was passed, duly seconded and supported by many speakers.

## GOVERNMENT BILLS.

Sir William Vincent then introduced a bill to further amend the Code of Civil Procedure. It was now proposed to make it permissive instead of it being compulsory on the court to release a judgment-debtor.

Sir William also introduced a bill to facilitate enforcement in British India of maintenance orders made in other parts of His Majesty's Dominions and Protectorates and *vice versa*.

Both the bills were passed without any discussion.

## MR. SASTRI ON REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION

The Hon. Mr. Sastri then moved his resolution for the appointment of a Committee at any early date

"to examine the repressive laws now on the statute book and report whether all are any of them should be repealed and in cases where repeal is not desirable, whether the laws in question should be amended and if so how."

Mr. Sastri thanked the Government for accepting his resolution which he said was an indication of the admirable spirit of cordiality that should guide the deliberations of the Legislatures in future. He referred to the sentiment expressed

in the message of the Duke and the words of the Viceroy in inaugurating the Councils and pointed out that "it would be impossible that popular liberty, confidently hoped for with the inauguration of the new Councils would ever be achieved if the repressive laws remained in their present form." Mr. Sastri characterised some of these fetters as the relics of a barbarous age entirely incompatible with the spirit of the new times. The Rowlett Act, he said, was "the unblessed mother of a monstrous brood of evil" and he urged the Council to remedy a situation which affords a handle for complaint and ceaseless trouble. Referring to Mr. Khaparde's amendment he said that "he was not satisfied that every one of those fetters can be struck off immediately." He pointed out that the best way was to appoint a Committee and seek the remedy.

## MR. KHAPARDE'S AMENDMENT

Mr. Khaparde then moved an amendment that the following laws be repealed:—Regulation III of 1898, Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act (Act 14 of 1908), Indian Press Act (I 1910), Seditious Meetings Act (Act 10 of 1911) and Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act (Act 11 of 1919).

Sir M. Dadabhoy opposed the amendment and supported Mr. Sastri; while Mr. Bhurgri supported both the amendment and the main proposition. The Maharaja of Kassimbazar and many others including even Col. Umar Hayat Khan accepted the committee procedure. Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar doubted the advisability of the appointment of a committee in the face of a popular demand for the total and immediate repeal of all repressive laws at once.

Sir William Vincent said that the resolution if carried would have

obvious support from various shades of opinion. The view of Government in this matter was to a great extent that advocated by Mr. Sastri. That was why the Government gave an early date to this discussion. The Government were anxious in the fullest degree to reform these laws and they recognised too that there had been a change in the administration and therefore were desirous of allowing both Chambers to exercise their legitimate influence upon the Government.

Mr. Khaparde's amendment having been lost and Sir M. B. Dadabhai having withdrawn his amendment about the personnel of the Committee in view of Sir William's assurance "that it would consist of men of real weight," Mr. Sastri's resolution was put to vote and carried.



# THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

THE Indian Legislative Assembly met on the 3rd instant, the Hon. Mr. F. A. Whyte presiding. The President and members took the oath of allegiance. When the Assembly met again on the 5th ballot papers were handed round for the election of the Deputy President. The result of the election was 67 for Mr. S. Sinha, 24 for Dr. Gour and 22 for Dr. Sarvadhikari. Mr. Sinha thanked the Assembly and the President congratulated him on his election.

The first business meeting of the Assembly was held on Tuesday the 15th. The proceedings opened with the interpellations of which there were no less than 260 on the agenda.

The President next read a message from the Viceroy appointing the 1st March for the presentation of the Budget and announced that Dr. Sarvadhikari, Sir Jamsetji Jijibhoy, Sir Logie Watson, and Mr. Chaudhuri Shahabuddin were appointed to a panel of chairmen.

Then came the introduction of a Bill providing a salary of a thousand rupees a month for the Vice-President. Leave was unanimously given for its introduction, and Dr. Sapru introduced it, but no discussion took place at this stage.

## THE PUNJAB RESOLUTION

Mr. Jamnadass Dwarakadas' resolution on the Punjab disturbances was then taken up.

The resolution was in four sections first calling for the affirmation of the principle of racial equality; second to express regret for the Martial law administration; third to mete out punishments to the guilty and lastly to give adequate compensation to the families of the injured and the dead.

Mr. J. Chaudhury seconded the resolution which was spoken to by a number of members including Sir Jamsetji Jijibhoy, Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, Mr. Earldley Norton and others. H. E. the Commander-in-Chief, the Hon. Sir William Vincent and Dr. Sapru spoke sympathetically. Sundry amendments were put forward which were all lost and the resolution was carried with the omission of clause three as "punishments should be deterrent and not vindictive."

When the Assembly met on the 17th there were no less than ten non-official resolutions and 200 interpellations. After about 70 questions were answered the Assembly proceeded with the non-official motions.

Mr. N. M. Samarth moved that local Governments be given collectively a voice in determining

the military expenditure of the Government of India. It was put to vote and lost after some discussion.

Mr. Wali Mohammad Hasan Ali moved :

That the number of the Indian Civil Service posts listed as open to the members of the Provincial Civil Service in each presidency or province be at once raised to one-fourth of the superior Civil Service posts in each presidency or province, or, in the alternative, that the directly recruited members of the Provincial Civil Service be immediately merged into the Indian Civil Service before any further steps for the recruitment of Indians to the Indian Civil Service in India were taken.

There was a warm discussion after which the mover desiring to withdraw the latter half of his motion, the amended resolution was put to vote and carried by 69 against 32.

Rai Bahadur T. Rangachari brought in a motion to instruct the managers of different railways to make arrangements to look after the comforts and convenience of third class passengers. The motion was put and declared carried unanimously.

## ARMY COMMITTEE

Sir Sivaswami Aiyar then moved the following resolution :—

This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that he do represent to the Home Government that the proposals of the Esher Committee contained in Parts I and II of their report should not be acted upon and that, on the other hand, the Army in India should be entirely under the control, real as well nominal, of the Government of India and should be free from any domination or interference by the War Office on matters of military policy, organisation or administration, and that such co-ordination as may be desirable between the military policies or organisations of different parts of the Empire should be secured by discussion and agreement at conferences at which India is adequately represented.

Sir Sivaswami made a lengthy speech after which an interesting discussion ensued in which Munshi Iswar Saran and Chaudhuri Shahabuddin participated. Mr. Hailey suggested an amendment to the resolution that in the first part of the resolution the words "notwithstanding nothing contained in parts I and II of the Esher Report" be inserted.

Sir Sivaswami accepted the amendment which was carried.

A lively discussion followed the introduction of the Indigo Cess Act; after which Mr. Hailey brought in two motions for constituting the Standing Finance Committee and the Committee on Public Accounts.

## Madras

The first business meeting of the Madras Legislative Council was held on Monday the 14th February when H. E. the Governor greeted the members and discoursed on the work before the session.

The Council then proceeded with the interpellations on the agenda. Over seventy questions having been answered, the President, Dewan Bahadur Sir P. Rajagopalachari, announced that H. E. the Governor had appointed Messrs. E. Periyarayakam, A. Ramaswami Mudaliar and P. Subbarayan as Council Secretaries. The Hon. Mr. Subbarayalu Reddiar, Minister, moved that the salary of each of the Council Secretaries be Rs. 500 a month. On the objection raised by Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, the consideration of this motion was adjourned.

The Hon. Mr. K. Srinivasa Iyengar, member of the Executive Council, in moving the Deputy President's Salary Bill, said that Rs. 5,000 a year would be a reasonable salary. An amendment to increase it to Rs. 1,000 a month and another "to reduce it to Re. 1, were both lost and the bill was passed.

When the Council re-assembled on the 15th the motion for fixing the salary of the Council Secretaries at Rs. 500 a month each was brought up, debated, and carried by a large majority. Mr. T. A. Ramalinga Chetty opposed it while Mr. K. V. Reddi, Minister, defended it.

Mr. P. Siva Rao's resolution recommending to the Government that the adoption of re-settlement proposals in the Presidency be postponed till the principles of Land Revenue assessment was embodied in legislation was carried by 76 votes to 17 despite the opposition of the Government.

On the 16th a resolution, of which notice had been given by Mr. M. D. Devadoss, that a mixed committee be appointed to report on the firing incident on the occasion of the disturbances created by the Buckingham Mill labourers was withdrawn by him, as Sir Lionel Davidson, on behalf of the Government, said that the matter was soon to be a subject of enquiry in a civil court and, as such, would become *sub judice* and that it would be superfluous for a committee to undertake the enquiry.

A series of resolutions recommending improvement in the pay of non-gazetted officers then came in. The Hon. Mr. Habibulla Sabib Bahadur, Revenue Member, moved a resolution asking for

a Committee of the Council representing all interests to report on the sources of revenue for giving increases. It was passed unanimously.

Mr. T. A. Ramalinga Chetty moved a resolution recommending discontinuance of the exodus to the hills by the Government. The member for Coimbatore seconded. The Hon. Mr. Todhunter pleaded for the necessity for relief and change during the hot weather and said that the recess would be limited to three months and confined to the members of the Government with a minimum of staff. Sir P. Theogaraya Chetty appealed to the mover to withdraw the resolution after such an assurance. The resolution was then by leave withdrawn.

Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao then moved "that the Board of Revenue be abolished and that the Collectors be left to deal directly with the Government."

Rao Bahadur A. P. Patro moved an amendment,

"that a Committee of the Council be formed to enquire into the question of the abolition of the Board and for providing such agency as may be necessary for carrying on the administration economically and efficiently."

Hon. Mr. Habibullah on behalf of the Government accepted the amended resolution.

## Bombay

Since we wrote last the list of officials and non-officials nominated to the Bombay Legislative Council has been published. H. E. the Governor has appointed Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Kt., as President of the Council.

The resolutions on the agenda of the forthcoming session of the Council include those relating to the salaries of Ministers, reduction in the number of the Executive Council and the appointment of a Committee for (a) inquiry into the possibility of effecting strict economy in the ordinary expenditure of the various departments by a reduction in the number or salary of officers or their staff, and (b) formulating proposals for new sources of remunerative taxation and other subjects.

The first meeting of the Reformed Council, preparatory to its inauguration by the Duke on the 23rd, assembled on the 19th instant, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar presiding. The President first swore himself and then administered the oath to the Executive Councillors and Ministers and about a hundred members who were present. Some ten of the latter read the oath in their vernaculars.



### Bengal

THE first session of the Reformed Bengal Council, after its inauguration by H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, met at the Calcutta Town Hall on the 7th instant. The President, Sir Shamsul Huda, announced receipt of congratulatory cables from H. M. the King Emperor and the Secretary of State.

The Council proceeded to the election of the Deputy President. Two names were proposed, Mr. Surendranath Roy and Dr. Suharawardy. Mr. Roy was declared elected by 59 to 46 votes.

Sir Henry Wheeler moved for leave to introduce a Bill to determine the salary of the Deputy President. It was proposed to fix the salary at Rs.5,000 per annum. Mr. S. N. Roy thanked the members for electing him as Deputy President and said that so long as he continued in office he would not accept any remuneration.

Mr. Watson-Smyth moved that meetings of the Council be held at 3 P.M., instead of at 11 and amendments were proposed fixing it at 1 and 2. Considerable discussion ranged round the subject, and the motion was finally agreed to by 73 votes to 36, one of the amendments having been withdrawn and the other defeated.

Babu Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri's resolution for the reduction of the number of Executive Councilors was opposed by Sir Henry Wheeler for the Government. When the House divided on the question, it was passed by 74 against 31.

The next day the Council discussed Mr. D. C. Ghose's resolution to provide charitable dispensaries, which was passed by a majority of 7 votes.

By another motion unfermented date juice was excluded from Section 90 of the Excise Act. Mr. D. C. Ghose urged the amendment of the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1899.

Another resolution urged that each ordinary member should draw a monthly allowance of Rs. 250 *plus* free first class railway passes and postage throughout the province. The mover withdrew the resolution, finding that almost the whole House was against it.

Another resolution urged that the annual exodus of the Government to Darjeeling be discontinued for the next official year, and that no provision be made for it in the next year's budget. It was discussed for two hours. All nominated members of the Legislative Council and official members opposed it, while most of the elected members, European and Indian, supported the motion. The resolution was carried 53 voting for and 41 against it.

### The United Provinces

THE new U. P. Legislative Council was inaugurated at the Kaiser Bagh, Lucknow, on the morning of 22nd January, by H. E. Sir Harcourt Butler, the Governor. Sir Harcourt referred to the Non-Co-operation movement and appealed to the Council to choose between ordered progress and anarchy. After referring to various provincial matters he said that the first question the new Government would take up would be the revision of the Oudh Rent Act.

The first business session was held on the 14th February Sir Henry Stanyon moved that an address be presented to H. E. Sir Harcourt Butler on his installation as the first Governor of the Province. So far every member was agreed. But the resolution continued "that in exercise of its powers and discharge of its obligations, it (the Council) will carry an ever present remembrance of vows of allegiance made to H. M. the King-Emperor and that it will conduct its deliberations at all times with moderation, courtesy and dignity consistent with its position in a spirit of honest co-operation and combined effort for the material advancement of the people whom it represents for its further development of a system of responsible government towards which it is privileged to lead the way in this province." This raised an unexpected opposition. Thakur Manak Singh moved for the elimination of the words: "It will carry an ever-present remembrance of vows of allegiance to H. M. the King Emperor." Pandit Gokarnath Misra, Pandit Radhakant Malaviya and Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana followed suit. The resolution was carried with the amendment.

The bill to fix the salary of the Deputy President was discussed and Pandit Gokarn Nath Misra moved an amendment fixing the salary at Rs.5,000 per annum which was finally carried.

When the Council met the next day under the presidentship of the Hon. Mr. Khan, Rai Bahadur Anand Swarup was unanimously elected Deputy President. Mr. Zafar Husain moved that the President, Ministers and Members be exempted from the operations of the Arms Act. Mr. Vikramjit Singh desired to enlarge the scope of the resolution by extending the exemption to members of the Senate, Principals, Headmasters and all paying income-tax or land revenue on Rs. 50,000 and above. The Rajah of Mahmudabad said that the Government would forward the resolution to the Government of India. The resolution with the amendments was carried.

### The Central Provinces

The new Central Provinces Council met on the 27th ultimo. H. E. the Governor, in the course of his inaugural address, said that the Reforms gave them full control over the transferred subjects, wide control over reserved subjects and great financial powers. The Hon. Sir G. M. Chitnavis who presided referred in feeling terms to the death of R. N. Mudholkar who should have filled the office of the first President. He concluded with an appeal for mutual friendliness and co-operation. He then announced that he had nominated Mr. Mahomed Ahmed, Rai Saheb Mathura Prasad, Rao Sahib R. V. Mahajani and Mr. J. Rodrigues to form a panel of chairmen.

At the sitting on the 28th the Council held a full dress debate and finally voted for the reduction of each Minister's salary to Rs.3,000 and adopted Mr. Dixit's recommendations urging collection of technical and industrial information in foreign countries.

Besides the resolutions, 110 questions were asked and answered in the two days.

22nd Feb.

### The Punjab

The second session of the Punjab Council will commence from the 23rd February, and the Council will remain in session until the budget has been passed and all current business disposed of. The budget, it is understood, will be presented on the 24th instant when the Finance Member will merely present the figures and make a statement. After an interval a general discussion will follow and votes will be taken under separate heads. The demands of each department will be scrutinised, discussed and voted on separately. It is expected that the voting of grants will be concluded by the middle of March, by which time the budget is to be submitted to the Government of India. The Council will also have to elect a Deputy President, and the President of the Council will have to nominate a panel of four Chairmen to act in rotation in the absence of the President and Deputy President. Salaries of Deputy President and the Council Secretary will also have to be voted.

22nd Feb.

### Behar and Orissa

H. E. Lord Sinha opened the Legislative Council of Behar and Orissa with the customary ceremonies on the 7th inst. His Excellency opened the Council with a weighty and statesman-like address appropriate to the occasion. Lord Sinha referred to the part he had taken in respect of the Declaration of August 1917 and of the subsequent deliberations and debates in Parliament and of the successive stages in the evolution of the Act of 1919. He pointed out that the reforms did not constitute a revolutionary change but were the logical and necessary outcome of the beneficent labours of many generations. He further showed that the new system was both progressive and continuous "involving non-violent breaking away from the past, and ensuring that stability, which is the most important of all elements of political strength." He traced the successive stages in the evolution of our polity and said :—

There is no gainsaying the fact that these Councils have become more and more representative and that their authority and influence have increased with the increase in their representative character.

After referring to the increase in the electorate as undeniably substantial, His Lordship observed, with reference to the powers of the new Councils in shaping the budgets :—

All the proposals of the local Government for the appropriation of public revenues and other money items every year must be submitted to the vote of the Council in the form of demands for grants, and the Council may assent, or refuse its assent, to the demand or reduce the amount. Only those who have any experience of the working of responsible government can realize the transference of power from the executive to the Council which this provision involves.

His Excellency finally pointed out the dangers of the Non-Co-operation programme and concluded with the fervent appeal of the Duke to sink differences and use the new machinery wisely and well.

On the conclusion of His Excellency's speech the Council proceeded to elect the Vice-President. As the result of the ballot which was taken Sir Walter Maude the President announced the election of Mr. Hasan Imam who obtained 63 votes as against 27 for Mr. Mahomed Yunus. The salary of the Deputy President was fixed at Rs 3,000 per annum. The President then announced the names of four members appointed as a panel for the President,—Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath Chaudhuri, Bhagabat Prasad, Khan Bahadur Khawja Mahomed Nur and Rai Bahadur Purnendu Narayan Sinha.



### Burma

Burma has for long been agitating for an instalment of reforms and has just obtained a scheme not quite adequate to her deserts. We have more than once criticised the reactionary nature of some of the provisions of the Craddock Reforms.

The Burma Council met on the 12th instant in accordance with the Secretary of State's desire to ascertain the views on the Reforms question. Five motions were on the agenda, the first being that Burma should receive equal treatment with the Indian major provinces in respect of transferred subjects. Other proposals, treated as amendments to the main motion, asked for the beginning of Dominion self-government to be established in Burma, for the grant of diarchy subject to public discussion, and for the postponement of the introduction of the Bill in Parliament until its contents had been published and discussed in Burma. The fifth motion treated separately was that, in view of the advanced status of women in Burma, they be given a vote from the outset of any scheme.

H. H. The Lieutenant Governor in his opening speech recounted the course of events leading to the grant of the reforms and intimated the Government's willingness to substitute direct election for the system of indirect election in the original scheme.

The mover of the first resolution expressed his readiness to accept the proposal to leave the franchise and the division of subjects for full discussion before a final decision was taken. After some discussion over the resolution and the amendments, the resolution as amended below was finally adopted by 13 votes to 2.

"That this Council recommends to the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma to urge the Secretary of State that the measure of reform to be granted to Burma by the British Parliament should be at least the same as that of the major provinces of India, leaving matters relating to franchise, the division of subjects into transferred and reserved for full discussion with the representatives of the people before a final decision."

The motion for the extension of legislative franchise to women was carried without a dissenting voice.

### Ceylon

The last meeting of the Ceylon Legislative Council under its old constitution was held on 11th February at Colombo, His Excellency the Governor presiding. One of the first business transacted was the consideration of a petition from the scions of the ex-Royal House of Kandy now in exile in India for an increase in their allowance which was granted.

Among the resolutions that were considered was one by Mr. Sabapathy recommending the withdrawal of Passport Regulations in regard to passengers to the Straits and the F. M. S. Another motion which was passed was to the effect that articles imported for public use by municipalities, and other specific local boards, be exempted from customs duty.

The most important among the business of the Council was the consideration of an ordinance authorising the Government to float a loan of 6 millions sterling. The loan was for carrying out certain important public works including railway extensions and new railways. Out of this 6 millions, nearly a million and-a-half was for repaying to Government what they had advanced to the Colombo Municipality for drainage and water-works schemes. A still larger sum was earmarked for the Batticaloa-Trincomalee light railway and other extensions. Mr. S. R. Williams, the European urban member, in criticising the bill, said that he did not think that under the present conditions they should go very far in committing the Colony to a large expenditure in the future. Schemes like the Trinco-Batticaloa Railway and other railway extensions would not only involve the Colony in a heavy annual charge for interest on the sinking fund, but would also put the country to considerable annual expenditure in the up keep and running expenses of the railways. The Hon. Dr. Fernando replying to this criticism said that the Trincomalee-Batticaloa railway scheme was one capable of a three-fold advantage. It would open up a large tract of country. It held out the greatest promise for the future extension of food growing and finally it would be the readiest means for the exploitation and development of a very large section of the forests of Ceylon.

The importance of this railway to the country in general was well brought out by His Excellency the Governor in his closing speech on the Bill.

The bill was then passed,

## The Defence of the British Empire

Major-General Sir J. H. Davidson writes in the current number of *The Army Quarterly* about the new responsibilities and burdens of British Imperial defence. The forces at the disposal of Britain are for financial and other reasons limited to the barest necessities without any margin for safety. Increased strength can only be achieved by rapidity of movement and preparation of plans; and the closest co-operation is essential between the Army and the Navy. Success in war is dependent upon reconnaissance and fire-effect; and for both these, the military and naval forces must rely in a great measure on air-craft. The Self-Governing Dominions and India cannot stand aloof in matters of defence. Their defence representatives must be consulted in all plans and projects, if co-operation and co-ordination are to be truly imperial.

The problem of India is considered by the writer to be the toughest in the whole Empire. He remarks upon the recommendations of the Esher Committee as follows:—

A considerable body of public opinion is likely to be adverse to the recommendations for two chief reasons, first, because there is the intention to place the Army in India in regard to military policy under partial control of the War Office; and secondly, because the Committee, without any attempt at camouflage, faces the fact that the Near and Middle East is likely to remain a storm centre for some years to come. There is no doubt that the Army in India for purposes of efficiency must be brought into closer touch with the General Staff at home, also that India must be ready at short notice to have troops available for external use. For this latter purpose, it will probably be preferable to earmark and specially recruit an Indian force for expeditionary purposes, as in this country; and it is to be hoped that it would never have to be called into use.

If and when the political emancipation of India is carried into effect, presumably the Commander-in-Chief would be replaced by a Chief of the Staff, whose representative or deputy would be the military expert of the India Office, and India would follow, in principle, the procedure outlined above for the Dominions. The functions of a Commander-in-Chief and Chief of the General Staff do not in fact differ materially, neither would command forces in action and each is responsible for military efficiency. There is nothing wild or militarist about the Esher Committee's recommendations, nor is there anything in them which would tend to relax the civil control over military expenditure.

There is no object or advantage in the Governor-General-in-Council having two military advisers, nor in the Secretary of State being possessed of an expert who is out of touch with the Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

## The Anglo-Japanese Alliance

*The Round Table* for December, 1920 weighs the arguments for and against the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1911 which might be terminated in 1921 or later. The Alliance of 1911 followed the terms of the treaty of 1905 and it has fulfilled its fundamental functions while giving to Japan full opportunity for peaceful development and consolidation.

Three great changes have come about in the conditions which produced the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1911. In the first place, the military and naval power of Germany has disappeared, and with it the menace to the freedom of Europe. The British Empire, therefore, is now free both to diminish its swollen expenditure on armaments and to distribute its military and naval forces more or less without regard to the European situation.

In the second place, the Russian Empire has disappeared. Bolshevik Russia is still a menace to its neighbours, but its menace is due to propaganda rather than to military power. Japan, therefore, is confronted by no great military power which could possibly threaten her independence or development.

In the third place, the Treaty of Versailles and the constitution of the League of Nations have introduced a new principle into the conduct of international affairs quite different from that on which the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was based. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was formed at a time when peace was maintained by the balance of power, and not by any collective attempt to bring reason and good-will to bear on the solution of international questions. It secured the peace of the Far East by making it clear that anybody who interfered with it would have to meet the combined forces of the British Empire and Japan. The Covenant of the League of Nations attempts to substitute a new principle. It aims at the diminution of armaments.

An essential condition of the renewal of the Alliance must be that Japan accepts completely the policy of loyally endeavouring to set up China on its legs and that it should not lead to misunderstandings or disputes with other powers (e.g. America). The real danger of renewal is that it may lead to a counterbalancing combination between China and the United States. The writer puts forward the following suggestion.

The conclusion, therefore, which we reach is, that before the Alliance is renewed, the whole Far Eastern question should be frankly and openly discussed, if possible, at a conference at which the United States, Japan, China, Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, and India, and, if possible, France and Russia, should be represented. There is everything to be gained by a frank exchange of views on the Far Eastern situation between these powers, all of whom are more or less directly concerned.



### Indian Education in 1920

In the survey of missionary activities throughout the world in the course of the year 1920, *The International Review of Missions* for January, has the following paragraphs about the progress of educational reform in India. The first part deals with the improvements effected in University education and the second explains the Madras Education Act of 1920. In India, acts permitting the introduction of compulsion in the elementary sphere are now on the statute-books of no less than six provinces, Madras having recently adopted the principle first laid down by Bombay and thereafter followed by Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, and Bihar and Orissa.

The creation of new Universities as well as plans for reform testify to an increasing appreciation of education. For such foundations have received statutory authorization during the year. The Aligarh Muslim University Act provides for a teaching and residential University open to all, but with the importation of religious education to Muslims and the inclusion of departments of Islamic studies. The Dacca Act has set up a teaching, residential and unitary University on lines recommended by the Sadler Commission, and like provision has been made by the Rangoon Act. The most thorough-going application of the Sadler scheme has been in the United Provinces, where an Act has been passed to set up a University of the new type at Lucknow. The great states of Mysore and Hyderabad have their own Universities, the latter making Urdu the medium of instruction.

A new principle has been introduced in educational administration in British India by the Madras Elementary Education Act, which transfers supervision from the Education Department and entrusts it to district educational councils elected *ad hoc*. The Act is also more definite than those of other provinces in respect of compulsion, which can be applied to all children of school age, or to boys or girls only, where and when the demand is made, subject to the sanction of Government and a declaration of readiness to levy the educational tax provided for in the measure. If and when this is enforced in any area, fees are to be abolished in the elementary schools, but the local authority shall pay compensation for any loss of income which may be caused by such remission of fees to elementary schools under private management. On the subject of the conscience clause, the Act embodies a compromise. In single-school areas, where ten guardians of children apply for exemption, the manager of the school shall exempt from religious instruction all children whose guardians make a written request to that effect. If within the time prescribed the manager fails to enter into such an agreement, an elementary school in the neighbourhood shall be established, the grant-in-aid of the recognized school imparting religious instruction not being affected.

### Industrial Democracy in France

Prof. Charles Sestre of the Sorbonne, writing in *The American Review of Reviews* (December 20) says that in M. Millerand, the new President of France and in the defeat of the Labour Extremists, the triumph of the commonsense of the middle and working classes was clearly seen. The labour movement is busy constructing a board of workmen, technicians and co-operators who are to work out the future regime of industry. The Syndicalists do not represent the whole of labour in France. The board is an attempt to organise labour, intelligence and capital from the workmen's point of view, with the workmen's sole resources and on the workmen's own intellectual light. The attempt, though crude, yet recognises at least the needs of capital and the existence of technical knowledge and competency. The writer describes the coming industrial democracy as follows:—

There is a stir among French employers to devise new plans and start new methods. They all agree that, after the lesson received in May, the workmen are much better disposed to consider *concrete* projects of social reform instead of flying loose into the misty realms of Utopia. The same movements that are developing in American industry are being started—at least in the incipient form of inquiries and conferences—in the French industrial world, namely scientific management, payment by results, profit-sharing appeal to the human factor, industrial democracy.

The French method consists rather in legislative measures, applicable to the whole country, than in individual experiments born of private initiative. There are bills being prepared on "arbitration," "profit-sharing," "works-councils." But the employers are suspicious of government-made machinery to solve social problems. They have combined with the purpose of taking concerted steps, according to general principles, yet with variations conformable to the individual features of each concern or industry. While maturing their plans, they have become more and more interested in the American precedents.

As time passes and the shock of the war dies out, the kinship of the American and the French spirit appears in stronger relief. In both countries, enlightened realism and individual energy, commanded by the sense of public service, are leading progress toward *social democracy*. America and France stand together in their horror of the criminal and destructive ways of the Communists temporarily in possession of power in Russia. To-morrow they will join hands in the great task of furthering the peace of the world. Their solution will be sane and broad—the solution of common sense.

## Consumers' Co-operation

Mr. Rothfeld, I. C. S., explains in the last number of *The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* the objects and needs of ideal consumers, organisations. The ultimate object should be the gradual collective appropriation of all means of production by all the consumers in common and the substitution of a collective method for the existing competitive and capitalist regime.

"A co-operative consumers' society is one whose object is to procure articles of consumption, including houses, for its members. Such a society sets out to sell to members and customers articles of consumption bought by the society or manufactured by it. It also follows the principles of the Rochdale Pioneer Society by distributing its profits among its members at a *pro-rata* of the consumption of each member, and by applying a part of the profits to works of social benefit on conditions determined by the by-laws.

The immediate advantages of such a society are the following. First, it protects health by preventing adulteration; secondly, it lowers prices all round by its influence and example; thirdly, it provides its members with an easy method of saving by the bonus system; and, fourthly, by its management it secures an education in administration for the working and the lower middle classes. It should be added that it is very seldom that a true consumers' society can really sell at the beginning at cheaper prices than those offered by the retail trade."

In this society a quick turn over is required which means that no loans or credits of a permanent character will be required. It should never yield to speculative temptation which is built upon wasteful competition. The estimate of the stock required must be fairly accurate.

The real essentials for the consumers' society are, first, a thorough education in principle for all members and especially for the promoters and managing committee of the society, and, secondly, built upon this firm understanding of principle, the rigid and vigorous loyalty of the members. It is only where this loyalty exists that one can hope for accurate estimates of requirements, for a ready response by shares and deposits to the increasing needs for further capital, for the hard and continuous work which is required from all members of the managing committee if the society is to be a success, and for the willingness to bear occasional loss without grumbling or bitterness when it has to be faced, as it may have to be, on account of mistakes or on account of unfair competition by the retail trade. Loyalty is, in fact, the first and the last condition of success. With it, but after it, is needed business capacity and the willingness to study business methods on the part of at least two or three members of the managing committee. With such conditions and in industrial centres, the consumers' movement is bound to succeed.

## The Employer and Labour

Mr. Sherwood Eddy, writing in *The Young Men of India* gives the views of Mr. Seeborn Rowntree, a great chocolate and cocoa maker of York who is not only a model employer, but an investigator, an author and an authority on the question of labour. Mr. Rowntree's conviction is that paternal welfare-work as a sop to labour is dangerous and he puts forward 5 legitimate demands of labour. These are:—

(1) The fixing of a *minimum wage* for all workers, such as to enable a man to marry, to live in a decent house and to bring up a family of normal size in a state of efficiency, leaving a reasonable margin for contingencies and recreation. (2) The *limitation of hours* of the working week, and a bill to secure a forty-eight hour week. (3) *Insurance against unemployment*, which shall be universal and compulsory. (4) To give the workers more *democratic control* over the industry in which they are engaged; not as now on the financial or commercial side, but on the industrial side of their work as it pertains to the welfare of the workers in wages, hours and conditions of labour. (5) Labour should have a *larger share in the product*, and more adequate remuneration for services rendered. To secure labour's cordial support to increased output, the workers must be given a direct interest in the prosperity.

There are many practical difficulties in the concrete application of these principles. One thing most essential to grasp is that labour wants not only better wages but a better world and a better life. Mr. Eddy concludes:

The British manufacturer has learned to yield his claim of autocratic control of business. Instead of fighting the Trade-Union, he now co-operates with it. Before the War there were 2,500,000 in Trade-Unions. Now there are over 6,500,000 in the one organization of the Trade Union Congress alone. They already include about half of all the available men and women in industry and agriculture.

The War has resulted in an enormous development in labour organizations. In 1892 there were 1,500,000 organized workers; in 1900, 2,000,000; in 1910, 2,500,000; in 1914, nearly 4,000,000, to-day it is 7,000,000, and the number is growing. Eight of the big unions contain half the men, and the triple alliance of miners, railway men, and transport workers holds the centre of organized British labour. As the result of the War, the average working week of fifty-four hours has now been reduced to forty-eight hours, while forty-four hours is common. The Labour movement is backed by the best brains in Britain, and the leading intellects of Oxford and Cambridge,



### On Race Superiority

Mr. Tarakanath Das, in a contribution to the *Asian Review* (October) on the question of race superiority maintains that "the idea of racial superiority or the so-called superiority of the Western people because of their Christian religion is nothing but nonsense accepted with credulity". In proof of this he says that there is absolutely no pure Caucasian race in the world, but there is a distinct Aryan culture and that culture is nobody's special monopoly but a treasure for all humanity and even Aryan culture has not been free from mixture with inferior or superior cultures of various regions and various ages. "Greece had her palmy days in heathen times. Imperial Rome flourished under the same heathendom. The civilizations of Egypt and Carthage flourished long before the advent of Christianity. Ancient India with her Hinduism and Buddhism has given science, philosophy and culture to the whole world, although Western scholars generally overlook the contributions of India in the field of the positive sciences."

The writer proceeds to say that the European civilization was a good deal indebted to the influence of Saracenic and Moorish culture and quotes Lecky in support of his argument. "Roger Bacon, who was probably the greatest natural philosopher of the Middle Ages was profoundly versed in Arabian learning and derived from it many of the germs of his philosophy." "Then again" he says, "Christianity is not Western in origin. The philosophical side of Christianity has been influenced from the teachings of the Alexandrian School of Neo-Platonism which in turn was largely influenced by the Buddhistic and Hindu ideas preached by the missionaries of India who penetrated into Egypt and other countries. . . . True Christianity, the religion of universal love and fellowship does not exist in the West. The spirit of individualism, aggressiveness and lack of righteousness has reduced this religion to a refined and scientific form of vandalism; its pastors, even in this "age of enlightenment," call for blood and cry upon their God to kill their enemies. . . . From what we know of the actual practice of equality and goodwill to men it is quite clear that the West has no higher conception of life and it is quite possible that with the regeneration of the Orient it will send forth a more humane spirit to penetrate the Western world."

He argues that the actual domination of the world by the West began in the first part of the

nineteenth century when the West began to outstrip the Orient in the field of science. Therefore, "the actual problem before the Oriental peoples is to acquire all the scientific achievements of the West, and add to them further improvements and contributions of their own, to acquire political independence, to free themselves from economic bondage to the West, and to inspire all mankind to practice the doctrine of 'Live and let live.' Without political and economic freedom the people of the Orient are more or less slaves: and slaves cannot expect to give full expression to their qualities."

"Co-operation among the Orientals must replace mutual distrusts, the seed of which is always sown by the dominant peoples who do not wish to see the solidarity of the Orient. . . . Let the Orient turn a deaf ear to the idea that the Orient is impractical, that the Chinese are corrupt, the Japanese selfishly aggressive, and the Hindus only good for philosophical speculation."

He then emphasizes that in the field of world politics, the race question, blood relationships, the language question, and even religion are not the indices of political or economic solidarity but that it is political and economic interest that makes the West ask for Asian aid at one time and at another incite the Asiatics to fight amongst themselves.

"The Orient must unmask the true nature of Western imperialism and understand its real nature. . . . The world peace dreamed about is on *status quo* . . . that the peoples of the Orient are to remain in their present position of "drawers of water and hewers of wood" for the more powerful aristocracy of the white men. The Orient should strive to defeat this idea. . . . To accomplish this the Orient needs nationalism. . . . which will speak and act in terms of Oriental solidarity to save them from external aggression. The ideal of 'one for all and all for one' should be the watchword of the Orient."

### Revolt against Organised Religion

Mr. W. J. Wootton, in the latest number of the *Hibbert Journal*, boldly arraigns the very idea of organised religion as "an inherently unsatisfactory conception." "Religion, when most truly itself, cannot be organised." The life of Jesus Himself is a supreme example of revolt against organised religion. Mrs. Wootton points to the weaknesses of organised religious bodies—intolerance, morbidity, ineffectiveness, and excessive conservatism. "Religion is revolutionary, organised religion is stagnant."

## Madras and Ceylon

The proximity of Ceylon to Madras, its dependence on Madras for its labour and the affinity that the inhabitants of its northern parts bear to the Tamils—these render the political connection of Madras and Ceylon more than one of mere academic interest. In 1782 Madras organised an expedition against the Dutch in Ceylon; and in 1795 the English from Madras captured all the Dutch settlements and the island itself was annexed to Madras and was governed by it for 3 years. The Crown took over the island as a Colony in 1798; but Madras was again called in to help the Colony in the rebellion of 1817—18 which broke out soon after the suppression of the Kandyan kingdom.

A writer in the *Hindustan Review* (Dec. 20) thus urges the union of Ceylon with the Madras Presidency.

This brief summary of the relations of Madras with Ceylon will show how, as in the case of Burma, she has been instrumental in making it a British possession. Ceylon, geographically speaking, belongs to Madras. Politically it was subordinate to Madras towards the close of the 18th century. To a large extent, the population of Northern Ceylon is the same as that of Madras. The main religion of Ceylon, Buddhism, is an Indian religion. The Buddhism that prevails in the Island is, however, largely a mixture of Hinduism and aboriginal beliefs. In area, Ceylon is about five times that of Madura, while as regards population, it is just  $1\frac{1}{4}$  times that of Madura. In the language of Madras Administration, Ceylon is, territorially, five districts of Madras, while from a population point of view, it would be reckoned only four districts. One question, then, for consideration would be whether a separate and costly administration is necessary for Ceylon while it is really not more than four or five Madras districts. No doubt other considerations would have to be given due weight in a matter of this kind, such, for instance, as the form of administration that can satisfy the Island, the future position in the Indian system of Government that is now being evolved, the attitude of the people of Ceylon towards a closer alliance with India, &c. Whether Lord Milner's proposed scheme of Reforms for the Island will touch on any problems of this type it is impossible to say. But there can be no gain-saying the fact that Ceylon and Madras are bound together, and advance in Madras means a demand for reform in Ceylon. The key to Ceylon's progress, political and industrial, is to be found in India, and recent developments in the Island show this more unmistakably than ever.

## English and the Vernaculars

In the January number of the *Indian Education* Mr. A. S. Bhandarkar writing on the above subject, points out the ways by which the study of Indian vernaculars could be encouraged and the standard of English improved.

There are people who think that children ought to begin learning English along with their vernaculars. Even if a large number of trained teachers are employed and the direct method of teaching is introduced, it is impossible to bring about in the space of a few hours at school those natural conditions of learning a language at home.

In primary schools, according to the traditional methods in teaching the vernaculars, the pupils must be asked to reproduce in writing stories, as this would not only improve their vernacular diction, but train their memory, imagination, logical arrangement. English could be begun advantageously after three years of vernacular study and then the direct method of teaching English should be adopted. The exercise of composition in the vernacular as well as English should be given much more importance than at present.

In teaching grammar what is called the intensive method ought to be followed. The essential elements of grammar ought to be taught by doing much reading in that language as grammar is but a means to learning a language or to speaking or writing it correctly.

Vernaculars have suffered much neglect. The authorities says the writer, have all along shown a partiality for English or given it overmuch importance. We want that a student should not only speak well his mother tongue, but should improve his composition and give him a style or the power of good idiomatic self-expression in his own vernacular. We want to produce more authors and more vernacular literature. This can be secured largely by instituting a regular course of composition and translation into the vernaculars in high schools and colleges. A three hours' paper in composition and translation into the vernacular can be introduced without overburdening the student, into the Matriculation and higher University examinations.

The composition paper will encourage the student to read vernacular literature, outside the text books and enable him to acquire a style or facility in self-expression.



### Mission Work in the Upper Classes

Canon Brown of Calcutta (Oxford Mission) writing in *The East and the West* does not show any depression of feeling at the little result in the shape of converts that the work of the missionary with the educated classes has so far shown. He says that the heaven is surely working beneath the surface and the push and the upheaval would come in unexpected ways and at unexpected times. Taking Bengal as his illustration, he says that that province has never been the scene of a mass movement, nor even if such a movement were to appear, would it affect the educated classes. Within the last 40 years there has been a wonderful growth in integrity, in public spirit and in the desire for unselfish service—a gradual and almost unconscious adoption of Christian ideals, due to the great amount of work which has been done by Christian schools, colleges and hostels. Men are gradually leaving off the Hindu theory of life tending to fatalism and passivity and beginning to live a strenuous moral life and struggle for political and social justice. Canon Brown says that Christian missions must go on silently working, strengthening all the Christian elements in the character of the people and then the people will break free from the trammels of the past and there will be a great fruit obtained for Christ.

Now, while in practice the Bengali has to a great extent abandoned these beliefs and customs of Hinduism, he still holds to them in theory, and if you asked him he would say that he had not abandoned them at all. Many wish to become Christians, but very few actually do so, because they are held back by these trammels of the past. It must be the work of Christian missions for many years to come to go on silently strengthening the Christian elements in his character. Some day he will awake to the necessity of making his theory and practice accord, and then we shall see the beginning of a great movement towards Christianity. For this reason it is worth while to persevere with our work in Calcutta, however small its visible results.

And the work is full of hope, interest, and happiness. No people are more responsive than the Bengalis to sympathy and kindness. No people are more lovable when you get to know them well. It is because sympathy and religion have been so largely absent from our intercourse with them that the present situation is as bad as it is.

### The Fallen Pound

Mr. Philip Snowden writing in a recent issue of the *East and West* discusses, in an article entitled "Labour and the Fallen £," the evil consequences of the present adverse American exchange and the various means of rectifying the same.

"The state of the exchange", he says, "is a very serious matter for the trader, the worker, and the consumer in Great Britain. It increases the prices of every article imported from America by about 4 s. in the pound." But the evil results of the adverse exchange are not confined to increasing prices only. Every fall in the rate of exchange makes its rectification more difficult. An increase in the price of food compels the workers to demand higher wages to meet the increase in the cost of living or the increased cost is met, as at present, by a huge State subsidy. This adds to the cost of production and restricts the volume of exports. Unless something is done to rectify the exchange, the gravest results will follow. Imports of cotton and corn will have to be stopped or greatly reduced, with disastrous consequences of unemployment and famine prices and scarcity.

There are, says Mr. Snowden, three ways in which the exchange can be rectified. The first is by increasing the volume of exports, the second by the exportation of gold and the third by increasing the carrying trade of Great Britain. The second and third of these methods offer very little prospect of effectively relieving the situation and the first method, viz., an increase of export is, in Mr. Snowden's opinion, the most effective way of solving the present problem.

"But the problem of increased exports presents many difficulties. We need to export to America in order to improve the exchange, and unfortunately, as has already been pointed out, the goods we can produce are in the main those for which America has very little need; and hampered by the adverse exchange, which adds over 30 per cent. to the cost of production, it is difficult for British manufacturers to compete in the American market. But an increase of our export trade is the only effective way in which the Exchange can be brought back to the normal condition. To do this there must be increased output, and increased output can only be secured by improved methods of production, by the elimination of waste, by applying to peace time production the same goodwill and co-operation which prevailed during the war."

### The Argument for Socialism

Mr. F. H. Perrycoste refutes in the current number of *The Socialist Review* (January—March, 1921) Herbert Spencer's argument that in the long run the betterment of the community vitally depends upon securing to each individual the fullest of his mental, moral and physical good qualities and thus enabling him to rear a large family of similar high quality. The inference was that it was unjust, unscientific and socially disastrous to mulct these desirable and efficient individuals for the support of the wilfully or helplessly inefficient. The writer utterly denies the Individualist argument that the individual is entitled to the full harvest of his inborn genius or unique inborn endowment, because the individual could have nothing whatever to do with endowing himself with such genius or inborn capacity. In claiming for the community the harvest of inborn genius bequeathed by the community of the past, we must equally saddle the present community with the care of the degeneracy equally bequeathed by the past and must call upon it to supplement the earnings of those congenitally incapable of maintaining themselves in decent comfort. The children of this last class have to be saved by the community. But the community must, in sheer self-preservation, make very sure that these low types shall not breed and multiply and that the existing degeneration shall disappear. The degenerates, he says, should be permanently sterilised which is perfectly practicable and which does not mean that they are deprived of the capacity for the gratification of the sexual instinct. Socialist Labour should welcome and proclaim its readiness to act on the instruction and warning offered by science as to the impossibility of safeguarding a socialised community from disaster and death, unless the propagation of degenerate and unfit types be ruthlessly stopped.

### Reform in India

Mr. Bernard Houghton, author of "Bureaucratic Government" (a cheap popular edition of which has just been issued by Messrs. Natesan & Co., Madras) writing in *the Political Science Quarterly* (December, 1920) condemns the modifying clauses of the announcement of August 1917 and even more the arrogation by Parliament of the power to fix the time and manner of each advance in constitutional government. The Government of India, the citadel of the bureaucracy, remains in effect unshaken by the

constitutional advance, where the Viceroy, overriding the Assemblies may sanction any expenditure and pass any law he considers as fit. In the budget it is recommended that where the Viceroy and the Assemblies agree the Secretary of State shall not set their views aside. The writer here again stresses his view that the final constitution of India will be and must be a federation implying real autonomy and freedom from official control. He looks upon the immediate outlook with gloomy forebodings.

What of the future? Will the reforms work well in practice? Will they satisfy the Indian people? The omens are not good. Admittedly they do not content the great majority of organised opinion, nor is it very likely that their working will greatly assuage the heart-burnings and soften the bitterness so widely felt to-day. Much will depend on the Governors. They are the keystone of the new edifice of political reform. If they side too much with the officials, if they flout or ignore popular opinion, feeling will again run high, and feeling in India must now be taken into account very seriously. Three hundred million human beings are politically awake and have begun to move. They may be guided, controlled by sympathy and statesmanship, but they cannot be checked without disaster. Will the great body of the Civil Service show a new mind and work the new constitution in a democratic spirit? It seems unlikely. Their whole training is not democratic but authoritative. They turn their eyes to the past for precedents; they are blind to the warnings of the present and fearful of a future of self-Government.

### Civilisation

Prof. Flinders Petrie contributes an interesting article on civilisation to the January number of the *Contemporary Review*. Justice, security, and toleration of diversity, he shows, have been fundamental in all known civilisations, but still more important is the power of acquiring and retaining knowledge. The lack of any one of these essentials undermines civilisation, and Prof. Petrie subtly attributes Germany's downfall to intolerance of diversity and determination to crush it. The acquisition of fresh knowledge is a function of a very small part of any community—those with originality of mind and inventiveness, "most usual in the professional and lower middle-class stratum." Ancient Rome crushed out this class, and its civilisation decayed.



### Co-operative Production

Writing in a recent issue of *The Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Journal* Prof. B. K. Bhattacharya says that each Co-operative Credit Society should extend its sphere of activity so as to include co-operative production and sale within its scope and that producers' societies should be allowed to lend credit to debt-ridden people and take them under its wings. He says:—

It is wasteful and economical to have "competing railroads running trains over parallel lines or retail stores existing in considerable number where one general distributing establishment could do the work". The municipalities in the West have found out to their cost that separate corporations for lighting the city or providing it with its water should not exist but all these functions should be taken over by the same Municipality. It is similarly wasteful to have a credit society, a grain store and a sale society in the same village or group of villages; every effort should be made to merge them in one institution, if only to save unnecessary duplication of the working machinery. If we forget this, we shall be forgetting the ideal of the co-operative movement as contrasted with that of the competitive system. Analysed closely, the co-operative movement is a phase of the broad movement of Socialism which, generally speaking, is a revolt against the wastefulness and class tyranny of individualism. It is necessary that every co-operator should keep this in mind.

The second reason why a primary credit society should take to co-operative production or selling, is that the members generally are peasants or artisans who have realised the possibilities of co-operation in one field of human exertion and can be easily induced and safely relied upon to carry the principle to practice in an analogous field. This would be a strong incentive to the growth of co-operative production. If every village primary society resolves to-day to undertake this new work we shall have to-morrow.....societies ready to take up co-operative production and sale instead of the.....societies that do the work now.

### The Arya Samaj and the New Age

Mr. H. S. L. Polak writing in the *Vedic Magazine* on the Arya Samaj and the New Age pays a high tribute to Swami Dayanand Sarasvati and to the work of the Arya Samaj founded by him.

Swami Dayananda, he says, was a great spiritual giant, and strong and virile in physique. He was unfettered by customary interpretations of dogma and tradition, and was humane and broad-minded. He recognised no artificial distinctions of caste. Brotherhood was a reality to him as it is to few Indians even of our day and he was undoubtedly one of the spiritual founders of modern Indian nationalism. He was big and fearless; and he held to his belief tenaciously

because of the truth that was in him. He was true to himself and was, therefore, incapable of littleness, meanness and baseness.

The Arya Samaj, he describes, as a strenuous, sturdy, protestant body. It welcomed all, it excluded none who would accept it, it sought out the unhappy, the distressed, the outcast, the convert. It was active and positive. It was broad and human, though it had a tendency to intolerance in the earlier days of Dayananda's death which was, perhaps necessary for its survival.

As regards the future of the Arya Samaj, Mr. Polak thinks that it has greater possibilities of good than in the past. He urges its followers to broaden their outlook beyond the narrow limits of a tradition that may otherwise frustrate their usefulness. There are other religious and philosophical bodies that lay equal claim to be the carriers of salvation, and there ought to be between these bodies the utmost co-operation and a most generous emulation. He appeals to the leading spirits of the Samaj to avail themselves of the manifold opportunities of foreign travel, as it is a wonderful corrective of parochialism in thought and provincialism in action. This is necessary to use to the full their opportunity to make their great noble contribution towards that glorious new India that is now in the making.

### INDIA IN ENGLISH AND INDIAN PERIODICALS.

LITURGICAL REFORM IN INDIA. By Rev. Arthur Crosthwaite. ["The East and the West," January 1921].

INDIAN STUDENTS AND NON-CO-OPERATION. By Pandit Madho Ram. ["The Hindustan Review," December 1920].

CAUSES OF INDIAN UNREST. By T. S. Mahomadi, M.A., L.L.B. ["The Asian Review," January 1921].

THE THUCYDIDES OF BRITISH INDIA: ROBERT ORME. By P. R. Krishnaswami, M.A. ["East and West," Jan. 1921].

INDIA AND ENGLAND. By Sir Francis Young-husband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. ["United Empire," January 1921].

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR IN WESTERN INDIA. By G. F. Keatinge, C.I.E., I.C.S. ["The Social Service Quarterly," January 1921].

## The British Empire

A. G. G. writes in the course of an article in the *Daily News*:

Sir Valentine Chirol telegraphs to the *Times* from Bombay:

"The old Indian National Congress, which, with all its shortcomings, claimed to be thoroughly loyal and constitutional, is dead. At Nagpur the new Congress has proclaimed loyalty to be optional and constitutional methods a matter of mere expediency."

No need to underline that. Prussianism is doing in India what it is doing in Ireland, and it is notorious that what is happening in Ireland is having profound re-actions in India. And there is Egypt. . . . But let us pass to the self-governing dominions. Things are happening there also. If any one missed the significance of Canada's insistence after the war in having her own representative at Washington, he cannot be blind to the meaning of the new naval understanding arrived at in regard to the Pacific by Canada and the United States. That is a new departure of momentous importance for us to think about.

The bearing of all this upon Ireland is obvious. It is always difficult to see our actions as others see them. We have no idea how Amritsar looked to other than English eyes. And we have little idea what our atrocities in Ireland look like to those who have no particular reason to turn their heads away when we run amock.

I daresay there are people who reading all this will attribute it, not to honest indignation, but to hatred of this country. Perhaps they will say the same about the French. No doubt the Germans in the same way thought we were humbugs about the frightfulness in Belgium, and the old Sultan thought we were hypocrites about the Bulgarian and Armenian atrocities. But the point for us is that these things that are being said are true, that they have shocked the civilised world, and that the reputation of this country is at a lower ebb to-day than it has been in living memory. The moral prestige of the British Empire is its chief asset. It is the cement, as Burke said long ago, that holds the contexture together. If that prestige, that reputation for justice, humanity, liberty, is recklessly thrown away, it is not Dreadnoughts that will preserve the structure. The world is in the melting pot, and the British Empire is there with the rest. It will survive or perish by the moral judgment that is passed on its stewardship.

If we are indifferent to what the world is saying, whether in India or the Continent, in America or the Colonies, we must not be surprised if the verdict goes against us. It has gone against other empires in the past, and we have no more immunity from the laws of decay than any former system. And it is because, with all its faults, the British Empire has been a great and beneficent instrument of human development and has still a work to do that no other visible instrument can perform, that the moral disaster in Ireland has the dimensions of a world calamity.

## Col. Wedgwood on India

Writing in the London *Nation* Col. Wedgwood dissects the causes of the unrest in India and points out that the Punjab tragedy is the knot of all the trouble. He says:—

If there had never been a Gandhi, one such would have been found. Some leader must have come forward to voice the rage that possesses India.

It is usual to say that the vast mass of India is contented, browsing sheeplike on the soil, and oblivious to the world of agitators. That may have been so three years ago. To allow that impression to continue now, would be to court disaster. They do not know what they want, but they are desperate. They are like children who have just discovered that their father drinks and curses their mother, and who in consequence rush about screaming and frightened.

Martial law in the Punjab was a time of terror, when justice slept completely, for the first time in India for sixty years. British justice is the chief prop of faith, and it broke. Respectable personages went in hourly fear of the police, and did not dare to speak to one another; people humiliated themselves to ingratiate themselves with the new tiger. The Punjabis are by nature proud of their race—a fighting caste. The very thought of how they crawled, when the crisis came and they were tested, makes every Punjabi grit his teeth. Bengal jeers at them. "Our sons—our Babu sons—went down bomb in one hand and revolver in the other, but you 'martial' races lay down to be spat upon."

At every meeting I go to, in every speech, in every song by schoolboys, or recitation by a budding G.K.C., in comes the only, to me, intelligible word—Jallianwalla Bagh. But I know, and they know, that what they cannot forgive is, not the butchery, but the fact that they were made afraid.



# UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

## India and England

Sir Francis Younghusband recently delivered an address to the Royal Colonial Institute, London. In the course of his speech Sir Francis said :—

"When I am in England I am consumed with love of India. I forget the deadly monotony, the dreariness and weariness, the limpness and the languor of the hot weather, the irritations and annoyances of life in India, and the longer separations ; and I think only of the breadth and spaciousness, the sunshine, the colour, the open air, the clear skies, the vast plains, the wild jungles, the purple hills, the snow heights, the glorious Himalaya, the endless variety of people, the warm affection they give, the power for good one has, the joy-arousing sense of responsibility, and the general worth-whileness of all one's activities.

"So here in England I get to love India more and more and long to be back there to have my life over again, and make so much more of it, to see so much that I might have seen, but had not the eyes to see ; to see so much, also, that I never had the opportunity of seeing ; to do a hundred things that I had left undone, to do a thousand things that I see now should and might be done.

"First, we must really understand India—understand India, body and soul—the land and the people. We have been there three hundred years, but we have not yet produced any great interpreter of India to us. Nor have the Indians themselves produced one. We have a vast accumulation of facts laboriously arranged in Imperial Gazetteers and histories ; but, with a few exceptions, such as the writings of Sir Alfred Lyall, Rudyard Kipling, and Aberigh Mackay we have no real revelation of the true soul of India. And these that I have named are none of them deep enough revealers. What we want is some true artist who, through his greatness, has simplicity enough and singleness enough of soul to enter deeply into the soul of India and bring to light its real character. Any fool can show us the badness : it stands on the surface for anyone with half an eye to see. It requires a seer to see the goodness.

"And so we want a man of vision who will reveal to us both the goodness and the badness, the complexity and simplicity, the singleness and multiplicity, the variety and unity of Indian life,

that we may really understand India, and be able to enter into the feelings, the aspirations, the ideas and ideals of her people. No one man could do this finally and completely, for the field is too vast and the people are incessantly changing. But a great artist could at least show the way. And it is for him we wait—for some greater Stevenson, who will settle in India as R. L. S. settled in Samoa, and devote his life to the single purpose of discovering its soul and telling us what he finds.

"Canada and Australia give the impression that they do not want English gentlemen. And perhaps for the pioneering work of developing the natural resources of virgin countries they are not so well adapted as men of a rougher type. But India most assuredly does want them.

"Like the rest of us, Indians have many defects, but the defect of vulgarity is not one of them. You may spend years in India and travel from one end of it to another, but you will not discover a trace of vulgarity. Indians are gentlemen, and among even the roughest tribes true gentlemen are found. So a gentleman is instinctively recognised and appreciated by Indians. And with him Indians are at once at home. They immediately feel comfortable and at their ease in his presence. And while an Englishman who is not a gentleman will rasp and exasperate them to an unbelievable degree, they will do anything for an Englishman who is a gentleman. And for this simple reason that they have implicit confidence that he will stand by them and stand up for them, that his word can be trusted and that he is sensitive enough at heart to enter into their feelings and understand them. The power that a gentleman can exert over Indians is astonishing. Both his gentleness and his manliness appeal to them.

"The point where all that I have said touches India is here—that in proportion as men capable of such service are produced in England and are available for India, so are England and India the more likely to be firmly and lastingly attached to each other. India has a very direct, and if I may describe it, personal interest in the production by England of men with high capacity, training and tradition for social service—spirited, high-principled, clean-living, healthy-minded English gentlemen."

## The Chamber of Princes

A "Gazette of India Extraordinary" issued on the 8th instant contains the constitution of the Chamber of Princes, which was authorised by His Majesty in the Royal Proclamation :—

The Viceroy shall be the President of the Chamber, which shall consist of members and representative members. The members of the Chamber shall be Rulers of States, who enjoyed permanent dynasty salutes of 11 guns or over, on the 1st January 1921, and Rulers of States, who exercise such full or practically full internal powers, as, in the opinion of the Viceroy, qualify them for admission to the Chamber. The representative members of the Chamber shall be such Rulers of States not qualified for admission under Sub-Clause (1) and Clauses 1 and 2 as may be appointed under the regulations.

The Chamber shall be a deliberative, consultative and advisory, but not an executive body. The functions of the Chamber shall be :—First, to initiate, in accordance with the rules of business, proposals, and to make recommendations relating to the preservation and maintenance of treaties and of the rights and interests, the dignities and powers, privileges and prerogatives of the Princes and Chiefs, their States, and the members of their families. Second, to discuss and make representations upon matters of Imperial or common concern and subjects referred to the Chamber for consideration by the Viceroy. Third, to appoint committees of experts and others to advise the Chamber upon technical or other intricate questions. Fourth, to appoint a Chancellor, to be made in accordance with the regulations, by which the functions of the Chancellor and the Standing Committee will also be defined. Fifth, to propose, for the consideration of the Viceroy, regulations for any purpose, connected with the Chamber's rules of business, or amendments or alterations of the regulations or rules. Sixth, to deal with any other matter not provided for by the regulations or rules.

No proposal affecting the constitution of the Chamber shall be brought up before it, or discussed, except with the leave of the Viceroy. The functions of the Chamber shall only be exercisable when at least 30 members and representative members are present at a meeting, duly convened in accordance with the rules of business. The recommendations of the Chamber shall be made in accordance with the vote of the majority present, and in voting thereon, the members and representative members of the

Chamber only will be entitled to vote, each member or representative member having one vote. The attendance of members, representative members, and voting in the Chamber shall be voluntary. There shall be a Secretary of the Chamber, to be appointed by the Viceroy, whose duty it will be to record, in a book of proceedings, all recommendations of the Chamber and to submit copies thereof for the consideration of the Viceroy, who will take such action as he may see fit. Copies of all such recommendations shall be sent by the Secretary to all members and representative members of the Chamber.

Treaties and internal affairs of individual States, rights and interests, dignities and powers, privileges and prerogatives, of individual Princes and Chiefs, their States and the members of their families, and the actions of individual Rulers, shall not be discussed in the Chamber. The institution of the Chamber shall not prejudice, in any way, the engagements or relations of any State with the Viceroy or Governor-General, including the right of direct correspondence, nor shall any recommendation of the Chamber, on any way prejudice the rights, or restrict the freedom of action of any State.

Rules for the conduct of the business of the Chamber may be varied or added from time to time. The Viceroy may for the purposes of any meeting of the Chamber, suspend any of the rules of business. Any ordinary meeting of the Chamber will be held once a year, at Delhi, on a date which will be fixed by the Viceroy. The Viceroy has the discretion to convene extraordinary meetings on his own initiative, or on the suggestion of one or more members or representative members of the Chamber. The Viceroy will, ordinarily, preside. When the Viceroy is not present, one of the Princes, selected by His Excellency, will preside and shall have all the powers conferred by these rules on the President. When a Ruling Prince presides, he shall have only one vote.

## Kapurthala State.

By inaugurating with impressive solemnity the newly-formed State Council on the 14th January His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala formally established a further definite land-mark along the path of constitutional development in the State. The State Council of which the Ticea Sahib is President and the two Kanwar Sahibs, younger sons of his Highness, are extraordinary members, the Chief Minister being Vice-President, includes both the official as well as the non-official element,



# INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

## Indians in Transvaal

Mr. H. S. L. Polak, writing in the *Indian Opinion*, observes:—

It is essential that the disabilities imposed upon Indians in the Transvaal, as recently as last year, should be removed, and that no impediments whatever should be placed in the way of the ownership and occupation of land and the acquisition of trading rights by Indians, either in the Transvaal or in Natal and the Cape. It is certain that if in any one province Indians are compelled to surrender their rights, the same policy will, in due course, be applied to the other provinces. The whole experience of the last few years in South Africa has been that there has been a levelling down rather than a levelling up, so far as Indians are concerned. Not only must this process stop, but the reverse policy be adopted. It is not merely a question of Indian sentiment, it is one of the vital needs of the Indian community, and of the permanent welfare of South Africa. There can, in fact, be no real compromise between a rigid anti-Asiatic policy and a policy of equal treatment. In spite of past experience, in spite of prejudice and malice, I still believe that it is only along the lines of the latter policy that the problem will be solved.

## Muslims in England

A picturesque ceremony took place on the 6th instant when Indians in brilliant turbans and "Chied Oluta" of Lagos, in silk robes, opened the new Islamic institution, which is at present housed in a large residence at Putney, pending the erection of a mosque. Some fifty English converts were present at the ceremony. Moulvie F. M. Sayal, one of the speakers, said that the Ahmediya Islamic movement was the great hope of a peaceful understanding between India and England. He predicted that the British Empire would one day become a true Mussalman Empire, without any idea of race or nationality.

## Indians in Malaya

The report on the Labour Department of the Federated Malay States shows that there were 101,433 immigrants from South India to British Malaya in 1919, compared with 65,291 in 1918, of whom 88,021 were free labourers, imported at the expense of the immigration fund and 13,412 traders, labourers and others who paid their own passages. 160,657 Indians were employed in estates in the Federated Malay States in 1919 Compared with 139,486 in 1918.

## Indians in East Africa

A correspondent of the "Daily Chronicle" in East Africa interviewed General Northey, the Governor of Kenya Colony. The topics broached included the Indian Association's resistance to segregation and to differentiation in respect of land, which, the correspondent explains, means insistence on sharing with Europeans the fertile highlands which have been ear-marked for whites.

Although Indians regarded the word segregation as implying inferiority, it really connoted only profound differences in ways of living. The fact that the number of Indians was threefold that of the Europeans made the Indians' demand for equal representation with the whites, serious. The large majority of Indians in Kenya would fail to reach the franchise qualification required by any European community. Nevertheless, enlarged representation would be given them on Legislative and Municipal Councils.

The Indian Community, as a whole, was prosperous and contented, and only asked to be left alone. Politics was at the base of the agitation, which was represented by the cry "East Africa for Indians, under the Government of India."

## Indians in Trinidad

His Majesty has approved the appointment for five years of the Rev. Charles Lalla as a representative of the British Indian community on the Legislative Council in Trinidad. Mr. Lalla is a prominent member of the local East Indian National Congress, and a recognised leader of Indians in Trinidad.

## Indian Commissioner for Africa

The Government of India has announced that a Trade Commissioner for India is to be appointed in East Africa. In view of the numerical strength of the Indian mercantile community in the East African Colonies and Protectorates and the large volume of trade which flows between that region and India, it is felt that there is ample scope for the activities of a resident Indian Trade Commissioner.

## Indian Students in London

An increasing number of Indian students, we are told, are coming to London, for whom the University is unable to find vacancies. It is officially declared that ninety per cent. of these students wish to take up Engineering, but owing to there being no vacancies in the Engineering course, many Indians are stranded in London, with nothing to do. An official suggests that students from India should not come to London unless they are assured of finding a vacancy.

## Railwaymen's Conference

Labour Unions are the order of the day. Mill-hands have their own organisations. Tramway-men have combined in different centres of the country. It was only to be expected that a Union of Railwaymen should be started sooner or later. The first All-India Railwaymen's Conference opened at the Empire Theatre, Bombay, on February 4. Delegates of workmen from different parts of the country attended the session. Mr. S. Titus, of the G. I. P. Railway, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates said

that, in their present unorganised state, railwaymen could not achieve their goal. But the present meeting, he hoped, would truly lay the foundation of a federation which, avoiding politics, would, in time, bridge the gulf between capital and labour on terms of equality and mutual self-respect. They did not mean to be undisciplined rabbles, indifferent to those in authority.

Rai Saheb Chandrika Prasad who was elected President delivered a lengthy address in the course of which he dwelt on the need for such an organisation and referred to the disabilities of Indian Railway employees. He said that the present system, which had created racial distinctions, was wrong, and it was the duty of all lovers of fair play to combine and remove all injustices, wherever found.

He dwelt at some length on the conditions of all grades of railway service and appealed for sympathetic touch and closer co-operation between officers and men in railway employ.

The President advised the railway employees, when making representations, to do so in a reasonable spirit and to try their best for maintaining harmonious relations with officials and, as far as possible, to settle the disputes amicably by negotiation and arbitration without resorting to direct action. He trusted that the Railway authorities would also be reasonable when considering the grievances of their subordinates.

In conclusion he said:—

Railways are yours. You have a sacred trust in your hands, and you must discharge that trust in a sacred manner. The country pays for railway service and expects service to be rendered in a satisfactory manner without undue burden upon the people and without your being unreasonable to those whom Providence has placed under or above you. To the higher officials I would say: Be reasonable in fixing your own emoluments and privileges, show magnanimity of your heart by self-sacrifice and

contentment by the glory of high office which Heaven has given you. Curtail your personal wants and do justice to your subordinates.

The Conference met again next day and passed the following among other resolutions:—

That, in view of the declaration of His Majesty's Government of 20th August, 1917, and the Government of India Act and the Royal Proclamation of 1919, this Conference trusts that the Railway Board would publicly cancel all orders which have been issued to railway administrations upon which Mr. T. Ryan made a statement in the course of his evidence before the Royal Commission on Indian Public Services, to the effect that from the military point of view and internal security of the country more reliance is placed on European officers than on Indians;

That this Conference trusts that the Indian Legislature will take early steps to provide the necessary legislation fixing the liability of the railways for adequate compensation for injury or loss of life in case of accidents to railway servants working on the line, at the station or in the workshops.

Then followed some resolutions touching hours of work, pay and prospects in the service; after which the Conference closed for the day.

On the third and last day the Conference passed resolutions urging,

(1) That technical schools attached to railway workshops be improved and thrown open to Indians on the same conditions as in the case of Europeans and Anglo-Indians; (2) asking for direct representation in Legislative Councils and Legislative Assembly; (3) that railway administrations should provide better housing for workmen and better educational facilities for their children, that the Government of India should appoint a Committee to enquire into the present railway labour situation and that the rules regarding payments of gratuity and provident funds be so altered, that a strike may not be regarded as misconduct etc., etc.

A resolution condemning the deportation of Mr. B. G. Horniman was also passed. The following further resolutions brought the proceedings to a close:—

That the draft constitution of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation prepared by the Reception Committee of the Conference be adopted provisionally as it stands, and a Committee be appointed to go through it and circulate copies thereof among all different unions and associations asking them to give their opinion within three months. After opinions are received, the Committee will go through them and will have power to accept them if advisable. That the railway administrations in India and Burma be requested to encourage the formation of unions of railwaymen on their respective lines as desired in Versailles Covenant 421 of the League of Nations and all such unions should be recognised.



## AGRICULTURAL SECTION

### Farming as a Profession in India

The December number of *Business* contains an instructive article on "Farming as a Profession in India" by Geo. O. Forrester, D. Ph.

Mr. Forrester contends that without material strength—without wealth—neither political strength nor political greatness can be acquired, though moral elevation can. He quotes the examples of England and Germany in support of his observation.

Similarly India cannot, by any possibility, attain political solidarity and greatness, without increasing her material resources. However much the so-called Indian Extremists, Moderates, and Anglo-Indian conservatives may disagree on political matters the fact remains that a new constitution cannot be built up on a semi-starved country.

How to increase the wealth of the country? The answer is, by scientific development. As regards the sources of wealth in India nature has provided millions and millions of acres with varying soils and varying degrees of humility for varying grains and cereals and ordained agriculture to be the main industry of the country. Agriculture is the backbone of the country's prosperity. On the well-being and contentment of the people in rural areas everything will depend. "Yet their development has been neglected entirely. Some of the educated classes even look upon it with indifference, often amounting to contempt. The result is tremendous harm to the country's staple industry. Indian farmers left to their devices and bondsmen to their own vices of thriftlessness and conservatism on the one hand, and struggling in the iron grip of usurers and land hunting shylocks on the other, with the spectre of an uncertain monsoon ever hovering over their heads, drag on their existence from year to year, from generation to generation, spiritless, crushed, and with just enough reserve power left to earn the season's bread by one way or another."

The responsibility for this impoverished state of Indian agriculture lies not at the door of the Government alone, but at the door of the people and their leaders, as well. The share that the hereditary landholders and the educated champions of India have taken in developing India's prime industry is next to nothing. The time has arrived for educated Indians to go to the assistance of the Indian farmers not in the guise of preachers, propagandists, as conveyers of counsels of perfection, but as active workers, as professional farmers, equipped with all that modern chemistry

and agricultural science can teach. Farming is the oldest, the noblest and the most dignified profession in the world and yields, in proportion to capital invested and labour expended, better cash returns and affords other comforts, too numerous to mention in detail, than any other profession, occupation, or form of business.

### Irrigation in India

A blue book, containing a review of irrigation in India for the year 1918-19, has been published. The total area irrigated by all classes of works in British India during the year 1918-19, amounted to just over twenty-five million acres. Towards this area productive works contributed 17,314,700 acres, protective works 692,300 acres, and minor works 7,145,300 acres. The area irrigated by productive works was greatest in the Punjab, where over seven-and-a-half million acres were recorded. Madras came next with an area of nearly three-and-a-half million acres. United Provinces contributed three-and-a-half quarter million acres, Sind one million, Bihar and Orissa nearly one million, North-West Frontier Province 339,000, and Burma 291,000 acres. The total capital outlay, direct and indirect, to the end of the year 1918-19, on productive works, excluding navigation works but including expenditure incurred on irrigation works under construction, amounted to Rs. 58 crores. The gross revenue for the year amounted to Rs. 742 lakhs, and working expenses to 219 lakhs. The net revenue was therefore a little over Rs. 523 lakhs, which represents a return of nine per cent. on the total capital outlay.

### Sugar-Cane in Madras

The area planted with sugar-cane in 1920 in the Madras Presidency is estimated at 99,800 acres, which is 9 per cent. above the last year's estimate of 91,500 acres. The actual area in 1919-20 was 92,722 acres. The increase is general and is due to the stimulating effect of the high prices of jaggery. There is a fall in South Arcot, which is reported to be due to ryots preferring to plant food crops. Yields are poor in the Circars, owing to the failure of the monsoon, the high prices of oil cakes used as manure, and to the fact that some area has been crushed prematurely in order to take advantage of the high prices of jaggery. Elsewhere the yield is close to the normal, or a little above. The total outturn of jaggery is estimated at 266,900 tons, as against 260,800 last year.

# NOTICES OF BOOKS

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SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.

**Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule.** By Mr. M. K. Gandhi. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price 8 as. To subscribers of the *Indian Review* 6 as.

This is a free English translation of Mr. Gandhi's famous book in Guzerati. It contains the pith of his views on life and politics, which are entirely original, if somewhat anti-modern. It exhibits Mr. Gandhi's peculiar conception of Swaraj in the true Gandhian sense and affords a warning to all who talk lightly of Home Rule in the western sense. It is this book which formed the text of Lord Ronaldshay's recent discourse at the Caledonian dinner in Calcutta. Mr. Gandhi, it need hardly be said, expounds his views, peculiar and original as they are, with the terseness and lucidity that always characterise his utterances. Those who are anxious to understand Mr. Gandhi's public activities and the ideals for which he is striving cannot do better than study his reflections and his somewhat startling solutions contained in this book.

**An Anthology of Recent Poetry.** By L. D'O. Walters, Messrs Harrap & Co., London.

The selection contains some choice specimens of contemporary verse, chiefly lyrical. Within the space of little more than a hundred pages most of the living authors are represented by their best work. The poems breathe the spirit of the times and it is no small pleasure to booklovers to find a pocketful of songs by such diverse poets as Massfield, and Yeats and Hardy and Rupert Brook. Mrs. Naidu is represented by her best known poem "The Cradle Song".

**A Peep into the Early History of India.**

By Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, with a preface by H. G. Rawlinson. Bombay, Taraporevala, Sons & Co. 1920. Rs. 2.

This small pamphlet is the revised form of a paper prepared by the author nineteen years ago. It traces the history of the land from the time of the Mauryas down to the age of the Guptas and the Hunas. In spite of the vast strides made by Archaeology during the last two decades, the views of the author are not open to serious challenge except in one point—viz, the date of Kanishka. The book is a model of lucid writing upon an abstruse period, and the account of the Brahminic revival at the end is particularly interesting. This would form an admirable introduction from a master-mind to a larger study of the history of the period.

**The Eastern Question and its Solution** By Morris Jastrow, Jr., PH. D., LL.D., J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

Professor Jastrow offers a solution to a question in which Americans in common with the rest of the world are widely interested. It was the Near Eastern question that lay at the root of the great war, which America helped to bring to a victorious end. Professor Jastrow sets forth America's interest in the Near East. He does not believe in America's accepting a mandate over any Eastern land. He favours the creation of a series of international commissions on which natives of Eastern lands should also be represented and to which commission the affairs of the Near East would be entrusted with the ultimate object of making the peoples of the Near East capable of self-government. Incidentally he shows the reason for the failure of the European diplomatic policy and gives an illuminating survey of the present situation.

**Bureaucratic Government.** By Bernard Houghton I. C. S. Rtd. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras Rs. 1-8-0 To subscribers of the *Indian Review*, Re. 1-4.

This is the first Indian edition of this well known work. The plan of the book is quite simple. After explaining how in India a bureaucratic government has come to supersede an autocracy it discusses bureaucracy at first in its more general aspects and afterwards with reference to certain large questions. Mr. Houghton examines the present position critically and offers suggestions for the better satisfaction of Indian aspirations. The last chapter entitled "Towards Democracy" is an eloquent plea for the transfer of the Governance of India to indigenous hands. In view of the critical situation in India the book must prove of especial value to all interested in the political evolution of this country.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE MULTUM IN PARVO ATLAS OF THE WORLD. W. and A. K. Johnston, Ltd., Edinburgh.

REPORT OF THE STORES PURCHASE COMMITTEE, VOL I. Government Central Press, Simla.

THE MESSAGE OF CHRIST. By Mr. A. S. Wadia. J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., London.

THE KINGDOM OF JAFANAPATAM, 1647. By P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., Ceylon Civil Service. The Ceylon Daily News, Colombo.



# DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Jan. 16. The Persian Cabinet has resigned.
- Jan. 17. M. Briand has formed a new Cabinet in France.
- Jan. 18. The Railway Committee commenced its sittings in Madras.
- Jan. 19. Sir G. M. Chitnavis has been appointed President of the Central Provinces Legislative Council.
- Jan. 20. The Railway Police Committee with Mr. Thompson as President commenced its sittings to-day at Lucknow.
- Jan. 21. Sir Charles Monroe, ex-Commander-in-Chief in India, has been raised to a baronetcy.
- Jan. 22. The members of the National Liberal League in Calcutta gave a garden party to meet Sir Surendranath Banerji and Sir P. C. Mitter to-day.
- Jan. 23. Mr. Gandhi arrived in Calcutta and addressed a large gathering of students.
- Jan. 24. The Second Annual Conference of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon was opened to-day by H. E. the Governor of Bengal.
- Jan. 25. A Workers' Educational Association has been started in Madras.
- Jan. 26. The Hon'ble Mr. Alexander Whyte, President of the Legislative Assembly, arrived at Delhi to-day.
- Jan. 27. The Imperial Bank of India opened business to-day in London.
- Jan. 28. General Sir Robert Baden Powell arrived in Bombay to-day.
- Jan. 28. The first meeting of the Bengal Reformed Legislative Council met this morning. At to-day's sitting of the Central Province Legislative Council, the Council voted for a reduction of the Ministers' salaries to 3,000 Rs.
- Jan. 29. H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught unveiled the statue of Edward VII at Calcutta.
- Jan. 30. The Panjab Students' Conference at Gujranwalla passed a resolution welcoming the Congress Resolution on Non-Co-operation.
- Jan. 31. The 8th Session of the Indian Science Congress was opened at Calcutta by Lord Ronaldshay.
- The Cantonment Reforms Committee began its sittings to-day at Delhi.
- Feb. 1. H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught to-day opened the Bengal Legislative Council.
- H. R. H. The Prince of Wales unveiled at Brighton the memorial in honour of Indian warriors who died during the war.
- Feb. 2. H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught laid the commemoration stone of the new King George's Dock in Calcutta.
- Feb. 3. H. E. Lady Chelmsford opened the Arts Exhibition in Delhi.
- Feb. 4. The first All-India of Railwaymen's Conference commenced its sittings in Bombay.
- Feb. 5. Mr. Sachidananda Sinha has been elected Vice-President of the Indian Legislative Assembly.
- Feb. 6. Mr. Gandhi opened the National University for Behar and the National College at Patna.
- Feb. 7. The first session of the Reformed Legislative Council of Bengal opened to-day. Mr. Lajpat Rai has been served with an order from the Chief Commissioner, Frontier Province, prohibiting him from entering that Province.
- Feb. 8. Opening of the Legislative Council of Behar and Orissa by H. E. Lord Sinha.
- Royal Proclamation on Chamber of Princes.
- H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught inaugurated the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.
- Feb. 9. H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught inaugurated the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.
- Feb. 10. H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught laid the foundation Stone of the All-India War Memorial at Delhi.
- Feb. 11. The Bombay Postal strike ended to-day, the men resuming work unconditionally.
- Feb. 12. H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught laid the foundation stone of the new Council Chambers at Delhi.
- Feb. 13. The Conference of Vakils and Pleaders of Bengal met to-day at Calcutta.
- Feb. 14. Mr. Gandhi opened the Tibbi College at Delhi.
- Feb. 15. Parliament was opened by the King in state to-day.
- Sir Robert Baden Powell, the Chief Scout arrived in Madras to-day.
- The first meeting of the Indian Legislative Assembly took place at Delhi to-day.

# THE INDIAN REVIEW

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## THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIANS

BY MR. J. ROYEPPE, B.A., (Cantab), Bar-at-Law.,

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THE recommendations of the Asiatic Enquiry Commission, a cabled summary of which has been received here a few days ago, constitute a final challenge to this country, bringing as they do, the South African Indian population to positive helotry and ruin, to declare what her intentions are by her overseas children. It seems that the new status acquired by India is put to a rough and ready test by a sister Dominion envious of the crumbs of power attained to by the Indian step sister under the Reforms. Will India prove equal to the challenge?

Probably it is not generally understood that the Indians of South Africa are no longer the subjects of England but independent subjects of the Union of South Africa. If Indians in the homeland could only be got to appreciate the egregious fact they will assuredly unite to a man to save the huge Indian population of South Africa from the machinations of the colonist. For India alone can now bring succour to these long suffering people. England can undertake practically nothing on their behalf. The new status attained to by the Dominions precludes the interference by Great Britain in the "internal affairs of a self-governing Dominion." The principle was first enunciated by Mr. Winston Churchill as Under-Secretary for the Colonies in the House of Commons in 1906. Replying to a question by Mr. Healy respecting the execution of some natives during the Natal Rebellion the Under-Secretary said, "our responsibility in

"these matters is mainly confined to the tendering of friendly advice."

The writer who, by strange irony, was present in the gallery of the Commons to hear the memorable words, felt instinctively that the death-knell of overseas subjects other than Europeans had that hour been sounded. The fact is here alluded to as one of more than academic interest. The hour of that pronouncement marks the turning point in the history of Indians beyond the seas. From that hour the principle of non-interference by England in the internal affairs of a self-governing colony has so grown and expanded, that at this day the complete sovereignty of the Union of South Africa is a matter of school boy history. True there is a vague provision in the South Africa Act governing the Union relative to the reservation for imperial consideration of enactments adversely affecting subject races as a class but like all such reservations the provision is a snare and a delusion in view of the now well-established doctrine of non-interference in the internal affairs of a self-governing dominion. But whatever the hopes from that provision the supreme fact for India to bear in mind is that whereas South African Indians were once subjects of England, they are now, and have been since the grant of complete autonomy to South Africa, subjects of the Union of South Africa. It follows therefore that, subject to the vague limits of the reservatory clause, South Africa can embark upon any policy and procedure delectable to her



in respect of her Indian subjects and England may not and cannot interfere, her interposition at the most, following Mr. Churchill's enunciation of the law, being confined to the "tendering of friendly advice." It need hardly be observed that any such friendly advice would be preferred to be received or returned with thanks.

This conversion of once subjects of England into subjects of South Africa is a matter to India of the gravest concern. The alarming feature in the change of status is that the same is effected independently of the wish or will of the people concerned.

Indians migrated to South Africa as England's subjects with faith and hope in the protecting power of Great Britain. They enjoyed that protection for a time, that is, whatever there was of it. Then comes the day when the government is given over to the colonist and with that concession the Indian population is handed over body and soul to the new master. The position stated is not, by any means, a free-drawing upon the imagination but a positive constitutional fact arising from and being an inseparable aspect of the grant of complete sovereign powers to an outpost of the Empire. Such is shortly the position of helplessness that England has placed herself in the self-governing dominions in respect of her quondam Indian subjects.

But happily the hands of India are free. Will she use them in the unprecedented circumstances, and if so, how, is the absorbing question? For be it borne in mind that unless India rises to the bravest and manliest in her, and that forthwith, the prosperous Indian settlements, the growth of more than half-a-century, stand inevitably to be wiped out of the African map. And it may here be noted to the credit of India that in the matter of the South African Indians at any rate the motherland has for once in her political life given expression to a united voice. That

voice is for the nonce but dimly heard. In view, however, of the *non possumus* position subsided into by England whereby Indians overseas have been brought to certain ruin, India's renewed activity must be made felt immediately if an appalling calamity is not to overtake her children across the seas. If a biblical allusion might be referred to, the Asiatic Commission in South Africa was called into being, as Indians had hoped, to bless, but the Commission has lived to curse, rendering the last state worse than the first. The repressive measures complained against for decades past have all been fully confirmed by the Commissioners and more, that veritable relic of barbarism, the Transvaal Law 3 of 1885, which relegates Indians to locations and ghettos is to be carried over the border and applied to certain northern districts of Natal. Natal Indians are to be deprived, as with one stroke of the pen, of a right they have enjoyed for 50 years, the right to own and occupy land anywhere within that province. The long standing right is now to go and the recommendation is that Indians should be afforded facilities of land purchase in the coastal belt to a zone 20 to 30 miles inland.

Such are some of the recommendations and it remains to be seen to what degree and extent General Smuts will give effect to them. The Gandhi-Smuts Settlement in the Transvaal was based upon unswerving respect for vested rights. In view of the lack of any such agreement respecting rights in Natal, will the General deny the existence of vested rights in that Province? To that question India would require a clear cut answer. For, as Mr. Duncan Baxter, a member of the Commission objects, "restriction of the existing rights of ownership, and, in the case of the ex-indentured Indians and their descendants, forms a breach of the conditions of recruitment which should be scrupulously adhered to in the interests of good feeling and fair play."

The objection raised by the Commissioner is of the utmost importance as bearing upon a phase of the Indian question in South Africa hitherto but imperfectly comprehended in India. The protest relates to the pioneer Indian settlers and their descendants who have permanently settled in the land and have now become an inseparable factor in the social fabric. Indians under this category are now by far the largest in number, their strength being more than three-fourths of the entire Indian population of South Africa. They were originally drawn from the districts of Madras and Calcutta and to this day constitute a class distinct in all respects, by sect, religion, tradition and instinct from the trading Indian. The latter comprising the minority of less than a quarter of the population come from the Guzerat districts and are invariably all Mahomedans. At the risk of appearing unpatriotic it must be stated here in plain terms that the many troubles, trials and sorrows overwhelming the whole community have their genesis in the appearance on the scene of the trading class Indian. The indentured population having served their term and settling down to peaceful pursuits as petty farmers, market gardeners and domestic servants, a small band of traders discovering a fruitful field for their enterprise duly landed in Natal. In their wake followed a few others of their persuasion from the island of Mauritius. Of late years the numbers have been supplemented by the arrival of Banya traders. All these came as 'free' men and engaged in trade catering for the needs of the growing "freed" population. But soon they were charmed by the possibilities of the native trade and forthwith ventured into the new field coming directly into conflict with the white trader. To-day practically the whole Indian and native trade and commerce is in the hands of the thin minority of the Mahomedan and Banya trader. They have thus raised the hornet's nest, but the everlasting storm and stress provoked by this

exclusive class has to be borne by the entire Indian population three-fourths of whom have neither lot, part nor parcel in the concern. The unfairness and unreasonableness of the whole situation now obtaining for years has never heretofore been so much as referred to. That was clearly for reasons of policy. Grievances under the heading of trade and commerce are invariably referred to as if they concerned the whole Indian population. The fact is the question of trade and licenses affects an exclusive class of monopolists for whose faults and failings, fancied or real, the vast majority of the labouring classes and their progeny have to bear the brunt. One instance betraying the state of affairs must suffice. The licences in the Transvaal said to be held by "Indians" are all held by Mahomedan traders *constituted as a class* and known as the *veparis* (traders). If now the Municipalities should decide against the further issue of licenses to Indians, generally, the present monopolists will be confirmed in their "privileges" on the principle of respect for pre-existing rights, but the vast non-trading population who may desire to trade to-morrow will be the heavy sufferers, condemned always to remain "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

Mr. Duncan Baxter's dissenting minute refers wholly to the grave inequality obtaining in this regard, in South Africa, a condition the Indian government and public are in duty bound to press upon the Union government for adjustment. The impossible state of affairs was protested against before the Commission at Johannesburg and in correspondence with the Union government. But in South Africa, in matters Indian, the line of least resistance is the policy of the authorities. It remains to be seen, the silence of the Commission on the point notwithstanding, how far the South African Government will proceed in the levelling up of obvious wrongs so as to secure at least for the permanent Indian population a semblance of their inherent rights.



# THE IMPERIAL BUDGET

BY MR. S. K. SARMA, B.A., B.L.

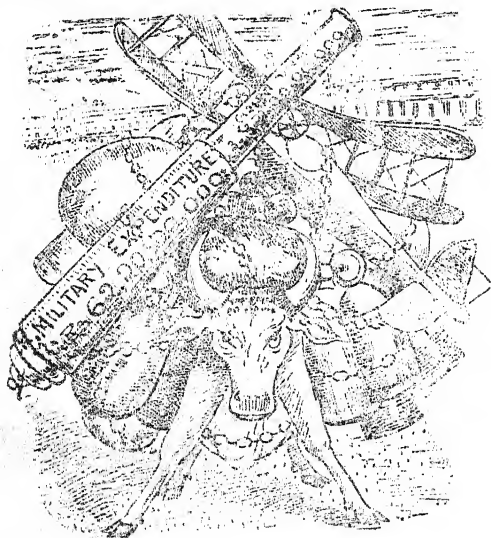
THE Imperial Budget introduced into the Indian Legislative Assembly by Mr. Hailey is a study in paradox. In a year of peace and with no prospect of war, the Finance Member seeks to impose an additional burden of nineteen crores. He budgeted for a small surplus in the current year, but there was a deficit of eleven and a half crores. He budgets for a deficit of eighteen crores in the coming year and thereon bases his proposals for nineteen crores of additional revenue. If the exchange stood at 1s. 8d. on an average, Mr. Hailey may yet succeed; but if it should fail him, he should have recourse to further taxation in the next year; for the taxes have come to stay and they are not temporary makeshifts. With exchange at 2s. 10d. at the commencement of the official year, the average worked at 1s. 9d. alone; and why it should give 1s. 8d. in the coming year only Mr. Hailey knows.

The dispositions of the Budget are disappointing. We have a tax upon knowledge as we have a tax upon clothing and food. The amenities of life are subject to the importunities of the tax-gatherer. Agriculture is depressed yet and has not recovered completely from the famine conditions of the last two years; trade is unprecedentedly harassed by a fallen exchange and falling prices; internal communications have not yet been restored to the pre-war level; and there is no appreciable relaxation from the grip which famine and influenza have placed upon the poor. The Finance Member has thought this to be the fittest year for taxing food and clothing and imposing a surcharge on railway rates! A committee of experts recommended a high rate of exchange in order to moderate the level of prices which had risen considerably higher in this country than elsewhere even before the war. The Finance Member replies by raising the duty on sugar from ten to fifteen per cent. and justifies it on the ground that the poor use only jaggery and *gur*. We had hardly forgotten the critical

situation created in Bengal and elsewhere by the contraction in the imports of Lancashire clothing, but the customs duty is raised from seven-and-a-half to eleven per cent. Our matches and firewood ought to cost more than they cost to-day, and that is saying much. Even the postal rates are to be increased.

The necessity for all this additional impost is laid at the doors of Fate. An unexpected fall in exchange and an unexpected growth in military and civil expenditure may justly be due to Fate if a water-tight compartment separated the Finance from the spending departments; but the Government of India is a whole and undivided entity and one branch knows what the other is about. So far as exchange is concerned, the evil is due entirely to the manipulations of the Finance Department. Because the Smith Committee recommended a two-shilling gold rate, the Government of India sold Reverse Bills and lost thirty-five crores in the bargain. Between the India Office estimate and the Finance Department down here, there is a discrepancy. Mr. Hailey calculated that the loss on the remittance transactions was only twenty-three and a half crores. What became of the balance and how it was drowned in the mid-ocean between Whitehall and Delhi is not yet explained. Since 1898, the Government of India have been building up a colossal reserve to support exchange; but it is now invested in paper in Throgmorton Street. The first line of defence, as the Gold Standard Reserve was pledged by Viceroy and Finance Members and Secretaries of State to be, has not even remained the last, for it serves to support the British speculator abroad. And exchange began to be supported by the Paper Currency Reserve whose object was entirely different. That Reserve was intended to encash notes—in India; but it does service in England and was freely melted away. The Gold Standard Reserve may yet be utilised to support exchange, that is

to say, when it becomes supportable! When it will be, the financial gods in Delhi for once confess their inability to foretell. And so we have to make provision for five and a half crores in the coming year. We shall be lucky if we escape with that much penalty for gambling in exchange.



THE PATIENT OX.

Ox—When is the last straw coming, I wonder?

[The Military Expenditure of India, which is increasing to an enormous figure, absorbing 52 per cent. of the revenues of India, was subjected to severe criticism in the Legislative Assembly by members while speaking on the Indian Budget.]—*Hindi Punch*.

The military paradox is no less perplexing. The numerical strength of the army has been reduced by 13,500 men; but the bill of fare has doubled. It was about thirty crores and under in 1914; but it is fifty-eight crores in 1921. The Imperial Defence Committee declared more than a decade ago that an European irruption across the Hindu Kush and the Sulaiman was under conditions of modern warfare an absolute impossibility; but they spoke in the pre-Tank, pre-Zeppelin and, may I add?—pre-Non-Co-operation days. Any general can cut a joke with fifty eight crores in his pocket and a *carte blanche* as to its disposal. I hope General Rawlinson only attempted to be humorous when he asked his

fellow legislators to beware of the non-co-operator before cutting down the army bill—which, of course, is sacrosanct and cannot be cut. But the noble Lord was not merely jocular; he reminded us of the Wazirs and the Afridis, our good friends across the frontier, whom we began to civilise so early as the days of Lord Lytton. But somehow these uncanny people were quiet for a good number of years since the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon and their return to their wicked ways of old deserves a perpetual imposition upon the Indian tax-payer. The Commander-in-Chief did not tell us if they are in league with the Bolsheviks, but I have a shrewd suspicion whether all this expenditure is not due to the geological formation of the earth which has located considerable oil-fields and culturable waste in the once unexplored regions of Mesopotamia and Central Asia. Now if that were not so, I might remind the reader of an eminent soldier who, examined before the Select Committee of Parliament on East India affairs in 1871—74, declared that, if India had to be under the domination of Great Britain, he did not know why India should pay entirely the cost of such domination.

The appetite of the soldier is equalled by that of the civilian. The cost of administration has more than doubled; it has risen from twenty-crores to forty-five crores. Mr. Hailey says that the revision of salaries had to be undertaken in view of the increase in the cost of living; but is that revision likely to bring down the cost of living? And what of the general taxpayer who has got to pay the piper? How is his cost of living affected? There would be some meaning if the increased salaries are accompanied by increased efficiency. But it is notorious that there is a distinct fall in efficiency. Some of the services are unduly pampered. And yet the salaries are to be increased—though the prices may reach a lower level. That is simply robbing Peter to pay Paul.



# EUROPEAN POLITICS

By "AN ENGLISHMAN."

**H**E would be a bold man who would venture to predict the ultimate course of those vast political forces which have been created or stirred to abnormal activity by the war. The alterations in the map of Europe, far reaching as they are, may be regarded as unimportant when compared with the radical and even sinister changes that are to be noted in the mental and moral outlook of the people, changes that range through the whole gamut of political theory, with Great Britain at the moderate and saner end of the scale and Russia, the apostle of blood and terror, at the other. The vast currents of popular unrest set in motion by the war have profoundly affected every community, not only in those countries where they have been openly manifest in revolution and social upheavals, but throughout Europe. Where revolt against established order is not accompanied by its conventional concomitants, riot and murder, it has nevertheless profoundly altered the workings of the public mind, as in Great Britain, where a people temperamentally opposed to excess and given to none of those erratic excursions after new panaceas for social ills that characterise the Latin, the Slav or the Celt, has yet been led far along that path which in other lands has ended in disaster. The war swept away every trace of that irresponsible authority vested in the autocracies typified by Czardom and there was a period during the past four or five years when it seemed likely that the saner and more moderate forms of democratic Government would also be cast aside—that the swing of the pendulum would carry us from the more or less reasoned and logical tyranny of a Czar or Sultan to the unbridled terror of the unbalanced Bolshevik. Politics has become a struggle between the democratic ideal evolved by the schools and the despotism of the apostles of that wing of the self-styled "Labour" organisation

which looks upon what it calls the Bourgeoisie, the middle classes, as a greater danger to the democratic principle even than the despotic rulers of the past. Could we look forward to an early return to normality in the material life of Europe, to the replenishment of food stocks and the stabilisation of exchanges; above all, to a rehabilitation of credit and the resumption of commerce among the nations, we might face the future with a greater confidence that the red nightmare that has, for so long, troubled the minds of men would pass. But it is not easy to be optimistic when we see half of Europe in rags, the markets disorganised by the breakdown of the financial system, and the production of those commodities to which she must eventually look for the liquidation of her vast war debts hampered on every side by the blind rapacity of labour and the incapacity of most of a nation's customers to pay for what they would buy.

The sombre horizon of the future is not, however, altogether without its gleam of hope. During the last month or more there have been signs of coming amendment which, if they do not altogether justify the unflagging faith of Lord Curzon in the imminence of a prosperous and peaceful Europe, do afford ground for the belief that the worst has been passed and that, given wise guidance, the return to better things may not be for long delayed. We have now good reason to believe that Bolshevism as a live force is losing ground. What is happening in Russia itself we can only guess at, but we do know that considerable and growing anti-Bolshevik forces exist there, however unsuccessful their efforts to free the country from the yoke of slavery that has been imposed on it in the name of freedom. We know also that in Italy the emissaries of the Soviets have definitely failed, although that country, distracted as it is and tottering as we have thought it, on the brink of

Communism or worse, would offer a fruitful field for the Bolshevik propaganda. In France and Britain we have justification for the belief that the new cult has been definitely rejected ; even Austria, famine stricken and bankrupt, has not been seriously tempted. Germany is far too level-headed to embrace the tenets of a creed so opposed to the national spirit, although she uses it with characteristic shrewdness in her efforts to evade the penalties her disastrous effort to subjugate the world have brought upon her. Only the other day the Chancellor told the Allies that, if they pressed for payment in full of their reparation demands, it would result in the overthrow of all social order. Germany, however, is so clever in the stage management of her various "revolutions" that little reliance can be placed on any so-called upheaval which takes place there. In the near East however the outlook is distinctly bad. Bolshevism has overrun Crimea, a granary of Russia and the storehouse of vast potential wealth ; Armenia and Azerbaijan have apparently been swallowed by the Soviet monster and are now combining to crush the plucky little Georgian Republic, which has hitherto resisted all attempts to Bolshevise it. Reuter's Constantinople correspondent reports that an Armenian attack on the Georgians from the South has been followed by an Azerbaijanian concentration on the East, and several Russian Divisions, with cavalry, advanced on Tiflis, which has fallen into the hands of its enemy

Next in order among the malefic influences which are at present troubling the body politic in Europe comes the unrest among the labouring classes of those countries which have survived the disintegrating forces brought into being by the war. Here also, were not the times so out of joint and the future fraught with such menace to established order, we might find much to reassure us. Italy among what we may define as the economically organised countries is apparently

the danger spot, but widespread communistic organisations exist also in France and there is impending trouble in Spain and elsewhere. Britain, even, is not without its revolutionary party, but the growing reasonableness of the attitude of the great workers' unions towards the collapse of trade and the sacrifices it entails is taken by most people as a proof that the trouble there is not deep-rooted. A very interesting enquiry has been conducted recently into the ramifications of this British revolutionary movement and after heroic efforts to introduce some order into the confused spectacle presented by a welter of organisations and agencies, has drawn some significant conclusions from the tangled skein that yet remains. The objective of the revolutionary agencies in Great Britain is the abolition of capitalism. This is the only thing on which there is agreement and it is a purely destructive aim. Agreement stops short the moment any constructive work, as indeed any action at all, is contemplated. As in India, there is a physical force or direct action party and a soul force or political action party. The only question of importance is, how is organized labour responding to the revolutionary call. There is a real revolutionary movement among the Trade Unions ; a massive movement revolutionary in the sense that it demands a large change in the status of the wage earners in industry. But as a whole it does not incline to violent action as extreme measures were at no time congenial to the British temperament. Possibly a great deal of the failure of the direct action section of the movement both in Britain and elsewhere in Europe is due to Russia. Capitalism has been abolished there and a communist Commonwealth established, with results exactly the opposite of those promised. The logic of facts is against the Bolshevik ; his failure cannot be concealed ; and the British workman is far too cautious to trust himself to such a doubtful experiment.



The problem of the Turkish peace seems to present as many difficulties in the way of a solution as does the Irish question. In each it is evidently impossible to reconcile conflicting interests and in each again, the stake involved is so considerable as to make it imperative that no effort which justice would sanction may be left unmade, no expedient which statesmanship can devise may remain untried, in the attempt to bring about an agreement which, in the one case, would ensure Britain's own domestic peace and in the other restore the firm and friendly alliance of the Muslim populations of her Eastern Empire. Ireland is, if possible, farther from the end of her troubles than ever; it is the earnest desire of politicians and the public alike to assist her to happiness and content, but no scheme with this end in view has yet been devised which offers the remotest prospect of success. In Turkey the obstacles are not so great, although the interests involved are quite as irreconcilable. The news from London and Constantinople is not very clear, nor is the policy of the Allies as clear cut as one might wish it to be; but it has at least been definitely stated that very considerable modifications are to be made in the Treaty of Sevres, in favour of Turkey. First and foremost, if a census that is to be taken proves that certain parts of Thrace and Asia Minor are predominantly Turkish in race, those parts are to be either returned to Turkey or internationalised. These territories were given to Greece in the days when she was a friendly neutral and Turkey an open enemy; but a condition of the gift was the removal from King Constantine downwards, of the pro-enemy influences in the country which had given the Allies a great deal of anxiety in the earlier stages of the war. Later on, Greece did much useful work on our behalf: to-day she is maintaining an army in the field and thus saving other members of the League of Nations both men and money. But she has shown that the old spirit is yet very much

alive and the restoration of the ex-King may be attended with political consequences which would be most repugnant to both France and England. The promises made to Greece in regard to Thrace and Asia Minor, therefore, no longer carry weight and a few days ago it seemed probable that the modifications we were willing to make in the Sevres Treaty would go far to settle, if they did not entirely remove, the Turkish difficulty. Now, however, it seems that Greece has been able to make her voice heard again and some of the concessions offered have been withdrawn in her favour by the Allies. Another obstacle to a friendly peace is the Kemalist rebellion which, in the first place, forced the Allies to occupy Constantinople, in order to protect the Sultan against his own subjects. Thus failed the Kemalists in their attempt to seize the capital, but in the north of Asia Minor and along the southern borders of the Caspian, they have seized a kingdom of their own, assisted by the Bolsheviks, with whom, so far as can be ascertained, they should have but little sympathy. The first step to permanent settlement is obviously an arrangement between the Sultan and the Kemalists, by which the suzerainty of the former could be recognised, and the Allies might then with safety make concessions which, if given to one side only, would probably result in further internecine strife.

The Allies, in spite of the recent conflicting telegrams, are evidently anxious to modify the treaty in favour of Turkey and they have without doubt been led to this attitude of mind by the unanimous and strongly expressed desire of Indian Muslims that a Sultan and a country for which they feel a genuine regard should not be made to suffer the full penalty of her mistaken policy of the past.

# THE IMPERIAL BANK SCHEME.

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BY MR. B. RAMACHANDRA RAO, M.A., L.T., F.R.E.S.

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THE War has no doubt brought to prominence many economic truths while it has also disproved some of the pet theories of economists. It has left us quite a legacy of many difficulties but it has solved many important things one of which is the vexed problem of 'A Central Bank for India'. From the year 1836 right up to 1919 this question has been mooted more than once but has never been brought to the field of practicability and the region of practical politics due to the apathy of the Government of India. But the war brought home to all the parties concerned, the utility of a Central Banking institution and all parties are eager to have a 'Central Bank' with the Government of India having some close relations with it.

## OUTLINE OF THE SCHEME

The present proposal\* is to amalgamate the three Presidency Banks of Bengal, Bombay and Madras into an 'Imperial Bank for India'.

The total authorised Capital with the Reserve-Fund will be Rs. 15,00,00,000, of which the authorised share Capital will consist of 225,000 shares of 500 Rs. each, representing Rs. 11,25,00,000 and the Reserve Fund Rs. 3,75,00,000. It is proposed to raise additional capital to bring up the present capital of the Presidency Banks to the above amount.

To guard the regional interests and to provide ample freedom in banking matters, the existing Local Boards of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras are allowed to remain. A Central Board consisting of a General Manager (he is to be appointed by the Government of India on the nomination of the Central Board for a period of 5 years) or two Managers in the first instance, the Controller of Currency (he will be an ex-officio

member of the Board) and the President and Vice-President of each local Board, the Secretary and Treasurer of each Local Board (these will have no voting power) and two non-official members to be appointed by the Government to represent the tax-payers' interest. The Central Board is created to settle disputes between the different local Boards (in case any should arise) to look after the discount policy, to deal with matters of general policy to determine the distribution of funds to fix the Bank rate and to publish the Bank's weekly statements. The Central Board is to meet once in a quarter at least, alternately at Bombay and at Calcutta but a Managing Board is created which will meet more often and transact business. Full provision has been made for the exercising of adequate control by Government as the Controller of Currency has power to require the Board to hold up action on any matter which he might consider to be of vital importance as affecting either the financial policy of the Government or the safety of its cash balances. Many of the people require that more active control is to be exercised by the Government. This question is still unsettled.

The Imperial Bank is to open a branch in London to transact such of the business as will be entrusted to it by the Secretary of State for India to rediscount bills of exchange for the Exchange Banks and to represent Indian commercial interests in London. It is not to take up foreign exchange business and compete with the Exchange Banks.

The Imperial Bank is to increase its branches by a hundred more within a period of five years and the Government is to have the option of nominating 25 of them in places they may select.

\* This article was written before the passing of the Imperial Bank Act.



The Imperial Bank is to be given the free use of the Government Reserve Treasury funds.

The Imperial Bank is to retain the management of the Public Debt work.

The Imperial Bank is to do the same business which the Presidency Banks have been transacting; but certain of the restrictions will be modified. But the general nature of the restrictions will in no way be altered so as to permit unsafe business to be conducted.

Thus the scheme, according to Hon. Mr. H. F. Howard, is a "sound commercial proposition that uses the machinery which we have and which is in running order and which means public confidence". It is a simple and practicable one which is bound to have much influence on the future economic condition of our country. Again, it may prove a valuable foundation for any later movement which may eventuate in the direction of a State Bank.

Though not the first banking amalgamation in our country, yet it is the most important one of its kind fraught with far reaching consequences and pregnant with many possibilities. This amalgamation is quite a 'spontaneous thing' and is a result of 'natural banking evolution' in our country and as such it is bound to have a glorious future before it. Had it been a thing 'forced' by designing and scheming outside powers, one should be more sceptical of its beneficent influences and usefulness. All parties concerned should hail this natural evolution with welcoming hands and help the movement to reach a successful fruition.

The causes that have brought about this scheme are four in number.—

(1). The war has amply demonstrated the weak spots in our banking armour and the results of a lack of co-ordinated policy on the part of the various banks. Co-operation and co-ordination of policy on the part of the Presidency Banks for a brief period of three years in order to finance the requirements of war have taught the advantages

of such a policy and the present scheme of amalgamation is but a translation of that desire and they have realised full well that there can be no true and effective co-operation without any formal amalgamation.

(2). Amalgamation is "synonymous with strength" and if the Presidency Banks are to retain the paramount influence which they have been so long wielding, they must combine and if any banking amalgamation\* of the London Money Market were to obtain footing here, the individual and isolated position of the three Presidency Banks would mean 'weakness' and 'inability' to compete effectively with such an institution.

(3). It has often been pointed out that India stands in need of more loanable money and the woeful want of banking facilities in the interior of the country is a well-known thing. The amalgamation proposes to raise additional capital and undertakes the extension of banking facilities to the interior of the country. It likewise aims at promoting the healthy development of banking in our country.

(4). Some of the Exchange Banks are not British concerns. There is a grave danger that Japanese and American financial concerns may obtain undue influence and predominance, in the monetary affairs of our country if the Presidency Banks remain isolated as before. A closer union of Indian and British interests is necessary for the maintaining of the British Empire and as such there should be an amalgamated bank which should have access to London and be represented there just like the Dominion banks of our Empire.

It has already been remarked that it offers many advantages to all the parties concerned. The *general public* will reap some of the following

\*There was already such a proposal; the Lloyds' Bank wanted to amalgamate with the National Bank of India but the Secretary of State for India vetoed the measure.

advantages. There is the 'popularising of banking business with these people.' The opening of branches of this single and unified bank with close connections with the Government will inspire confidence among the people as to the stability of the institution and many people will be too willing to avail themselves of the opportunity to deposit their savings. It is an undoubted fact that confidence is an essential thing that conduces to sound and prosperous banking. "Confidence upbuilds and distrust paralyses," says the adage; and in no business of life is it more true than in the banking business. It will succeed in implanting the 'banking habit' gradually and as the Government Despatch says, though there may be no sudden miracle brought about by the creation of a banking habit, yet it is an indispensable preliminary for making the people believe in the utility of the banking institutions.

The staffing of the innumerable branches of the Imperial Bank requires men trained in modern methods of banking and this stimulates very considerably the training and employment of Indians as bankers. Thus a 'banking career' is to be created shortly which may afford some relief to the already overcrowded professions of the present day. More of these sound and trained bankers may mean an improvement in the banking standard of our country.

The advantages to the customers of the Imperial Bank will also be of a weighty character. With the fuller utilisation of the Government balances and more elastic use of them and with increased working capital, the Imperial Bank can reduce the present high discount rates prevailing during the busy season. A steady, uniform and cheapened rate will be the result and it will be a great stimulus to agriculture and commerce in our country. A proper and wise

distribution of capital will also be another inestimable blessing. The opening of a branch office in London will lead to closer touch with the London Money Market which is the well-known hub of international commerce. It may lead to obtaining of trustworthy information regarding concerns in Great Britain interested in Indian trading. Again sterling loans can be arranged for local bodies and investments made in British securities and the Imperial Bank will realise the interest on them for its constituents. A largely increased number of branches and the ability to discount more hundis and trader's bills means that the Imperial Bank will be in a position to render yeoman service in irrigating the channels of internal trade.

The Government of India stands to gain much by the establishment of such a bank. Millions of rupees locked up in the Reserve Treasuries during the busy season, usually caused a tightness and stringency in the Money Market and the only perfect remedy is to abolish the Reserve Treasuries and such a step is now contemplated. The Imperial Bank will transform these immense sums of money from mere warehouse merchandise into an active banking power. The Imperial Bank will prevent the hoarding of public money in the Reserve Treasuries by acting as its custodian and it will obviate the periodic appeals of the money market to the Reserve Treasuries of the Government for relief. This means that the Imperial Bank will be responsible for the movement of funds in India and also of making them available to the Government whenever and wherever they are required. This will lead to opening of more branches and the provision has been made for such branches. The Reserve Treasuries hitherto acted as a sort of buffer and the first shock was received by them and not the Government Balances deposited at the Presidency Banks and when these are to be abolished the Imperial Bank should prepare itself

\* A carefully constructed apprentice scheme will no doubt be included in the provisions of the Imperial Bank Bill.



to receive such shocks in future and this necessitates the keeping of a higher proportion of cash to liabilities than now so as to meet all sudden and large demands; but the mere concentration and pooling of Reserves will have its own advantages which leads to efficiency and economy of the Reserves and adequate business accommodation.

The decentralisation of the Public Debt work which is now concentrated in the Calcutta office will improve the administration of the Public Debt and will encourage small investors of the interior to go in far more frequently for Government securities than is the case now.

The management of the balances of the Secretary of State for India and his remittance business (Council Drafts) and the other banking work he performs, will necessarily be handed over to the *Imperial Bank's* Branch Office in London and this will save him a lot of carping criticism by the unenlightened public. Nobody will cavil at the banking work done by a banker.

As Mr. G. F. Shirras has said, "work done by bankers would not be subjected to perpetual and carping criticism as in that of close bureaucratic corporation." Sir James Meston has said "It would relieve the officers of Government who very often have neither the training nor experience necessary for this sort of work, of obligations and the responsibilities for which they themselves must recognise that they are not fully equipped". It will also enable the Government of India to float loans at a low rate of interest during summer months.

The handing over of the Paper Currency Reserve (as it is contemplated to be done) and the Reserve Treasuries and these coupled with the Bank's own Reserve will lead to the fusion of the several Reserves that exist now and the result is a concentration of Reserves. Then alone can an economical use of coin be made and efficiency, economy and adequate business accommodation

are some of the advantages of a concentrated "one Reserve System".

The advantages to the *Imperial Bank* itself are no less marked. It will enjoy the proud and privileged position of a banker's bank. It is going to become a national institution. No European monopoly is aimed at. Both the Indian Directors \* (provision has been made for their inclusion) and European Directors must co-operate and bring about the success of the bank. Neither a purely European banking institution, nor a purely Indian one, however successfully they may conduct their business, have any bright future before them and they can never shoulder such immense burden as the extension of banking facilities to the interior of the country. A united stand of both European and Indian people is essential and such a thing is brought about by the *Imperial Bank* and as such there is the promise of a glorious future before it. The *Imperial Bank* on account of its immense resources can successfully play the part of a banker's bank. It will be able to bear the burden and come to the rescue of banks which may occasionally come to trouble. It can become a sanctuary to the struggling banks. By virtue of its capital and massive size, it will soon obtain controlling influence and be the responsible leader in times of emergency. The successful working of the *Imperial Bank* will convey to the minds of the people a sense of ease and security hitherto wanting in periods of stress and will make the *Imperial Bank* a bulwark of public confidence. Access to the London Money Market has been granted and some of the restrictions are to be relaxed†.

\* They will represent the Indian tax-payers' interests.

† (a) The limit of overdraft has been placed at 1 lakh of Rs.

(b) The taking of shares as additional security is allowed.

(c) Shareholders have the rights to examine the Registers subject to reasonable restrictions as the Bank may impose.

The advantages to the *Joint-Stock Banks* have also to be reckoned. The Imperial Bank of India can afford to be their "guide, friend and philosopher" in future. It can look after the banking policy as a whole. It can rediscount their bills and satisfy their wants, for more credit currency. Co-operation and co-ordination of the several banking institutions will lead to better resistance in the times of a crisis and a solid and united front under the able leadership of the Imperial Bank of India will be an effective protection against foreign influences. The Indian banking system will then be welded into a co-ordinated whole. It may probably lessen the profits of other banks holding large reserve deposits, but in the security from the operations of the Imperial Bank and in greater stability of business, greater feasibility and mobility of reserves administered by it the banks would have a protection that would be more than a set-off to any diminution of profits. The Imperial Bank will be the 'shepherd' guiding the "flock of sheep."

Coming to the *Exchange Banks*, it can be confidently predicted that they too will reap their own share in the common prosperity. There is no competition with their Exchange business. Their bills are re-discounted at London thereby enabling them to send back money to India quickly and be in a position to make further purchases of export bills in India.

The *Co-operative and Industrial Banks* will also gain much by the starting of the Imperial Bank. The duty of rediscounting agricultural and industrial paper will be taken up by this bank and thus it is to act as an apex bank rediscounting the paper of these smaller banks. In short it is to be the central discounting agency.

Such is the scheme and such are the advantages that promise to flow out of the creation of an Imperial Bank for India. But the Imperial Bank has to realise its duties. It has to bear in mind that "a Central Bank is a great note-issuing

institution in which is vested, to an extraordinary degree, the financial responsibility of a nation in that its methods enable it to supply at all times an elastic currency varying automatically with the needs of the country, to maintain an adequate gold reserve through its regulation of foreign exchange and to conserve and protect the country's metallic reserves, to control the money market by its regulation of the discount rate and to serve as a sanctuary for all the banks in periods of threatened danger." Such are the functions and onerous duties that are performed by the national banks of foreign countries. The Imperial Bank of India should realise that a national bank has to keep an eye on the national interests. It is not to be purely a profit-seeking institution. It should protect and safe-guard the general financial situation of our country always. It should be dinned into its mind that it is not an ordinary bank but a banker's bank, a central bank for the country and in order to retain this proud privilege it has to make some necessary sacrifices. It should not compete with other banks but it should be a bankers' bank. If it were to compete with the Exchange Banks for foreign exchange business or the Joint-Stock Banks in the matter of discount business, with its far larger reserves and special privileges from the Government it would incur their hostility and resentment. It should not pursue an antagonistic policy to our existing banks. But it must be their refuge in times of panic and trouble and their guide and friend during all normal times.

Hitherto it has been said that inter-Provincial jealousies would be too much to be climbed over by a Central Bank and it has been said that it would be physically impossible to serve such a large country as India and that it would be difficult to procure the capable directors needed to run the Central Bank but now, in the present scheme, the local Boards are given full freedom in their respective spheres while at the same time an



effective controlling Central Board has been instituted. The question of Government control has been happily solved. But only the Controller of Currency should always be wide awake to understand the situation and be in a position to hold up action when the interests of the public are threatened by a misuse of its money. On the other hand, he should not make the Bank a servant of the Government. Independence of the banking power is essential and should be preserved at all costs. As for the fact that competent men will not be found to manage the Central Bank, it must be said that the "occasion and the hour breeds the man" and always brings him forth.

It has been remarked that it would be wise on our part to copy the Federal Reserve System in our country. We have at present local Boards corresponding to the 12 Federal Reserve Banks and their Boards, the Federal Reserve Board itself can be compared to our Central Board but the National Banks of America are shareholders of the Federal Reserve Banks and our Joint-Stock Banks have not this right and privilege to subscribe for the capital of the Imperial Bank. The Federal Reserve Board supervises the Reserve Banks, regulates the note issue and defines the bills of Exchange that are to be discounted. The war has proved the fact that the Federal Reserve System has worked successfully and it has provided America all the advantages of a Central Bank system without having a Central Bank. In India, the Imperial Bank is to be a Central Bank but the irreconcilable elements, Government control and private management, have been successfully fused as in the case of the Federal Reserve System. Extensive powers are no doubt granted to the Federal Reserve Board and it can supply the needed credit at all times, thanks to the privilege of issuing notes on legitimate bills of exchange. The Imperial Bank at present has not been given power to issue notes but the note-

issue will be handed over as soon as it is practicable and it will have to manage it according to the regulations which will be passed by the Government of India. The needed elasticity will be secured at present by the provision of issuing of 5 crores of more notes on the strength of export bills of exchange which may be brought to the door of the Controller by the Presidency Banks. This is a tentative measure that would no doubt find a permanent place if it meets with success. Such definite power should be given to the Imperial Bank to increase credit currency at times when there is real demand for it and when it has 'loaned up to the full limit' as bankers would put it. But such wide powers should not be entrusted to a private institution until the Imperial Bank has vindicated its usefulness and unless the Bank has won its own spurs.

Next the Federal Advisory Council of America can be copied here with some advantages. The Exchange Banks, the other commercial banks, the agricultural and industrial banks and the shroffs can all be represented in a council which should meet occasionally and exchange its views with that of the Imperial Bank. Such a step would enable the Imperial Bank to feel the pulse of the market and the policy of the Imperial Bank itself might be changed to the advantage of these parties. The absence of a Bankers' Association which can watch the banking policy of the country is keenly felt. The institution of an advisory council is the nearest possible approximation to such an association and as such it should be created as early as possible.

It has been the accepted opinion in many quarters that the Presidency Banks are rendering more help to European traders. The public deposit (*i.e.*) Government deposits belong to the Indian tax-payer and with this money more help is rendered to the European trader. The grievance was that Indian trade was not given its due share of advances. Attention was drawn to

this fact by Mr. Vidyasagar Pandya in his evidence before the Chamberlain Commission and Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma repeated it in his State-Bank resolution before the Imperial Legislative Council, the other day. The Hon. Mr. H. F. Howard gave facts and figures repudiating this remark. The Imperial Bank of India should take pains that no such accusation will be levelled at it also. It should take pains to construct a separate set of figures once in six-months at least to show what amount of capital and deposits belong to European interest and what amount is owned by the Indian people and its respective advances to the two communities and their interests. There is the opinion prevailing in many circles that a European monopoly is being aimed at by creating the Imperial Bank and when responsible leaders voice these facts rightly or wrongly, the people are apt to be led away far from the truth. No scope should be given for such a sort of distrust to be created among the Indian community. A positive proof of its help to both the communities and its due response to their legitimate demand should be placed before the public. This would strengthen the confidence of the public in the Bank that it is not sectional and communal interests that are catered to but that Indian national interests are its sole concern. It is highly advisable that it should do such a thing in the first few years of its existence, say, for a period of ten years.

The Imperial Bank itself should remember a few of the following facts that will conduce to its success and prosperity. It is to serve popular necessity and not syndicated wealth. It should interfere as little as possible with the work of the existing banks. It should keep a great portion of its Reserve in a perfectly liquid shape so as to be available at any time. If the Imperial Bank does its duty on sound lines promoting national interest and adequately safeguards the general financial situation always,

it will enable India to take a place in the front rank of nations and quit trailing along as a subordinate adjunct to the London Money Market. Our currency system would be rendered more automatic and elastic and more sound than at the present day. These and many other advantages can be reaped if—(it is a very big if) the Imperial Bank can rise equal to the situation and guide the financial destinies of the nation in an unimpeachable and unselfish manner.

If the Imperial Bank of India furnishes practical proofs of its utility more and more powers will be entrusted to it. Already a semi-State Bank, it is bound to become a fully fledged Central Bank with all its privileges and no doubt with very onerous duties.

The Imperial Bank should take up the duty of selling gold in small amounts to the middle class people on behalf of the Government. Then will the middle class people be in a fair position to obtain gold at a reasonable price. It would put a stop to the inordinate amount of speculation that is going on in gold at present.

The Imperial Bank should try to bring about direct relation between the Indian Money Market and the London Money Market. At present there is only an indirect relation existing between the two. The Indian demand for gold affects discount rates which in turn affects the exchange rates. The Government of India habitually loans out a part of its cash balances in the London Money Market for short periods. These loans weaken the controlling position of the Bank of England and so it is not able to pull in gold from India just as she does from other commercial centres by simply raising her discount rate. The establishment of the *Imperial Bank* might lead to lowering of the present high bank rates in India and this may enable the Bank of England to pull in gold from India also. Thus the *Imperial Bank* is bound to have a marked and perceptible influence on the ebb and flow of gold from India and into India. Then perhaps it will be possible to revise the time-honoured dictum that "India is a sink of precious metals."



# India's Debt to European Scholars.

BY

PROF. M. S. RAMASAMI AIYANGAR, M.A.

IT was during the days of Warren Hastings, that a great impetus was given to the study of Indian Antiquities by the founding, by Sir William Jones, of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. The first members of the Society included the Governor-General himself and Charles Wilkins, perhaps the first Englishman to study Sanskrit. Sir William Jones laboured for a period of 20 years and during this time, among other things, translated Kalidasa's *Sakuntala* and the Institutes of Manu. This had a wonderful effect upon the imagination of European scholars who began to perceive at once that our conception was as grand, our philosophy as sublime and our intellect as keen as that of any other intellectual race in this world. What is more important, the incessant activity of Sir William stimulated others to strenuous work in the field of Sanskrit literature and soon a group of Englishmen took up the work of the founder of the Asiatic Society—Charles Wilkins, Samuel Davis, Francis Wilford and Henry Colebrooke. Francis Wilford, a Swiss by nationality and an engineer by profession, soon acquired fame as a Sanskrit scholar but his wild speculations and erratic conclusions brought him no credit. Nevertheless his essay 'on the Comparative Geography of India' has emphasized the importance of geography as a hand-maid to the study of Indian history. Colebrooke may be said to be the true successor of Jones. Accurate in scholarship and sound in judgment, his activities had been as varied as there were sciences which found full development in this ancient land of ours. A keen mathematician he was much interested in the Astronomy and Algebra of the Hindus and translated the Algebra of Brahmagupta and Bhaskara, besides contributing many articles to the *Asiatic Researches* and the

*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* about Hindu Astronomy and astronomers. His essay on the *Vedas* is epoch-making as Europeans learnt a knowledge of the contents of the Vedas for the first time. Even after his retirement from India, he continued his labours down to the time of his death (1837).

While Mr. Colebrooke was thus educating the European world as regards the speculative side of our ancient national activities, another scholar Dr. Buchanan (Hamilton) was cutting a new path in the field of Indian research. Deputed by the Marquis of Wellesley in 1800 to make an agricultural survey of Mysore, he found occasion to diligently explore the history and antiquities of South India. Who is there that does not know that Buchanan's *Travels* (2 vols.) are veritable mines of information on the social and economic conditions of this part of India? As Cunningham has pointed out, Buchanan was the first to perceive the value and importance of detailed plans and exact measurements of remarkable buildings and ancient sites.

To H. H. Wilson the Europeans are indebted for still further enlightening them on the ancient wisdom of India. As Secretary to the Asiatic Society in 1815, he consistently maintained the traditions of its founders. He translated Kalidasa's *Meghaduta*, published in 1819 a Sanskrit Dictionary and in 1827 wrote his book on the *Theatre of the Hindus* which won for him great name and fame. By this time the zeal for research and translation grew considerably and even Indian scholars caught the spirit. The East India Company also evinced a warm interest in the study and collection of antiquities and despatched capable officers to the different parts of the country. Of these Colonel Colin Mackenzie

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specially distinguished himself. Not a Sanskrit scholar, not even an archaeologist, Col. Mackenzie was yet a great collector of archaeological materials. Appointed to explore the regions south of the Krishna, Mackenzie soon collected nearly 8,056 Tamil inscriptions and it is needless to say that we owe to the Colonel our knowledge of the history of the southern portion of the Peninsula.

With the death of H. H. Wilson, however, the era of 'scholastic archaeologists' closes and another period in the history of Indian research is ushered in,—the epoch of 'field archaeologists'. James Prinsep stands between these two. He was assay-master of the Calcutta mint and had to work 16 hours a day for his employers. Yet in the midst of dull routine he found time to study our literature. The world is indebted to him for his brilliant discoveries made during the last three years of his life, *viz.*, the decipherment of the Aryan-Pali legends of the Bactrian coins and what is more important, the Edicts of Asoka. This brilliant and enthusiastic scholar was unfortunately cut short in the prime of life. He was only 41, when he died. After Prinsep, Markham, Kittoe, Edward Thomas and Alexander Cunningham continued their labours in North India, while Sir Walter Elliot completed the work of Colin Mackenzie in the South. To Sir Walter we owe our first full knowledge of the early Chalukyas. He wrote admirable essays on the dynasties of the Deccan in the pages of R. A. S. Journal (Vol. IV) and the Journal of the Literary Society of Madras. Edward Thomas, a great Indianist mentioned above, specially distinguished himself in the field of Numismatics. He is a specialist in the Early Mohamedan period in the History of India. He published a series of articles on the history of India as illustrated by coins and inscriptions. The period of history covered by him is from 1246 A. D. to 1550 A. D. He further collected all the known Sassanian documents and his valuable commen-

taries on them have been most helpful to scholars. James Fergusson was perhaps the foremost among the departed 'field archaeologists' or 'travelling antiquarians.' His first work was published in 1845 on the 'Rock-cut Temples of India' and in 1855 his 'Handbook of Architecture' appeared; but his greatest contribution to the realm of Art is his 'History of Indian Architecture'. Leaving the limited field of provincial inquiry Mr. Fergusson brought together in one comprehensive form the results of the labours of those investigators that preceded him. The work satisfies not merely the longing for æsthetic enjoyment but it has successfully striven to explain and illustrate, 'in the full spirit of modern architectural inquiry' the entire body of Indian history and progress. Errors of judgment there may be many in the book but we must be eternally obliged to him for having attempted to prove, single-handed and without Government help—to the European world what mighty builders ancient Hindus were.

The career of Alexander Cunningham is important as it was during his time that the work of archaeological survey was properly organized. A perusal of his correspondence with the Government of India will show the great zeal he evinced for the cause of Indian Archaeology. His chief interest lay in unearthing buried cities and ruined temples, a work so successfully undertaken in our own days. Thus Taxila and Sangala in the Punjab, Kaushambhi and Sravasti in the North-west; and Nalanda in the East had been practically discovered by him. He is also a numismatician of no mean order. His monumental work, 'The Ancient Geography of India' chiefly devoted to illustrate the campaigns of Alexander the Great and of the pilgrimage of the Chinese traveller Hiouen Tsang, is still the only standard book of reference on the subject.

With the retirement of Cunningham a new and brilliant era opens in the history of Indian research. This is the period of the starting of



the journal *Indian Antiquary*. Both the 'Scholastic' and 'Field' Archaeologists have supplied such a mass of information which awaited the scientific touch of scholars. Fortunately for India, at the time of starting the journal, there existed a brilliant band of distinguished orientalists to whose frequent contributions, the scientific world is deeply indebted. The *Indian Antiquary* was started in 1872 by James Burgess. Long before this, however, there existed the R. A. S. Journal with its branches. But the pages of these magazines were found inadequate to give expression to the increased activities of scholars, both European and Indian, and hence the necessity for a fresh journal which to-day is the main source of information on all subjects connected with Indian History, in its manifold aspects. At first and for a long time, the main contributors were all European scholars, some of whom literally exhausted themselves to death in the course of their noble endeavour. An attempt is made in the following paragraphs to estimate in however tentative a fashion, the value of the contributions to Indian culture of these European gentlemen, typical of a group whom cultured and grateful India is proud to own as its own sons.

A Scotchman by birth and educated at Glasgow for the teaching profession, James Burgess came to India in 1855 as Professor of Mathematics in the Doveton College, Calcutta. In 1861, his services were transferred to a large Bombay School. The remains of the Elephanta and Kanheri Caves attracted his attention and his career was shaped. From 1861 to 1872 he was busy recording his observations in the research journals then available, and as already stated, started *The Indian Antiquary* in 1872, his first great service to the world of science. This journal he continued to edit till 1884 when it was made over to Dr. Fleet and Sir R. C. Temple. The Government of India soon recognised the special qualifications of Mr.

Burgess and appointed him as Archaeological Surveyor in Western India to organize work in the South and West of India on lines similar to those set down by Cunningham for the North. Burgess soon justified his appointment by publishing a series of learned reports on the ruins of the Bombay Presidency. In 1886 he succeeded Cunningham as Director-General of Archaeology and brought about a thorough reorganization of the department by appointing efficient men to undertake systematic work in Bombay, Madras and North-Western Provinces. His appointment of Mr. Hultzsch as a Government Epigraphist is in itself a great event as we owe a good deal to this gentleman. The small size of the *Antiquary* and the increased volume of business of the department necessitated the starting of a government organ to record the work done by various archaeological officers and with that energy and organizing zeal that always characterize Mr. Burgess, he started the *Epigraphia Indica* which has proved itself very useful for publishing all inscriptions on a larger scale than it had been possible in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*. After a busy career he left India in 1889 but continued to edit the journal from home besides interesting himself for many years by publishing books on Mohamedan Architecture. In 1913, he published 'the Chronology of Modern India' a good complement to Mabel Duff's book. An expert mathematician, he compiled a series of notes on Hindu Astronomy. He died only recently, 3rd October 1917, loved and respected by all who knew him.

Of Prof. George Buhler (1837-98) it may be truly said in the words of Prof. Weber, "If there ever was a man whose loss can be called irreparable, it is George Buhler". Buhler was a German and received his Sanskrit education in the University of Gottingen under the distinguished Prof. Benfey. Taking his Doctor's degree in 1858, he sought an educational career in Bombay. He at once entered with sympathy into Indian

thought and feeling. His first publication was the Hindu Law of Inheritance and Partition, a work undertaken jointly with Sir Raymond West. An eminent Sanskritist like Stenzler, Whitney and Roth who all died before him, Buhler studied, translated and published in the Sacred Books of the East series, the sacred laws of the Aryas as taught in the schools of Apastamba, Gautama, Vasishta and Baudhayana. In 1886 he published his *Laws of Manu* and edited the 4 books of Panchatantra. He was a great friend of the Jains and in his day no one had studied more than he did, the abounding literature of the Jains. His 'Indian Sect of the Jainas' is perhaps the most useful of all the publications of European scholars on the subject. His contribution to the Indo-Aryan Encyclopædia on Indian Paleography, has opened the eyes of our countrymen to an altogether new and unexplored field of Indian Epigraphy. His greatest service to Indian Sanskrit literature is the founding along with another illustrious scholar, Prof. Keilhorn, of the Bombay Sanskrit Series, whose object was "to give young native scholars an opportunity of learning European methods of criticism in editing texts." As the Zurich Professor, A-Kaegi has put it, Prof. Buhler was the centre and the chief promoter of Indological studies in Europe. He was eminently bold and honest in his criticism always taking care to employ in conversation only the language of the polite society. Though indebted to Prof. Max Muller for his first appointment, he had the academical courage to refute openly Max Muller's theory that the whole of the Indian literature as far as it was not Vedic or Buddhistic was written in the time after the Scythian invasion of India. His general sympathy for the Indians is shown by the fact that just before his death he told a friend of his (Prof. Kaegi) "that he was going to refute once for all the general talk about the Hindus lacking the historical sense." There are those who think that the Euro-

pean official in India neglects his duties in pursuit of his hobby. The facts of the careers of men like Buhler disprove the statement. Prof. Buhler was as strenuous in his official duties as he was in the pursuit of his special studies and in the hunt for Sanskrit manuscripts which he undertook on behalf of the Government. When he took up work as Educational Inspector there were in the Bombay Presidency 730 schools with only 47,800 scholars and he increased the schools to 1763 with 161,970 students.

John Faithful Fleet who died only recently will still be remembered with great affection by many of his friends in Bombay. Civilian, educationist and epigraphist, Dr. Fleet is a great friend of the Indians and of the Kanarese peasantry in particular. He was joint Editor of the *Indian Antiquary* and its volumes XIV-XX contain some of his best articles. A great authority on the inscrip-tional history of the Deccan, the students of Early Indian History are indebted to Dr. Fleet, for fixing Indian chronology on a firm basis. Such excellent treatises as V. A. Smith's 'Early History of India' are the result of the labours of this great Indianist. His greatest work is Vol. III of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, "a splendid piece of work from every point of view which by establishing the epoch of the Gupta dynasty in 319-320 A. D. laid the keystone of Indian archæ-ology." Speaking of his friend and colleague, Sir R. C. Temple says, "one of the interesting things that command our attention from a survey of Fleet's contribution to this Journal (I. A.) is that it discloses the history of Indian epigraphic re-search almost from its commencement as a system-atic study. Always excepting revered Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar there is no living Indian or Euro-pean who has striven better than Dr. Fleet for the reconstruction of our ancient history. If to-day it is possible for us to write confidently about the ancient history of India it is because of the sheet-anchor provided for us by the great doctor,



It is not possible within the space of a magazine article to review the work done by other disinterested western scholars. The names of Prof. Max Muller and Jacobi, Dr. Hoernle and Mr. Burnell, Prof. Weber and Prof. Keilhorn, Mr. Lewis Rice and Prof. Rhys Davids are household names to those who are in any way interested in Indian research. But enough has been stated to show that we are indebted mainly to Europeans for a knowledge of our own country. In the words of Dr. Fleet,

"and so, not with the express object of preserving history, but in order to intensify the importance of everything connected with religion and to secure grantees in the possession of properties conveyed to them, there was gradually accumulated almost the whole of the great mass of epigraphic records, from which, chiefly the ancient history of India is now being put together." In this process the countrymen of Dr. Fleet took the leading part. Let us be grateful to them and to others who might render a similar service.

## Azrar-i-Khudi or the Secrets of the Self

BY

PROFESSOR M. NAIMUR RAHMAN.

THE well-known English Arabist, Dr. Nicholson of Cambridge, the renowned author of *The Literary History of the Arabs* and of *Mysticism in Islam*, and the translator of *Kashful-Mahjub* and sundry other books, has translated the Persian poem *Azrar-i-Khudi*\* (lit, the Secrets of the Self) of Dr. Sheikh Muhammad Iqbal, the celebrated Moslem poet of the India of to-day. The learned translator has doubtlessly laid the Moslem world and especially Moslem India under a deep debt of gratitude by thus facilitating the spread of the unique thoughts and charming ideas of the poet-philosopher, who will be a poet of an unique personality for many long years to come as he is to-day. Coupled with his *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* (The Mystery of

Selflessness) this is ever the first Persian poem which his masterly pen has given to the world. His Persian is as sweet and as felicitous, flowing and captivating as his Urdu poems are known to be. He is as great a master of Persian as of his mother-tongue. Thus it was only meet that a doctor of Oriental learning like Dr. Nicholson should have translated it.

Without having anything to do with the subject-matter of the poem—for that will lead us far from our present purpose—I will confine my views to the present translation only. The first edition of the poem appeared in 1915. But a gross misunderstanding by the readers of some references to Hafiz in Canto VII, and the consequent deluge of adverse criticism from some fantastically orthodox and conservative quarters throughout India—a fact, which, I tremble to think, will be attributed by the coming generation to the lack of sound judgment and a fanatic, infatuous love for blind conservatism on our part—the poet was, despite his giving a clear

\*The *Secrets of the Self* (Azrar-i-Khudi):—A Philosophical Poem by Sheikh Muhammad Iqbal of Lahore. Translated from the Original Persian with Introduction and Notes by Reynold A. Nicholson, Litt D., LL.D., Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge. Published by Macmillan and Co., London; 1920; pp. xxi and 147.

and succinct exposition of his views and objects regarding that particular part of the Canto, compelled to substitute some other lines for those. This was done in the second edition, which was published in 1917. And it is this edition only of which the book under review is a translation.

Dr. Nicholson's name is too well known to require any particular remarks regarding his translation and its success or otherwise. As is the case with all kinds of translations from one language to another, it will be only a bootless errand to search for the same sweetness, charm, touch and that vibrating thrill in the English form which one finds in the original Persian. Yet the learned translator has doubtlessly succeeded in his efforts. While admitting that the poem "presents certain obscurities which no translation can entirely remove," and that he himself does not feel sure whether he has "grasped the meaning or rendered it correctly," he has achieved a great degree of success in the way of accuracy and expression, as should have been naturally expected from one who is translating it into his own mother-tongue of which he is as great a master as of Persian. But for their abundance, I would have quoted here lines in his translation which do full justice to the idea and expression of the original. There are only a few exceptions to this. I may for instance point out his 11:113 and 114 on p. 10 and 1:138 on p. 11, which do not offer a very happy rendering for the nice sense of the original Persian verses.

I find a very striking thing in the translation. The original poem opens with three verses from Rumi, which serve as a preamble, or better as a theme, to the whole poem. This is then followed by nine verses dedicating the poem to Sir Syed Ali Imam. However much I tried I could not understand why Dr. Nicholson left out these two very significant and important sets of verses. I cannot help thinking that a translation of these verses would certainly have added much to the clear understanding of the poem by the readers.

The general feature of the translation is literal and yet highly idiomatic. But at times he becomes too literal to be tolerated. For example: "gurg-i-baran dideh" is translated as "a weather-beaten wolf" and "Sim said ma wa-u-pulad dast" is rendered as "Our legs are silver, his paws are steel."

In 1:120 we find the word "cupping-glass" used for the Persian word "shisheh," whereas in 1:134 he translates the same word as "bottles," which is decidedly the right word for the former occasion as well. The word "taqwin" has been rendered in one place (1:160) as "laboratory" and in the other (1:310) as "establishing." I do not question the second, but cannot regard the first as the requisite epithet. For "that I might tear" and "extract" in 11:158—9 I would like to read "till I tore asunder" and "extracted" respectively. In 1:170 the words "this veil" should have better been "these nine veils." There seems to be some misunderstanding of the words "nuh pardeh" (lit. nine veils), which is used for the "nine heavens," the appropriateness of which becomes patent when we compare it with the words "high thoughts" in the preceding line, the first hemistich of the same verse.

These are some of the very outstanding points which catch the eye at once. Beside these there are a number of other words and phrases wherein I cannot see any way of agreeing with the learned translator. For instance I may quote 11:125—6 and 315—17, which are in my consideration, not what they should have really been. Let me cite one very amazing case of misjudging on the part of Dr. Nicholson. None could have possibly expected him to have translated 11:12—14 and coupled it up with 1:15 reading "Full blown roses are hidden in the skirt of my garment," which is the rendering for "Gul-bi-Shakh andar nihan dar damanam." At this I am quite involuntarily reminded of a learned critic of one of Iqbal's Urdu verses which ran thus:—



" Mashric men usul din ban jate hayn,  
Maghrib men magar mashin ban jate hayn."

The wise critic, who, it should be remembered, was proud of his polished Urdu learning which he had inherited from his parents, read the first line above as :—

" Mashrik men usul-i-din ban jate hayn"  
and began to lampoon the unfortunate poet for framing a meaningless and incomplete sentence and hemistich ! What an irony of fate !

I shall now simply enumerate the numbers of the lines which I regard as open to strong objections, and leave the comparison and further closer study to the readers. And those lines are numbers 76, 88, 90, 113-14, 281—82, 306, 337, 362, 1111, 1246, 1396. There are verses where they may find important words left out altogether in rendering and others where the verb has been translated in a tense and mood quite the opposite of or at least other than the one used by the poet himself, with considerable damage to the sense and without any pressing necessity of the requirements of true English idiom.

Let me quote only one more instance of sorry rendering. In 1446 Dr. Nicholson reads "za nay markab kuni" as "zani markab kuni," and accordingly translates it as "ride on a woman's back," instead of saying "ride the reed." This perhaps is the climax of misunderstanding and misjudgment.

I cannot close without drawing the reader's attention to two facts. Firstly : On 11·925—928 (" By his grandeur the world is saved ") the translator puts a note saying :—

" These four lines may allude to Jesus, regarded as the type of the perfect man."

I cannot term it but as a pious hope on the part of the learned translator, who is misled by his unfathomable love for his religion and prophet. The poet is a Muslim by faith and believes Muhammad and not Christ (never so) to be the most perfect man that was or will ever be

born on the surface of the Earth. It is quite *ultra vires* for me to understand how that great student of Arabic and Islam could be led to make such a note. Secondly : I agree with Dr. Nicholson in thinking that the pseudonym "Baba-i-Sahrai" has been applied by the poet to himself. But I would like to ask the reader to compare with the parallel epithet "Baba-i-Kuhi" used by Sadi in a story in the fifth chapter of his immortal *Bustan*.

This is what I had to say of the literary side of the translation, with the hope that it will set the reader on the alert and may also perhaps be instrumental in the publication of a better, nicer, and corrector translation of the poem. Considering it with a general point of view, I have already said that Dr. Nicholson has given us a good rendering of the poem in English, and I am even prepared to say that none but he or the renowned Dr. Browne could do full justice to the poem in this respect. I reiterate that Dr. Nicholson has really rendered the Indian poet and the language and contents of the poem a great service for which the Indian Moslems particularly, and the Moslem world generally, should be boundlessly thankful to him. I learn on good authority that he is already engaged in the translation of the sequel poem *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* which may see the light of the day in the near future. Let us hope it will be the really requisite thing.

While I commend the book to all lovers of Philosophy, I will at the same time ask them to remember that Iqbal is a Muslim philosopher. Nothing can be dearer to him than his own nation and its uplift and progress. His message is, therefore, meant chiefly for the Moslems—Moslems not of India alone, but those of the world. Then, of course, it is for them to decide whether it is the best recipe or otherwise. Opinions have differed and will always differ as long as man is man. And Iqbal will not be an exception to this rule.

# JUSTICE IN ANCIENT INDIA

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BY

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

**D**R. ROBERTSON has said about Manu words which may well be applied to the entire ancient Hindu Law and specially to the ancient Hindu judicature. He said: "With respect to the number and variety of points the Hindu Code considers it will bear a comparison with the celebrated Digest of Justinian, or with the systems of jurisprudence in nations most highly civilised. The articles of which the Hindu Code is composed are arranged in natural and luminous order. They are numerous and comprehensive, and investigated with that minute attention and discernment which are natural to a people distinguished for acuteness and subtlety of understanding, who have been long accustomed to the accuracy of judicial proceedings, and acquainted with all the refinements of legal practice. The decisions concerning every point are founded upon the great and immutable principles of justice which the human mind acknowledges and respects in every age and in all parts of the earth. Whoever examines the whole work cannot entertain a doubt of its containing the jurisprudence of an enlightened and commercial people. Whoever looks into any particular title will be surprised with a minuteness of detail and nicety of distinction which, in many instances, seem to go beyond the attention of European legislation, and it is remarkable that some of the regulations which indicate the greatest degree of refinement were established in periods of the most remote antiquity".

This just and clear-sighted estimate ought to disabuse our minds of the unfortunate but widely prevalent view, both among Indians and others, that ancient Hindu Law has no elements of enduring worth or value. Some years ago, in the pages of the now defunct *Contemporary Law Review*, I expounded the ancient Hindu Law of

Evidence and Procedure and also some of the titles of the ancient Hindu Substantive Law. I stated on that occasion: "An opinion is expressed in some quarters that the ancients had a very simple and primitive system of procedure and evidence. But a careful study of the ancient Hindu Law books shows us beyond doubt that this view is erroneous. The system of evidence and procedure laid down therein was elaborate and suited to the needs of a highly civilised and progressive community, though the various rules of evidence and procedure may not be thoroughly like the rules followed by the courts at the present day".

Mr. B. Gururaja Row\* has thus taken up an important and interesting task, and it must be said to his credit that he has done it well. Laymen as well as lawyers must be grateful to him for his clear and forceful and vivid presentation of a great theme. Sir John Woodroffe has written a brief foreword in which he says: "Little is, I think, known of the ancient adjective law of India. It is well, therefore, that an Indian lawyer should undertake the task of telling us what it is. He has, I think, well fulfilled it within the short compass of this book". The learned author has dealt in a clear and comprehensive manner about law courts and their constitution in ancient Hindu India, the nature of vyavahara or actions in general, the institution of actions, special rules of pleading and counter claims, principles of proof, oral evidence, documentary evidence, divine proof, some principles of adjudication, judgment, and decree. The value of the work is greatly enhanced by the author's notes to each chapter. The book is not of mere antiquarian interest but is of value to modern Indian lawyers as showing the way to a new and better

\* Ancient Hindu Judicature by B. Gururaja Row. Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras.



era of legal study, legal procedure, and legal reform.

I desire very much to take advantage of this occasion to describe some of the excellences of the ancient system of procedure, as I wish to put in a strong plea for the inclusion of ancient Hindu Law in our scheme of legal studies. One great peculiarity of the ancient Hindu system of law was its intimate connection with religion. An act in violation of the rules of law and of the rules of morality was also a sin, and was regarded as evil-doing that will have terrible consequences in other worlds and in future births. An unjust claim, an unjust plea, and an unjust decision were all regarded as sins. Manu says in chapter VIII, verse 12: "All the members of the tribunal in which truth (or justice) is conquered by falsehood (or injustice) and falsehood is not pierced by the needle of justice, should be regarded as smitten with sin". Again he says in chapter VIII, verse 23: "Let the king or his judge, having seated himself on the bench, his body properly clothed and his mind attentively fixed, begin with doing reverence to the deities who guard the world; and then let him enter on the trial of causes". All this may sound strange to modern ears, but truth is eternal and does not change with the passing mental and moral and legal fashions of the day. The refinement of a community cannot be tested merely by the complexity of its laws. The laws must advance the best interests of morality; the legislators must be keenly alive to the spiritual basis of life; and the judges must be fully imbued with the spirit of religion and must be alive to the far-reaching consequences of their opinions and actions both in regard to themselves and to the litigants. It is not enough to arrive at conclusions. Even a mechanical process can do that. The judges have to preserve the racial ideals; they should throw the shield of judicial protection around all those customs which are essential to the preservation of

those ideals; they should not in a spirit of levity tamper with such customs and ideals; they must at the same time allow new customs to grow up regarding new needs and new situations; they must keep pace with the spirit of modern legislation; nay, they must bring their practical acquaintance with human complications to bear fruit in the form of wise suggestions for future legislation.

This is not all. A very important aspect of ancient Hindu judicature is the fact that a trial was always held by a judge aided by assessors. As Mr. Gururaja Row points out: "They were all of them in the nature of judicial assemblies or panchayats presided over by several judges and none of them resembled the present Indian tribunals presided over by single judges". Pitamaha says that a prudent man should not trust a single judge however virtuous he may be and that the decision of many persons commands and deserves greater respect than the decisions of a single person. It is far better to have communal customs decided by impartial men of the community and to have commercial causes decided with the aid of respectable traders than for single judges to blunder along and petrify the law somehow.

I shall refer briefly here to certain other aspects of ancient Hindu procedure. The modern distinction of civil and criminal courts was not known, though the ancient Hindu law givers were well aware of the distinction between civil and criminal liability. It seems to me that the same judges should deal with both civil and criminal cases, in the interests of efficiency as well as economy. Further, ancient Hindu law provided for fines being imposed for making false claims and and false defences. Under the modern Indian law, such a power is conferred on criminal courts and not on civil courts. In civil litigations, the awarded costs are a fraction of the real costs and are no check upon the mental tendency to bring

forward false claims or pleas. Further, the judges had in ancient India the power of punishing by fine the perjury of a party. Under the modern law a prosecution has to be launched against a perjured party in another court. Such prosecutions are generally neglected and die a natural death. Further, ancient Hindu procedure required the judges to interrogate the parties closely at the earlier stages of the case before the respective cases became hardened by lapse of time and increasing bitterness. In these and many other respects modern procedure has much to learn from ancient Hindu procedure. I may make a special reference here to the ancient rule of taking security from both parties and the ancient rule of fining the appellant if his appeal is found to be unsustainable. The frequent and notorious failures of the execution of civil decrees and the frequent filing of worthless appeals merely to keep up the right and to stay the execution of decrees will cease to disfigure modern procedure if ancient Hindu law were studied and applied to modern conditions.

A more than passing reference should however be made to the question of administering oaths. Nowadays an oath is regarded by all as a formality. Is this a desirable state of facts? In ancient Hindu Law the oath was adjusted to the social status of the witness and was such as to evoke truth from him. No legislation in the world can save the individual and the society from moral decay, if the habit of untrue testimony in courts is allowed to grow.

Equally important was the ancient rule of law that the evidence should be taken on the spot in dispute. Witnesses are willing nowadays to state in the centralised court what they would not say in their villages and in the presence of their co-villagers or fellow-townsmen.

Nor must I omit to mention the fact that in the ancient Hindu Law of evidence a party could not make with impunity reckless and even

shameful imputations to witnesses. In modern Indian procedure such a method is flourishing in all courts. When to it is added the brow beating kind of cross examination by counsel, the misery of giving testimony in a court of law can be better imagined than described. Better and healthier traditions must grow up in the profession and the law must arm judges with the power of fining parties making unproved, reckless and wanton and shameful imputations if the purity and propriety of judicial administration are to be achieved.

Two aspects of ancient Hindu judicature must be specially borne in mind. The first is the institution of village panchayat courts. These have died an unnatural death in modern India and are sought to be recreated. Mr. Vincent Smith says in his *Early History of India*: "It is a pity that this apparently excellent system of Local Self-Government, really popular in origin, should have died ages ago. Modern Governments would be happier if they could command equally effective agency".

Last but not least is the ancient institution of arbitration courts. These enabled quick and satisfactory settlement of disputes relating to family matters, communal matters, trade claims etc., within an easy distance of the homes of the parties. Mr. Gururaja Row says: "Consent of the suitors invested them with jurisdiction, while the state gave legal sanction to their decisions. They were also under the direct supervision of the state and free scope was afforded to the parties dissatisfied with their verdicts to go up to the highest legally constituted tribunal". In modern courts partition suits are a terror to judges and an enormous waste to parties. They could easily be settled in most cases in arbitration courts. In this respect also modern Indian procedure has to learn much from ancient Hindu procedure.

Having regard to all the above facts, is it too much to claim that ancient Hindu Law should be studied in our colleges? It is at least as valuable as Roman Law and is certainly nearer to our minds and hearts.



## CURRENCY IN INDIAN STATES\*

BY

RAO BAHADUR M. V. KIBE.

A STATE values the right of having a currency of its own as a means of regulating the economic life of its people. There are numerous instances in history of the economic effects produced by the currency policy of the rulers. In these days of rapid communications and increased facilities for trading, it is proving difficult for economically weak states to exercise their right in the case of currency. Mainly owing to these circumstances, there are very few states in India now left which have their own currency. Hyderabad alone seems to have a complete system of currency, including the paper currency. Of the other States, which possess currency, some have only subsidiary coins and a few make accounts only in their own currency. Some indeed have precious coins for ceremonial purposes only.

Apart from the inducements offered by the British Government, such as the Native States Coinage Act of 1876 or the obstacles placed by it, such as the stopping of the free import or export of gold and silver, the main cause which has ousted the currencies of the Indian States is an economic one. Along with the rest of India all of them are mainly agricultural States, with the consequence that the more prosperous of them, which have any kind of trade, export their surplus, or even the more valuable of their produce from the land, and the economic condition of their subjects likewise does not admit of their making up the balance of trade by imports in raw materials or manufactures only. It is made good by means of the British Indian currency, or to a smaller extent, by means of bullion or paper.

The inroads of foreign currency, however, affected the economic life of the people in several ways and weakened the power of government.

\* Paper prepared for the Indian Economic Conference.

(1) When any class of people buys any commodities with a foreign coin, it is the foreign merchants who give their primary and secondary wants, because it is with that money that one has to buy the products of the country.

(2) The manipulation of the prices for currency being in alien hands, the problem of the rise or fall of prices depends upon the will of the other power. The ruler of the land has to restrict or cease the operations of his own mint and the user of the foreign coin is dependent upon him for the valuation of his goods and labour. If foreign merchants withhold buying from the ryots at the time they want money to pay, say, State dues, the ryots have to submit their goods and labour to the valuation of the foreign merchants.

(3) According to the ratio fixed by the British Government between the sovereign and the rupee, viz 1 to 10, and the quotation for gold 118s 1d per oz. fine, the parity of the rupee with sterling was about 2s-9.3d, whereas the open market of the rupee was only 1s. 7½d. about the beginning of December. By adopting thus a foreign currency, a State shares its vicissitudes of fortune.

To keep itself aloof from the results noted in the preceding paragraph, the ruler of a State has to choose one of two alternatives. He may either lead a gallant retreat of his people to what may appear a primitive condition, namely, ask them to exchange with one another in kind, and pay him the entire revenue also in kind, or to prevent the use of foreign currency within the State. Owing to the paramount position of the British in India, many a ruler would have shrunk from taking the latter step, while the opening of communications would make the former impossible. This condition would have to be maintained until the

State were able either to meet its internal wants, which would not be a practical proposition, or to so organise its trade as to meet the balance of trade in its favour by exporting manufactures, making investments abroad and importing bullion. It is however, not a fact that the introduction of the British Indian currency is a necessary result of the trade relations with British India or foreign countries. Many an European country or state which has its own currency has such relations but it has maintained its own currency. For instance, the producers of English coal are paid in English money and the growers of French wine in French money. But the French consumers of British coal must pay for it in English money and they must pay this money in England and conversely the same is the case with the French wine. This transaction is the business of the exchanges and it is to be undergone even when different foreign countries have identical currencies. Applying these truths to the conditions in the Indian states, it is easy to see that without resorting to the extreme step of stopping all intercourse with the outside world, or rather limiting its operations to barter, thus eliminating the need of money, a state could maintain its currency by maintaining an exchange in addition to making penal the use of foreign coin in its territory. This step will procure to its ruler the immense power which the possession of a currency gives.

As the learned author of 'Tax-Payment in Kind in Travancore' has observed, the mint was a great power for good in the hands of the king. When a nation in whose country production is cheaper, tries to connect itself with another and competes with its produce in its indigenous markets, the king of the latter country reduces the value of the current coins either by procuring cheap bullion or by mixing cheaper metal (alloy), the value of the standard coin, of course, remaining the same. The food-selling classes knowing the depreciated value

of the coin, give less than the usual quantity, which not being sufficient for the purpose of the foreign dealers, compels them to raise the value of their articles. It may be mentioned that this depreciation is so adjusted as to make it impossible for the foreigners to sell at a lower price than their indigenous brethren. The indigenous dealers, too, will have to raise their prices having like the rest to buy their food at the enhanced rates. This would apparently leave their foreign brethren at a continued advantage. But this advantage is countervailed, as it were, by the king investing the gain he has received by cheap minting—which is a kind of unearned increment to the state revenue—with the handicapped indigenous classes, and enabling them to sell their articles at a rate not higher than those of the foreign dealers. If such an unfair competition be started by a section of one's own society under the operation of blind and ignorant selfishness, and an indigenous industrial class raise the price of its labour—which however rarely happens—then, too, the king can reduce the value of the coins and invest the mintage profit with other classes. The mint is, he continues, 'the quickest means by which all classes of the society could be kept beyond harm by any who would be disturber of the social cosmos and equal rights secured for all. Can this advantage be recommended to be given up for gaining monetary peace, which is supposed to be securable by the universalisation of currency. But this is a chimera. 'Though' says Lord Goschen in 'The Theory of the Foreign Exchanges', 'one system of coinage were adopted for all countries, claims on foreign countries would nevertheless vary in price and would still be either at a premium or at a discount, according as there happened to be at any moment a greater or less demand on the part of such as desired to transmit funds abroad, as compared with the supply offered by such as had outstandings abroad which they were entitled to draw in'. It may happen that the different



foreign countries have identical currencies, but the essence of the operation is the transfer of money power from one country to the other. ' (Tales Cambist). Otherwise we should have a multitude of parcels of coin flowing from one country, passing in transit a similar multitude coming from the other country, and the mint of the respective countries would be constantly employed melting and recoinng foreign money. To avoid all these risks and inconveniences, the foreign bill of exchange was invented, and it may be traced back to the middle ages and probably to classical antiquity.' So the elimination of the currencies of the Indian States cannot solve the problem of the exchanges, which are commonly believed to adversely affect the interests of the producers. Indeed, even in British India or in other Indian states, where one currency prevails, it has not disappeared. The introduction of some such system in India as that of the Latin Union, by means of which the countries comprised in it agreed that their coins should pass concurrently in their respective countries, will certainly be a better solution than the doing away of the currencies of the Indian states. Another convenience to be devised would be to create such instruments of credit as were proposed at the recent Financial Conference at Brussels.

The crux of the question, however, lies in the economic effects of the operation of exchanges. Although it is an economic law that the exports of a country are paid for by its imports, account has to be taken of invisible imports. As Nicholson says, ' We have to take account of payments in connection with freights, stock exchange securities, the advance of loans at the time at which the funds are remitted, the interest on the loans, the repayment of the principal, the expenses of Government abroad, or, conversely, receipts of tribute, the expenses of foreign residents, the obligations of banks, the profits on commissions of various kinds and other minor elements.'

All these transactions cannot be done without resort to exchange. Although there are only a few Indian states which have to pay tribute to the Government of India, there are many more of them which have to receive payments from it. Presumably this would be in the British currency. So also the balance between exports and imports may be, to a certain extent, paid in the coins of that currency. These will overflow in the treasuries of the states, if not in the pockets of their subjects. And it being a larger currency and token one, may, by reason of its utility and under Gresham's Law, replace the state currency, which, it is assumed, will have to be of an intrinsic value, as outside the state its value will be that of the metal in it. And even if the use of a foreign currency would be made penal in a state, its subjects will be at the mercy of the money-changers.

The aftermath of the war has shown that, do Governments what they may, the rate of exchange will follow the laws of supply and demand. It is, however, possible to check the profiteering tendencies of the exchange banker or smaller money exchangers, by resorting to similar operations as are undertaken, say, by the Government of India in selling Councils or Reverse Councils. An operation of this nature will not be difficult for the States, for Indian States generally export more goods than what they import, including bullion and British currency. This happens both on account of the raw materials, including food-stuffs, which they have for export and also because of the large investments which the states and their subjects have in British India. The result of this would be that usually the demand for exchanging British rupees for state coins would be much larger than the demand for exchanging state coins into British currency. Even if the stock of state coins is exhausted new ones can be coined by purchasing silver with the

British Indian coins in the stock. On the other hand, if the stock of British coins is exhausted, a State has only to melt some of its coins and to sell the silver for British Indian rupees and thus meet the demand. The loss, if any, in such transaction can be met out of the profits on coinage, which should certainly be to a certain extent kept as a reserve for such a purpose. It will not be an entirely idle reserve, but a large portion of it may earn interest by judicious investments. Subject to such a reserve being kept and the State offering to do exchange currencies to a certain extent, the operations of the money market will be kept in check. An independent coinage by a state presupposes that its freedom of export and import of precious metals from Indian states outside India shall not be restricted by the operation of the British Sea Customs Duty Act. Coming now to the practical aspect of the question, it is to be remembered that Hyderabad alone has a complete system of currency, consisting of gold, silver and copper coins and the paper currency. They alone are the legal tender in the state. Owing to the compactness of the territory and the strict enforcement of the currency laws, the Hyderabad currency has not had to suffer inroads of the foreign currency. It has its exchange problems, but the state controls it by means of the manipulation of the currency.

Travancore has a silver coin called the Chakram, but it has been driven out of circulation and is only used for accounts purposes. The main reason for its having gone out of circulation is due to the fact that Travancore exports more raw materials than it imports, and its people are not rich enough to meet the balance of trade in its favour by manufactures or to make investments abroad, which would have counterbalanced the balance of trade in its favour, and the absence of any penalty against the use of foreign coins.

Some other states which have their own coins, have closed their mints, which has led to the

appreciation of their coins which are still current. Some states have altogether closed their mints and some for a period only. The States of these classes found minting to be an operation resulting in loss and so gave it up under the immediate economic pressure. The sea-board being until lately entirely under the control of the Government of India, the States had no liberty as regards the transactions in precious metals, from the time they were controlled by the British Government. The disparity between the value of bullion and coins, the rise in the value of silver and the freeing of the sea-board to a larger number of States, therefore, have revived the interest of the Indian states in the currency problem. It is gradually being realised that, apart from the economics of the coinage, a currency has its own economic advantages, which no Government could afford to ignore. The successful and useful propagation of a currency is not an easy matter. It is one of the most intricate, and owing to its ramifications, a vital question to the economic life of a state. It is, therefore, only such States as can command expert advice that may aspire to have their own currencies. The main disadvantage from which any currency suffers is with regard to its intrinsic appreciation or depreciation, apart from those happenings, which are due to local and temporary causes. To avert or modify the effects of the former results, the existence of a reserve and banking facilities by a State, or control agency would be highly useful. A reserve can be built up out of the profits on coinage.

On the other hand, a State which has its own currency has many semi-economic as well as purely economic advantages. Among the former, the following are the most important :—

(a) Freedom from the effects of a manipulated currency, brought about to meet the requirements of the British Government and (b) a similar escape from the other acts of the Legislature of British India affecting its currency.



As regards the purely economic advantage, the profit from the coinage is not a mean one. The greatest profit is derived from a paper currency which, if left within bounds, is a most advantageous form of currency. Then the profits on the gold, silver and other coins of baser metals will also be considerable. It will all be retained by the State minting its own coin. But the consideration which should weigh most in favour of a state having its own currency, is the power which it gives to the latter to afford convenience to its subject in the daily economy of their lives. When the ryots in the Punjab grew suspicious of the paper currency, the Government of India at once minted a gold mohur, while the Governments of Indian states looked helplessly on. The appreciation of the British Indian rupee in its ratio to

the British sterling in the nineties of the last century and the recent change of its basis by linking it to gold, which resulted in adding to the burdens of the ryots, and among others in causing depreciation of their hoards, and lately of the investments, respectively, have equally affected such Indian states as have adopted the British Indian currency. The problem of a currency of its own has no interest to a State which is not more or less compact in area. Such States as by agreement with the Paramount Power have permanently given up their currency, have temporarily lost their interest in it. Those states which can resume their coinage and which still possess one, cannot but have an abiding interest in the question.

## HINDU LAW REFORM

I. BY MR. T. V. SESHAGIRI AIYAR, M.L.A.,

*Rd. Judge, Madras High Court.*

**T**HERE is a general feeling among thoughtful men that portions of Hindu Law as administered by our Courts are not in keeping with the spirit of the times we live in. Excepting a few ultra conservative thinkers, every one recognises that it is no disrespect to the memory of the promulgators of the great system of law we have inherited that we should attempt to reform some parts of it. The Hindu Law which we follow is not wholly as Manu enjoined, nor as the later Smriti writers have reproduced it. For the most part, what we follow to-day is what has been evolved out of the Smritis by great commentators who with a view to engraft new ideas in accordance with the custom that had grown up in their times have attributed to the language of the Smritis meanings which, in some cases at least, neither logic nor grammar warrants. Again in different parts of India different rules of succession are observed in

consequence of the interpretation suggested by certain commentators. Unfortunately even this mode of developing Hindu Law by means of commentaries has for centuries now ceased to influence us. The result is that the accumulated experience of ages and the growing sentiment of the people find no channel for their operation in reforming Hindu Law. Without intending to be exhaustive, I may refer to a few instances in which the existing law is out of tune with the ideas of the people.

In the case of sisters and their sons I do not know whether there are any persons governed by Hindu law who regard the place assigned to them in the order of succession as justifiable. Their very existence as Bhandus is attributable to judicial decisions.

Then there is the question of a widow's interest in her husband's property. Under the existing law the widow is only a care-taker for somebody,

Her life is rendered miserable by the onslaughts of reversioners whom the husband never cared to recognise or encourage. All this indignity and inhumanity is permitted because of a text which declares that women have no Swatantryam. Is it compatible with the progress of civilisation and with our growing desire that women should help us and co-operate with us in all matters political, social, and religious, that this ancient text should be allowed to rob them of the full ownership of their husband's properties? It may be that a via media will have to be found between the school of thought which desires that the widow should have no ownership and the other which would confer on her absolute rights.

Then again, even if the present law is to be allowed to continue, there is the question of alienation by limited owners. On the one hand

the purchaser after a considerable lapse of time is required to prove every item of consideration which led to the alienation. On the other, the life owner with a view to benefit herself as best she can, undersells the property and introduces fictional considerations in the deed of transfer. Uncertainty and perjury are rampant in litigations of this kind. The whole society becomes demoralised by it. It is time that a serious attempt is made to place the law on this subject on a satisfactory footing. I have not exhausted the whimsicalities of Hindu Law. I have given only a few instances.

Now that we have Legislatures which are believed to be representative of the people, the time has come for taking up the task of reconstructing portions of Hindu Law.

## II. BY MR. K. N. RAJAGOPAL, B.A., (HONS.)

MR. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar invites our attention to the topic of Hindu Law Reforms.

He has not as yet told us what exactly his proposals are. But it will not be premature to offer the reader a few general considerations on the subject. In fact, before specific points are sought to be legislated upon, it is our duty to examine their relations to society in its various aspects and to take a careful estimate of their tendencies.

In the first place, we must remember that the Hindu social system, so peculiar in its characteristics, is intimately bound and interpenetrated with its legal system. We cannot change the one without affecting the other. The very perception of the need for progress in legal matters indicate that disruptive influences are at work to split up and destroy the social system as it is known to us.

The corner-stone of the Hindu social system is the institution of the joint-family. The vast

majority of the Hindus are governed by the law relating to the joint-family in the Mitakshara form. The one outstanding feature of the joint-family is its exclusion of the childless widows of undivided co-partners from inheritance. Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar, as we understand him, has something to say on this matter.

Another subject that may very well engage the solicitude of a keen reformer is the law of marriage. The texts prohibit intermarriage between sagotras, and between sapindas within seven degrees on the paternal side and within five degrees on the maternal side. Besides, there are the well-known restrictions on inter-caste marriages. Widow-remarriage has long been blessed with legislative sanction, but the people have not so far shown themselves very eager to avail themselves of the benefits of the Widows' Re-marriage Act, 1856. A hundred texts cannot alter a fact, the commentators of the Hindu Law books used to say. So we have marriage between



first cousins where the parents are related as brother and sister, though the parties are sapindas of the third degree. But by some curious process of reasoning, as Mayne observes, a man may not marry his mother's sister's daughter or his father's brother's daughter. In the latter case however there is the further ground of prohibition of the same gotra. We have also marriage between a man and his own sister's daughter; though the consanguinity here is startlingly strong. Perhaps it is well that custom has relaxed the primitive rigour of the texts, for otherwise, as Mayne computes, a man will be debarred from marrying 2,121 possible relations, not counting the indeterminate number of sagotras! Still further complications arise when a boy born in one gotra is adopted into a family of another gotra. We must not omit to notice the prohibitions based upon common pravaras, *i.e.*, the other three ancestors of the rishi who gives the name to one's gotra being the same as those of another rishi founding a different clan.

A third feature of the Hindu law is its distinctive order of succession. The direct heirs of a man are his issue only to three generations. A great-great-grandson is postponed to collateral relations like the brother, brother's son, etc., and to certain ascendants and their issue. Again, a cognate relation, however near, is postponed to an agnate relation, however remote; this is in the Mitakshara Law. A sister's son fares worse in the order of succession than a descendant in the male line of the 14th degree of an agnate ascendant of the 14th degree; the relationship may be yet more remote,—it must be only clearly established. Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar desires some amelioration in this respect also.

It is not difficult to understand how all these characteristics owe their existence and support to the joint-family system. A childless widow is given only maintenance. That is because the interests of the family are the paramount consideration. Her husband's brother is likely to have

a large family. He has more need of the property than she has. Why then give her property which she may not use for the benefit of the family, or at best merely spend for her own private pleasure? Private enjoyment is not for one who is born in this world of duties, in this Karma-bhoomi.

So again, the prohibitions in marriage are directed against the possibility of a man thinking of the women folk with whom he is in intimate daily intercourse as his possible wives. Sociologists will say that nearness of blood produces sexual repulsion. We rather think that the repulsion is due to familiarity. Sociologists also aver that cross-breeding between different stocks is very conducive to the improvement of future generations. But, unfortunately, they do not say how distant the blood ought to be. As remote as possible, we suppose. At any rate the restrictions in the Hindu Law are directed against inter-marriage between people who can possibly grow up together. The prohibition as regards sagotras, scholars trace to an age when it was the custom to seek for girls, by capture or by purchase, outside the clan or the community.

In the order of succession, as we noticed above, a brother is nearer to the deceased than the latter's issue in the fifth degree (or fourth generation from him). There is nothing strange in this when we remember that the family property was originally indivisible. The head of the family was merely the manager; and who the more fit person to succeed, the brother, or a young descendant of a remote degree? Similarly blood-relations on the female side were excluded because they belonged to another family, the family of their male relations.

Now, when one says that these peculiarities must be removed or materially modified, one assumes that the joint-family is passing away from India, and that the considerations that ought to guide one in the reform are merely those of natural affection. We shall attempt to define the real value of these two assumptions.

It is a matter of fact that individualism is gaining ground in our social life. The joint family is fast ceasing to be a concrete reality. The patriarchal conception tends more and more to be enshrined in the hearts of the lovers of the past as the ideal of a remote age, from which the imperfect present has wrongly but irrevocably seceded. We actually dare think of our wives as more entitled to our earnings than our father or brother. We allow ourselves to shed a tear of pity over the lot of the poor young widows, though statistics and austere sociological wisdom may insistently tell us that young widows are better to live in society than old spinsters. The widow is no more a soul to be dedicated to piety, but a human being full of life, to be given property without limitations on it, to be given chances of a re-marriage and of a fresh lease of this wordly life. Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar has not said so in as many words, but though he merely hints that the widows' estate should be made subject to less burdens, we fail to see how it can be done without giving her full liberty of alienation; and that would implicate all we have said above as to her being weaned away from the Hindu sacramental ideals.

But, though individualism is making itself felt, it will not be true to say that our society has as yet thrown overboard its ancient conception of social units existing as units, without further subdivision. The submission of the self to the good of a larger circle, the self abnegation which is the bedrock of the Hindu civilisation, still continues to dominate the lives of the Hindus. We have only to make a tour of the villages to see how little indeed western individualism has penetrated into the life of our people. The English educated minority alone have been in any measure affected by the new spirit. A very strong and influential minority this is; but even in its ranks are found people, who are inclined to take western civilisation and ideals with a

grain of salt. We know how contented women in the villages are, with their devotion and single-mindedness, with their simple desires easily fulfilled, and their rounds of duties well performed. We would at least counsel deliberation and caution, before we lead them forth into the garish lime-light of feminism.

After all, our society, like any other, is in a state of flux. Let it decide well or ill, wisely or unwisely—but leave it to society to decide its own fate. Let the body of the Hindus determine their own future destiny, what use they intend to make of their peculiarly spiritual civilization. But so long as we are in a state of transition, it is not good to fix particular problems into formulas, and in the guise of helping a people in its forward march, to stereotype certain aspects of its progress into moulds borrowed from alien nations, alien in culture; for once thus fixed by extra-social legislation, the Hindu society will soon find itself hampered rather than aided in the evolution of its particular purpose in the service of Humanity.

When we said that the second assumption of the reformer is that we all desire to regulate our legal relations on the basis of natural affection, we assumed, along with him, that there is such an absolute quantity as 'natural affection.' But this is not so. Our affections are as much influenced by our surroundings as any other human qualities. The villagers, long bred up in the unbroken tradition of the joint family, have 'natural' affections much different from those of an English educated graduate. It is not unoften that a father dies leaving a son by a first wife, and a childless second wife. We know of many such instances where the father on his deathbed merely asked his son to provide for and revere his step-mother. The father could have easily partitioned his property and given his share to his second wife; and even a partition is unnecessary in the case of



self-acquired property. But, in spite of the proverbial hold of a second wife on her husband's heart, he rarely makes any special provision for her.

So also our 'natural affection' for our daughters must be nearly as much as our love for our sons. Here again we find that in the villages it is not so. A daughter is one to be literally *given* away. She belongs from her marriage to her husband's family. She shares in the goods of the husband, in this world and in the next. She is his partner in all his joys and sorrows. What concern has her father with her? We shall find that many fathers will open their eyes wide in wonder if we tell them that they should give in inheritance as much to a daughter as to a son. We are not sure that even English-educated people go to this extent of reform.

Of course Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar has not pleaded for equal treatment of daughters and sons in this respect. But it strikes us that this will follow logically from the supposition of the disappearance of the joint family and the expansion of individualism.

While we are about it, what exactly is this individualism? Is it merely a high-sounding label to cover the bottles which contain the essence of the English laws and the western civilization? Or is it a principle to be logically applied, and to be fearlessly followed in all its implications? For we shall see presently that the ideas denoted by the word are by no means quite clear.

If we are then to borrow second-hand (we shall not say beg, for it sounds so impolite) ideas from another people, why not follow the precepts of the Prophet Muhammad? He, in His wisdom, gave shares in the inheritance to the daughters, to the grand-daughters, to the mother, the father and the grandparents; to all kinds and classes of kindred, regardless of their being agnates or cognates. This Law appears to us as a much better realisation of 'natural' affections than any

western code of law. He interpreted individualism in a more logical manner than the westerners. But even He, could give females only a half-share as compared with males. And the Sunnis quickly whittled away the new rights of women into almost nothing, merely throwing some scraps of the inheritance to the females specifically mentioned in the Koran. Very much the same policy has been followed in the Dayabhaga school of the Hindu Law.

Our tacit assumption that Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar seeks to import western principles into our legal system is perhaps not quite justifiable. But his resting his plea for reform on such misleading words as 'natural affection' must be responsible if we have made any error. We do not believe, however, that we have been far wrong in our understanding of his objects, for he is only one of the many modern innovators (no harm in that word) who draw their inspiration from western culture.

To conclude, our aim in this paper is not to give an opinion for or against reform,—for that can be done only on the merits of each step proposed, and here we have no particular piece of legislation to discuss,—but to indicate the matters that must be kept in mind before any reform is thought of. Giving due weight to the above considerations, it is also our duty to help the progress of the Hindu culture as far as lies in our power; to remove individual hardships which weigh too heavily upon some of our fellows, without at the same time being necessary for the purpose of our racial evolution. But we must think many times before we raise aloft the banner of hazy individualism and discard the age-long Hindu principle of self-control and self-abnegation. And, before all, we shall be wrong not to carry along with us the large body of our non English educated brethren, who still cling to their joint-family and other institutions which have stood the acid test of all devouring time.

# Mr. Gandhi through English Eyes.

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[Many accounts of Mr. Gandhi and his doings are appearing in the English Press. Some time ago we published Mr. Ben Spoor's impressions. Since then Col. Wedgwood has written to the *London Nation*; while Sir Valentine Chirol of the *Times* and Mr. Percival Landon, Special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, have also written at length on the character and influence of Mr. Gandhi. They describe him as the most remarkable and dangerous man now living and they attribute his success to the purity of his motives and the genuineness of his convictions. While condemning his movement, they are yet unanimous in characterising him as the most forceful personality of the day. Ed. I.R.]

## I. SIR VALENTINE CHIROL

OF his earnestness and sincerity no one who listens to him can entertain much doubt, nor of his childlike simplicity if he can persuade himself that all those behind and beside him are inspired by his own idealism.

With a perfect command of accurate and lucid English, and in a voice as persuasive as his whole manner is gentleness itself, he explains, more in pity than in anger, that India has at last recovered her own soul through the fiery ordeal which Hindus and Mahomedans had alike undergone in the Punjab, and the perfect act of faith which the 'Khilafat' meant for all Mahomedans.

Not, however, by violence, but by her unique 'soul-force,' would she attain to 'Swaraj,' and, purged of the degrading influences of British rule and Western civilisation, return to the ancient ways of Vedic wisdom, and to the peace which was hers before alien domination divided and exploited her people.—*Times*.

## II. MR. PERCIVAL LANDON

No one understands Mr. Gandhi's Crusade,' said a sage man to me in Bombay, 'who does not know Mr. Gandhi.' What I have to say, therefore, may probably seem impossible to those who have never met this amazing and dangerous man, who in solitude bestrides the field of Indian sedition like a Colossus.

In truth he is alone. He does not seem to need lieutenants or councillors, who embarrass him with their practical suggestions as much as

Mr. Gandhi bewilders them by his pure Utopianism. Whether they remain or desert him makes no difference; his appeal is to the lowest of the population, and his strength lies precisely in the fact that his teaching is a visionary reconstruction of the Golden Age based upon universal loving-kindness. He preaches to the heart and despises the head. And, therefore, he has no parallel in the world to-day, either in the semi-divine character of his influence or in the magnitude of the disaster which will attend his success.

Seated on the floor in a small, barely-furnished room, I found the Mahatma, clad in rough, white homespun. He turned up to me, with a smile of welcome, the typical head of the idealist—the skull well formed and finely modelled; the face narrowing to the pointed chin. His eyes are deep, kindly, and entirely sane; his hair is greying a little over the forehead. He speaks gently and well, and in his voice is a note of detachment which lends uncanny force to the strange doctrines that he has given up his life to teach.

One could not imagine him ruffled, hasty, or resentful; not the least part of the moral supremacy in his crusade is his universally-known willingness to turn the other cheek to the smiter. From the first it must be realised that consciously his teaching has been influenced by that of Christ, for whom his admiration has long been the almost dominating feature of his spiritual life, and probably the external character of his daily activity has been modelled also upon Him,



He made a curious observation during our conversation, which throws some light upon his interpretation of the Galilean Teacher. In answer to a remark of mine that Christ strictly abstained from interfering in politics, Mr. Gandhi answered, '*I do not think so; but, if you are right, the less Christ in that was He.*'

Listening to Mr. Gandhi, one was again and again reminded of the beautiful vision of a world of self-less kindness that Gautama inculcated twenty-four centuries ago—a world that never existed, a vision which has left human nature unchanged.

Courteous and refined he remained to the end, but implacable he remained also, and I could only sum up my impression of my visit in the conviction that a pure idealist, whom the people of India revered as a god, must, through the very qualities which had enthroned him, end by delivering them over to bloodshed and misery.—*Daily Telegraph.*

### III. COL. WEDGWOOD, M.P.

India is drifting into anarchy. To understand what is now happening in India one must first understand Mahatma Gandhi, and then the state of the clay which he is moulding. The saint or Mahatma has India at his feet; the "intelligentsia" differs from him in private, rarely in public; property differs from him and trembles; the Government, any Government, differs from him, and thinks it best to—wait.

He looks so physically frail and weak and small that one could carry him as one does a child and he makes one feel like that towards him. He is as serious as any child and as pure. All this has captured India. One does not feel it blasphemous to compare him with Christ and Christ, too, one suspects, gave infinite trouble to reasonable and respectable followers. For Gandhi is a philosophic anarchist—a new edition of Tolstoy without Tolstoy's past and a Tolstoy who has long since subdued Nature and shrunk into simplicity.—*Nation.*

### IV. MR. C. F. ANDREWS

... In Mahatma Gandhi we have a volcanic personality, a moral genius of the first order, who has revealed to us all the hidden power of a living freedom from within, who has taught us to depend not on any external resources but on ourselves. My whole heart goes out to his appeal and I have a great hope that, along this path, independence will be reached at last.

... I come back from this method of doubtful evolution to the more incisive method of Mahatma Gandhi: I can see that he cuts at the very root of the disease. He is like a surgeon performing an operation rather than a physician administering soothing drugs. And as his surgeon's knife cuts deep, we can see at once the recovery of the patient beginning to take place—the recovery of self-respect and manhood and independence.....Such personalities as that of Mahatma Gandhi which can inspire a whole nation are rare indeed in human history.

### V. BY "D. P."

What kind of man is this who excites equal extremes of affection and obloquy; who rejects Western civilisation and denounces our modern improvements—factories, railways, telephones, hospitals—as either futile or Satanic?

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi is 51, with greying hair, unflinchingly truthful eyes, and slim, eloquent hands. His voice is low-pitched and monotonous yet pleasing, whether in Gujarati or English.....

'G's' genius lies in making lost causes live. To his disarming sweetness of a saint he adds all the arts of the advocate. In South Africa he matched even General Smuts. They sparred for years over Indian claims without quarrelling....

The key to Gandhi and Gandhism is wrapped in his self-revealing sentence: 'Most religious men I have met are politicians in disguise: I, however, who wear the guise of a politician, am at heart a religious man'—*The Daily Mail.*

# THE FUTURE OF FORESTRY IN INDIA

BY

MR L. A. KRISHNA IYER, B.A.

**F**ORESTS are a national asset, and their conservation forms one of the primary duties of a state. A country which has the foresight to preserve from destruction the area of forests necessary for its well-being, has a great advantage over a country which has allowed destruction too far.

## FORESTRY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND INDIA.

The early history of Forestry in India is much enshrouded in obscurity. Unlike India and England, the technical education of the people has more rapidly advanced in other European countries like France and Germany. This was the outcome of judicious action on the part of the state. It has been publicly stated in France and Germany that it is held as an essential duty of the State, not only to second, but also to stimulate and direct the efforts of private enterprise. (*Mr. Schlich's Manual of Forestry, Volume 1*).

Englishmen had been averse to such action and state assistance was regarded with distrust and disfavour. Yet it would have been the duty of a wise Government to counteract the folly of classes when it threatens the general interest. Further, state assistance is called for more in the case of forests than in most other industries. Owing to a lack of a definite forest policy in England, the destruction of forests went to such an alarming extent, that the Forest Committee has recently recommended the expenditure of £15,000,000 on the re-afforestation of Great Britain. A change of sentiment has come about under the stress of war necessities. Leading men and journals have called for state action so as to prevent the ruining of many of the British industries, threatened by the development of scientific research and judicious state action on the Continent.

India has also the same story to tell. Whatever attempts were made by the Government of India and the Local Governments were rendered abortive

by Lord Morley's Despatch of 1910 which laid down :—"The results of the attempts to create new industries were not of a character to remove his doubts as to the utility of state effort in this direction, unless it were limited to industrial instruction and avoided the semblance of a commercial venture. The policy which he was prepared to sanction was that state funds might be expended upon familiarising the people with such improvements in the method of production, as modern science and the practice of European countries could suggest. Further than this, the State should not go." (Indian Industrial Commission Report of 1916-18. p. 78 79).

Since then the views of the Government and the public have undergone a radical change under the stress and strain of the late war conditions which have led to a definite adoption of the policy of State participation in industrial development.

The point now at issue is whether the present state aid given for the dissemination of technical education (Forestry) is adequate to meet the ever-increasing future demands of the country for the development of forest resources.

In this connection, the example of England will give the lead to India. In the United Kingdom it was found that the Forest School at Cooper's Hill was inadequate. This was followed by a commencement of forest education at Edinburgh and in the Durham College of Science. It was found from experience that none of the existing establishments was in a position to teach scientific and systematic forestry as understood in France and Germany, where the profession was brought to the highest state of development. The most convenient plan was therefore found to be to attach that school to an existing establishment such as the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Edinburgh and Dublin. There instruction in the



auxiliary sciences was already provided for, and all that had to be done was the establishment of chairs of forestry and special courses of forest botany.

Though the Government of India recognised the necessity for determined action, nothing was practically done for the conservation of Indian forests until Lord Dalhousie took up the matter and appointed Sir D. Brandis as Inspector-General of Forests. To him redounds the credit of introducing systematic forest management. He was handicapped very much for want of staff. This was, however, averted by getting batches of Englishmen trained in England and on the continent, and by the establishment of a Forest College at Dehra Dun. This latter is soon expected to become an Imperial Forest College, while Provincial Colleges (Madras and Bombay) will train up Subordinate Forest Officers.

The above-given account is an epitome of the progress made for the dissemination of Forestry. Unfortunately, public opinion in India has not yet crystallised into any definite shape of expression as to the future course of Forestry.

As Sir Claude Hill pointed out, there are two avenues along which advance should be made:—  
1. Development of education in the higher branches of Forestry. The present method of imparting instruction through the Imperial Forest College at Dehra Dun and the Provincial Forest Colleges will not be adequate to meet the demands of the Empire. Here we have to follow the example of the English Universities, and benefit by them. Burma, however, holds the palm, as Sir Harcourt Butler made a public pronouncement in 1917 thus:—"I am one of those who hopes there will be a Forest faculty in the future University of Burma." (*Indian Forester* 1917, p. 151.)

The recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission have not come up into line with the above momentous pronouncement. They say,

"We think that, for the present, advanced training in Forestry can most economically be dealt with by the Imperial Forest College at Dehra Dun which was visited by some of our members, and we hope that a certain number, of students, after taking a specialised B. Sc., course described later, will proceed for higher training in Forestry to that school. But we should not like to exclude the possibility of developing in Bengal at some future time training in, at any rate, some of the special branches of Forestry." (*Calcutta University Commission Report Vol. 2 p. 149-150*)

That day will be a red letter day when each of the Indian Universities, following in the wake of Burma and the United-Kingdom, establishes chairs of Forestry and special courses of Forest Botany.

2. The other avenue along which advance is desirable is a promotion in the public mind of greater interest in forest matters and a greater appreciation of the value of the property which India has in her inexhaustible reserves of forests. This can be effected by making the journals of the land readable to the layman and through the Publicity Bureau as in Madras.

## Ayesha's Triumph.

BY

MR. AKSHAY KUMAR MUKERJI, M.B.

[This is a free metrical rendering of the final scene in the late Ray Bankim Chandra Chatterji Bahadur's famous novel "The Chieftains Daughter."]

Back from the nuptials of her father's foe

—The captive once she had to life restored

By her devoted care, whom she adored

As her unwedded lord for weal or woe—

She gained her own apartment with steps slow

And racked with memories old till late at night

Sat leaning 'gainst a window whence no light

Cast on the stronghold's moat its nightly glow.

Sunk in dejection, grave she pondered long :

Maddened at length by fear of woes in store

A ring with poison hid within its core.

Took off her finger—checked the impulse—  
thought

To suffer calmly was a woman's lot—

And on the moat the deadly trinket hung.

# THE BOY SCOUTS ASSOCIATION

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BY

SIR RIDER HAGGARD, K.B.E.

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H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, the Chief Scout for Wales, appeals in the "Daily Telegraph" for a sum of £200,000 or more to meet the necessary expenses of the Boy Scouts Association.

Why should the public, even in these hard times, give an instant and a most generous response to this appeal?

As one known to many Boys throughout the world and who is humbly connected with the movement, I will try very briefly to answer the question.

First of all, what is this Organisation which since the year 1907 has grown to such vast proportions principally as a result of the inspiration and energy of the Chief Scout, Sir Robert Baden-Powell?

It is an organisation which aims at including as many as possible of the lads of the Empire, and its object, broadly, is to inculcate in the hearts of those lads all that is high, honourable, pure, good and true by instruction, discipline (especially self-discipline), and the observation of natural things in the open air. Every Scout promises on his honour—that noble, far-reaching but indefinable quality—to do his duty to his God and his King, to help others in every way possible, and to obey the orders of those set over him. In short its gospel is that of Love, Service and Charity, as opposed to that other gospel of Hate, Cruelty, Destruction, and all that these entail, which is now at its evil work in so many parts of this tormented world. The means by which these aims are advanced are very simple. Boys are joined into bands and companies according to their ages under trained Scoutmasters. The qualities of imagination and romance which, however much they may be sneered at, are great qualities, are encouraged in their hearts, thereby teaching them

to love all high and nobly-aimed adventure and to seek it throughout the earth. Here it should be borne in mind that without imagination and romance the Empire would never have become what it is and that already, in large or small degree, they exist in every lad. The Association draws them out and nurtures them, that is all. Loyalty, another great quality, is also taught to the budding Scout, loyalty to the God who made him, loyalty to the King and all who serve under him; loyalty to the cause of the stricken and the suffering, loyalty to the country that bred him and the principles of his ancestors which have lifted it into the forefront of the nations, and lastly, but not least, loyalty to the best instincts of his soul as opposed to the baser instincts of his flesh.

Such, as I think, are the principal objects of the Boy Scouts Association, and I believe that all right-minded men and women will agree that they are good.

Now what has this movement achieved up to the present time?

It has made clean, courageous men of thousands who otherwise might have drifted, and in many instances would have drifted into very different courses. During the war some twenty-three thousand of Land and Sea Scouts took a share in the protection of their country, and all who saw them at their work, as I have done, must be proud of it and them. More than one hundred thousand who once were Scouts, or Scoutmasters served under arms and of these, ten thousand died doing their duty. To certain of these ex-Scouts came great and well-deserved honours. Who, for instance, can read without emotion the tale of John Travers Cornwell V.C., who indeed was faithful unto death, and because "he might be



wanted" stayed by his gun upon the "Chester" amongst the fallen, although himself mortally wounded and dying? And he is but a sample of many, known and unknown.

That is what the Scouts have done, or some of it, in our recent struggle to escape destruction and slavery, which owing to the mercy of God and the ancient steadfastness of our race in the end we did escape.

But should the Association, therefore, rest upon its oars and cease from training youth to "be prepared"? Are all the perils past? Have England and the Empire no further need for courage and devotion? Surely the answer is that it cannot rest because perils are not past, but still threaten from every quarter. Whatever some may think, while man is man there will be wars, and the jealousies, ambitions and desire for plunder from which war springs; for, alas! the League of Nations with its high ideals does not yet control the earth.

Still in considering this aspect of the Association, namely that, in the future as it has done in the past, its numbers may be called upon to assist in the defence of their hearths and homes do not let us make a mistake. Do not let us suppose that its objects or its principles are primarily connected with war. On the contrary, if the fundamental doctrines that guide the boy scout prevailed, there would be no war. Primarily the Organisation is one to promote human kindness and thereby to prevent war which arises from human hatred.

Another of its objects is to tie the Empire together in the bonds of brotherhood. In short it interprets the spirit of the old Roman maxim and by being ready for battle, yet seeks peace and thus helps to ensure it.

Moreover there are sundry kinds of war, of which perhaps the worst at the present moment is that which is known as "class-hatred", whereof the most terrible results that the world has ever

seen, are to be found in Russia at this hour. Let us face the facts. There are many who wish to extend this dreadful system to our own and other lands; further they have great power, being like all revolutionaries, active and unscrupulous. Also they have their own organisations for influencing youth. Have not many of us seen vanloads of children travelling the streets of London, waving red flags and singing songs whereof probably they do not know the meaning, many of which children within a few years will grow up into confirmed communists, sworn to the overthrow of law, order and religion, as it is intended that they should do.

The Boy Scouts are not of this fell *h...* They are sworn to the maintenance of law, order and religion, and for this reason their Organisation has a claim upon the support of every upright man and woman.

Because this is so, also, it has many enemies, secret and declared, most of them secret. As we have learned of late, the Bolsheviks know the power of money and supply it without stint to promote unrest and revolution. Cannot we do the same to promote peace and contentment, international, national and private?

Let us never forget that the Boy Scouts Association, by educating youth to tread the paths of righteousness when it attains to manhood and exercises the authority of citizenship, is no mean public insurance against terrible and world-wide evils, and remembering this, let us be prepared to pay the premium on that insurance.

This is the truth and no good ever came of blinking the truth however fashionable this may be—and never was it more so. Therefore I submit to all who agree with this statement that almost as a matter of duty they should support H. R. H. the Prince of Wales' Appeal on behalf of the Boy Scouts Association to the utmost of their power.

# THE REFORMED LEGISLATURES

## THE COUNCIL OF STATE

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### LABOUR LAWS

On the 21st February a number of Government motions were passed.

Mr. A. C. Chatterjee moved the first of the seven resolutions on International Labour Conference, which Sir Thomas Holland successfully piloted through the Legislative Assembly. Mr. Chatterjee spoke on each of the recommendations of the Washington Conference which were passed one by one.

### THE MUSLIM DEPUTATION

In the afternoon Mr. Bhurgri moved his resolution regarding the Muslim deputation to England to attend the Near East Conference. Sir William Vincent said that the selection of such men as H. H. the Aga Khan, Mr. Hasan Ali and Mr. Chotani (assisted by Dr. Ansari) must be unexceptionable to Muhammadans.

After hearing the Home Member Mr. Bhurgri withdrew his motion.

### FISCAL AUTONOMY

Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas moved a resolution



MR. LALUBHAI SAMALDAS

urging the grant of fiscal autonomy for India which was passed with a slight amendment.

### INDIANS OVERSEAS

Mr. L. S. Mehta moved for the creation of a separate department to watch and safe-guard the interests of Indians abroad. The resolution was withdrawn on the assurance of Sir George Barnes that it was his intention to move a bill for the

appointment of agents of the Government in different countries.

### THE BUDGET

Mr. Hailey then presented the Imperial Budget which is discussed in detail in another page in this issue.

### COW-SLAUGHTER

On the 3rd March Lala Sukbhir Singh moved a resolution for the prohibition of cow-slaughter. Mr. Sarma suggested that moral suasion was more appropriate than legislative sanction. The motion was lost.

### MR. SASTRI ON THE USE OF FIRE ARMS

The Hon. Mr. Sastri moved that the Criminal Procedure Code and other enactments be so amended as to ensure the minimum of suffering in the suppression of riots. He made out some important conditions restricting the use of fire-arms to emergency cases and under due authority. The motion was defeated.

### POLITICAL PRISONERS

On the 8th March Sirdar Jogendra Singh moved for the release of persons detained without trial and imprisoned under Martial Law. He withdrew his motion on Sir William Vincent's replying that out of 1,786 prisoners 1,700 had already been released.

### SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL & EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

The Hon. Mr. Bhurgri asked for a definite declaration regarding the separation of functions between the Judiciary and the Executive. The resolution was withdrawn on the assurance of the Home Member that the Government of India would not stand in the way of any Provincial Government wishing to carry out the reform.

Sardar Jogendra Singh moved a resolution for the removal of control over the export of food grains from India. Mr. Sarma regretted his inability to accept it but it was carried.

### REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION

A *Communique* of March 21st announced that the Committee to examine repressive laws would consist of Dr. Sapru, Chairman, Sir William Vincent, Sir Sivaswami Iyer, Dr. Sarbhadhicari, Mr. Samarth, Mr. Bhurgri, Dr. Gour, Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Mr. Hammond.

The Secretary also read a message from the Assembly recommending to this House the proposal to have a Joint Committee on Indian Factories Act. The following six gentlemen were chosen from this house:—Mr. Alexander Murray, Sir M. Dadabhoy, Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, Mr. Kale, Mr. Moncrieff Smith and Mr. Chatterji.



## THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

## THE PRESS ACT.

On the 17th February, Mr. O'Donnell moved for a Committee of officials and non-officials to examine the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867 and the Indian Press Act 1910 and report what modifications are required in the existing law.

The resolution with Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar's amendment to include the Newspaper Incitement Act VII of 1908, was carried unanimously.



MR. A. F. WHYTE

First President of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

The Governor-General-in-Council has since appointed the Committee which includes:

Dr. Sapru, Chairman, Sir William Vincent, Mr. Jannadas Dwarkadas, Mr. Seshagiri Iyer, Mr. S. Sinha, Mr. Bakshi Sohanlal, Mr. Shwar Saran Babu, Mr. J. M. Mukerjee and Khan Bahadur Mirza Ali.

## LABOUR LAWS

The Assembly met again on the 19th, when Sir Thomas Holland moved:—

that the Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council:—(a) That he should ratify the draft Convention, limiting the hours of work in industrial undertakings adopted by the General Conference of the International Labour organisation of the League of Nations convened at Washington on the 29th October, 1919; (b) that steps be taken to introduce in the Indian Legislature the legislation necessary to give effect to this Convention as applied to British India by Article 10 thereof.

Mr. N. M. Joshi supported the resolution which was passed.

On the 22nd at the instance of Dr. Sapru, the Bill to amend the Indian Limitation Act, was referred to a select committee consisting of Messrs. Samarth, Seshagiri Aiyar, Iswar Saran Rai, Mazumdar, O'Donnell and Earldley Norton.

## INDIAN BAR

On the 24th February Munshi Iswar Saran's resolution urging the creation of an Indian Bar irrespective of distinctions was spoken to by Mr. Earldley Norton and Dr. Sapru and was carried.

## THE NANKANA TRAGEDY

Mr. Bakshi Sohan Lal moved for an adjournment of the House to discuss the Nankana Saheb tragedy. It was announced that the Governor of the Punjab and his cabinet had gone to the place and had given assurances to the people. The mover then withdrew the motion.

On the 1st March Mr. Hailey presented the financial statement.

## COMMITTEES

The personnel of the Public Accounts Committee and the Standing Finance Committee was then announced.

Sir Thomas Holland then moved for leave to introduce a bill to amend the Indian Factories Act 1911, necessitated by the ratification by the Legislative Assembly of the Labour Convention at Washington.

Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar moved for leave to introduce a bill to declare the rights of Hindus to make transfers and bequests in favour of unborn persons in Madras city.

## TRADE UNIONS

Mr. M. V. Joshi moved a resolution for the registration of trade unions and for the protection of trade unionists and trade union officials from civil and criminal liability for *bona fide* trade union activity.

Rai Jadunath Majumdar's a resolution for equality of status and allowances to members of both houses was also carried.

## ESHER REPORT

On the 7th March Mr. Chaudhuri Shahabuddin moved that the Esher Committee Report be considered and reported by a Committee consisting of Mr. Samarth, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, Mr. T. Ranga Chariar, Rai Jadunath Mazumdar Bahadur, Sir Jamsetjee, Mr. Ginwalla, Lt. Col. Herbert, Lt. Col. Gidney, and the mover with the Law Member as chairman. This was passed.

## Madras

On the 18th February, after question time, Dewan Bahabur M. Krishnan Nayar (Malabar) begged leave to make a motion for adjournment for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz., the arrest of Mr. Yakub Hassan, K. Madhavan Nair, U. Gopal Menon and Mohidin Koya, by the District Magistrate of Malabar at Calicut on the 16th evening. He then handed over to the President a written statement of the matter proposed to be discussed under Standing Order 21.

Mr. Krishna Nair assuring the President that the matter was not *subjudice*, about 30 members supported the motion, Mr. Krishna Nair moved:—

"This Council disapproves of the action of the District Magistrate of Malabar in issuing orders under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code.

Sir Lionel Davidson made a statement defending the action of Mr. Thomas, the District Magistrate, Mr. Ramachandra Row and Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar supported the motion, while Sir P. Theagaroya Chetty and a few others spoke against it. The Hon. the Advocate-General said that he

acted merely as a legal adviser and if he thought that this was the thin end of the wedge for a series of repressive enactments or measures tending to the curtailment of political liberties, he should have transcended his functions and spoken to them exceptionally on the matter as well.

The motion was, in the end, talked out.

Mr. C. V. Venkatarama Iyengar's motion recommending the separation of judicial and executive functions was, after some discussion, lost.

Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao moved a resolution recommending to the Government to relieve the Local Bodies from their obligation to contribute for the maintenance of the head-quarters hospitals.

Mr. T. M. Narasimbachari, C. V. S. Narasimha Raju, Dewan Bahadur Kesava Pillai, Desikachari and others took part in the discussion on the motion which was finally carried by 39 against 8.

On the 21st morning Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar's motion regarding change of site of a certain hospital in Cochin caused a lively debate. Many members took part in the discussion and the motion was lost by 37 against 29.

Some resolutions were deemed withdrawn in the absence of their respective movers. The last resolution on the encouragement of indigenous medicines was moved by Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao seconded by Sir P. T. Chetty, and supported by many speakers. The resolution was passed *nem con.*

The Council again met on 5th March when the Hon. Mr. C. G. Todhunter presented the Budget for 1921-1922.

Among the resolutions discussed was one relating to racial distinctions observed among railway passengers. The Hon. Sir Lionel Davidson opposed the resolution, saying that the administration of Railways in India was not under the control of the Provincial Governments. The resolution was, however, carried.

The General discussion on the Budget began on 8th instant and continued till 10th.

Among the resolutions considered on the 11th was one by Mr. A. S. Krishna Row recommending the transfer to District Boards an eighth share of the Excise Revenue. On the assurance of the Finance Member and Minister for Education that they would try their best to help local bodies with funds, the resolution was withdrawn.

The voting of Grants commenced on 21st March.

## Bombay

The Reformed Legislative Council of Bombay was opened by H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught on 23rd February. The Duke, in his opening speech, dwelt on the three causes of unrest, viz., ignorance, insanitary conditions and cruel inequalities in distribution and also referred to the sectional differences which embitter the life of the community.

The President of the Council, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, thanked the Duke on behalf of the Council. After the Duke's departure, the Council proceeded to elect its Deputy President. Mr. Harilal Desai got 50 votes and Dewan Bahadur Godbole 40. Mr. Desai was declared elected.

On 24th February Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, President, opened the proceedings by addressing the members and appealing to them to extend their sympathy, support and co-operation in the discharge of his duty as President of the Council. Then, interpellations were answered after which the Council unanimously passed a resolution extending a cordial welcome to the Duke of Connaught, expressing its deep sense of gratitude to His Royal Highness for having undertaken the task of inaugurating the new constitution, requesting the Duke to convey to His Majesty the Council's staunch loyalty, and fervently hoping that His Majesty would maintain a lively interest in the welfare of His Indian subjects, so that, under the Crown and as an integral unit of the Empire, India may reach the full stature of Self-Government.



Sir George Curtis then presented the Budget for the coming year. The general discussion on it and the voting of grants began the next day and continued till the 14th March. On the 15th instant, the question of the salary of the Deputy-President was taken up. After a good deal of discussion, it was resolved that the Deputy President be paid a salary calculated at the rate of Rs. 500 a month in respect of any period during which he should be engaged on work connected with the business of the Council.



SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.

On the 16th March Mr. Naoroji M. Dumasia moved a resolution recommending the discontinuance of the annual exodus which was lost, 15 voting for and 52 against. A resolution for the appointment of a Committee to enquire into the possibility of effecting retrenchment in all departments was opposed by the Government but was carried by 39 votes against 23.

On 17th instant, Dr. S. S. Batliwalla moved a resolution to replenish the depleted police force in the City of Bombay in view of the several dacoities and thefts recently committed.

## Bengal

When the Bengal Council reassembled on the 10th afternoon two hours were devoted to the discussion of a resolution recommending the stoppage of export of rice from India. An amendment substituting Bengal for India having been lost, the resolution was carried by 63 to 31.

But the most hotly debated question was that relating to the salaries of Ministers. There were no less than nine proposals on the agenda while one of these suggested the appointment of a committee to consider the matter. Sir Henry Wheeler deprecated postponement of the question.



HON. NAWAB SIR SHAMSUL HUDA.

A large number of speakers including Dr. Suhrawardy, Col. Pugh, Sir A. Chaudhury, Mr. S. C. Mookerjee and others took part.

The House divided on the motion proposing Rs. 3,000 monthly which was defeated by 66 votes to 37, and the remaining motions were defeated without a division.

Sir Surendranath Banerjee then announced, on behalf of the Ministers, that they had determined to take the full amount of Rs 60,000 annually to which they were entitled, and added, that,

in view of public feeling on the subject as demonstrated in the Council, they had decided to take only Rs.48,000 for personal use and devote the remainder to charitable purposes.

On 21st February the Hon. Mr. Kerr introduced the Budget for the coming year. Then the Deputy President's Emoluments Bill was considered. There was only one amendment fixing the salary at one rupee per year which was, however, withdrawn; and the Bill was passed.

On the 22nd and 23rd resolutions on matters of public interest were taken up. A resolution asking Government to restrict jute cultivation was, after two hours' discussion, lost. Another resolution demanding the abolition of the Board of Revenue was also lost. Government accepted a motion for an agricultural school and committees for removing water hyacinth and for prevention of the increasing rate of child mortality. A scheme for the furtherance of vocational education was also accepted.

The general discussion on the Budget began on the 28th February and concluded on the 4th March. On the latter day two resolutions were carried, one asking for a committee to enquire into the recent strikes, and another asking the India Government to declare the jute export duty as a source of provincial revenue for Bengal.

The voting of grants commenced on 14th instant and continued till the 24th.

### The Punjab

The second session of the Punjab Legislative Council was held on the 23rd February. The President, Mr. S. D. Butler, read a message from the Governor expressing His Excellency's sympathy with the relatives and friends of the victims at Nankana Sahib. The President then made a few remarks about the procedure of debates and the seating arrangements in the Council, after which 29 questions were put and answered. The Council then proceeded to elect its Deputy President. Sardar Bahadur Mahtab Singh obtained 48 votes as against 37 for Chaudari Mahomed Amin and was declared duly elected. The bill to fix the salary of the Deputy President was then taken up. An amendment to fix the salary at Rs. 1,000 per annum was withdrawn and the bill was passed. Sir John Maynard moved a resolution fixing the salary of each Council Secretary at Rs. 2,000 for each Budget session and Rs. 1,000 for every other session. Many amendments to reduce the salary were moved, but all were withdrawn excepting one fixing the salary at Rs. 2,000 per annum. The resolution with the salary amended as Rs. 2,000

per annum was passed, 40 voting for it and 34 voting for a salary of Rs. 3,000.

On the 24th February, Sirdar Dasaunda Singh moved for the adjournment of the Council to discuss the Nankana Sahib tragedy but the motion was lost, no one voting in his favour. After the presentation of the Budget, Raja Narendra Nath moved:

That the sum imposed in connection with the disturbances of April, 1919, on the inhabitants of the city of Amritsar as indemnity for loss and as payment for additional police be remitted and that the money advanced by the Government to the Amritsar Municipality to meet the liabilities incurred on this account be debited to the accumulated balance of previous years in Provincial Revenues.

There was a heated debate over the resolution which continued the next day also, several official and non-official members taking part in it. In the end the resolution was passed by a majority.

The general discussion of the Budget began on 26th February and continued till March 1st.

On the 4th March and the succeeding days the Council was engaged in the discussion on Government demands for grants. On the 11th instant, some questions were put and answered. One of them related to the recent affray at Nankana Sahib and another to the expenditure on account of the Government exodus to the hills to which latter, the government replied that a sum of Rs. 40,000 was a fairly accurate estimate of the total annual cost of the exodus to the hills and that the Government do not see their way to making any substantial reduction in the expenditure in the near future.

On the 14th March Mr. Fazli Hussain, Minister, moved a resolution recommending the introduction of a bill to amend the law relating to charitable and religious endowments in the Province and urging the Governor, in the meanwhile, to make and promulgate an ordinance on the subject so that the movement to alter and reform existing managements of such endowments may cease to threaten the peace and good government of the Province.

Mr. F. Hussain, speaking on the resolution referred to the tragedy at Nankana Sahib and said that the bill was intended to prevent such disturbances in the future. He also outlined the functions of the new Commission that would be appointed to look after the disputed Gurdwaras. There was some debate over the resolution. The Sikh members of the Council remained neutral and abstained from voting. The resolution with an amendment insisting upon the jurisdiction of civil courts was passed, only one voting against it.



### Behar and Orissa

The first meeting of the Behar Council was held on the 15th Feb., Sir Walter Maude presiding. Mr. Mahomed Yunus moved a special resolution expressing satisfaction at the appointment of Lord Sinha as Governor of the Province. The resolution which was seconded and supported by a dozen members was carried unanimously. Sir Walter Maude then announced His Excellency's approval of the election of Mr. Hasan Imam as Deputy President. The Budget was then presented.

On the 16th, after interpellations, Babu Raghunandan Prasad Sinha moved a resolution recommending medical relief in rural areas. The Hon. Mr. M. S. Das spoke sympathetically and his



HON. MR. MADHU SUDAN DAS

amendments were accepted by the mover. Swami Vidyananda moved that the Council proceedings should be conducted in Hindi and that reports should be published in Hindi and English. Both the resolution and the amendments suggesting Urdu and Oriya in place of Hindi were withdrawn.

On the 17th, Rai Bahadur Dwarakanath's motion recommending the appointment of a Committee to report on possible retrenchments in expenditure was put to vote and carried.

On 28th February, the question of Ministers' salary came up for discussion. Babu Mithila Sharan Sinha moved a resolution fixing the salary at Rs. 36,000 per annum. Amendments were proposed fixing the salary at Rs. 40,000, 12,000, 54,000 and 1. There was a lively discussion over the question and, in the end, the resolution and all the amendments were lost.

After the resolutions, a motion for adjournment was taken up. Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha, speaking on his motion, criticised the recent Government Circular on Non-Co-operation and said that the Government had given blank cheques to District Officers to combat Non-Co-operation. There was much discussion on the motion. In the end it was withdrawn.

A similar resolution urging that District Officers should refrain from repressive action was discussed on the 19th and withdrawn.

From the 8th to 15th March the Council was engaged in voting of grants.

On the 8th instant the President read a communication from the Governor asking the Council to elect two standing Committees, one for reserved and the other for transferred subjects in order to familiarise the members with the administration and make the relations between the Executive and the Legislature more intimate. Each Committee is to consist of 9 members, of whom 6 will be elected by the Council and 3 nominated. The elections took place on 11th instant.

On the 17th the Council accepted an amended resolution of Syed Mubarak Ali

recommending to the Government to cable to the Secretary of State for transmission to the Near East Conference in London that the Shias of the Province are equally concerned and interested in the welfare and maintenance of the Turkish Government with their Sunni brethren.

On the 18th, a resolution was passed recommending the extension of the privilege of electing a non-official Chairman for every District Board and Municipality.

On the 19th instant a resolution urging the establishment of charitable dispensaries was accepted. On the 21st instant, the Council passed, among others, resolutions for appointing a Committee to consider primary and secondary education and for abolishing the age limit for the Matriculation Examination.

### The United Provinces

Pundit Hirday Nath Kunzru moved, on the 15th, a resolution for abolishing the Board of Revenue. Syed Ali Nabi and Mr. Porter and others opposed it and it was withdrawn.

Syed Ali Nabi moved for a Committee to enquire into the riots of Rai Bareilly. There was a heated discussion in which Mr. Kunzru, Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, Pandit Radhakant Malaviya and Sheikh Syed Husain took part. Pandit Jagat Narain, Minister, pointed out that the facts

inopportune and Mr. Kunzru asked the Council to wait till the decision of the Senate had been obtained. The resolution was pressed to a division and was carried by 47 votes against 22.

Pandit Govind Sahai Sharma of Agra moved that early steps be taken to stop the Burma meat trade in these Provinces. Mr. Freemantle refuted the Pandit's contentions. Pandit Jagat Narayan mentioned that the question was going to be brought before the Council of State by Lala Sukhbeer Singh.

The resolution being put to vote, was declared carried by a majority of five.

On the 18th Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru withdrew his resolution urging the creation of a Civil Medical Service in the U.P. on the assurance of Pandit Jagat Narayan that it was being considered by the Government of India.

Pandit Radhakanta Malaviya's resolution for reducing the salary of the two Ministers to Rs. 3,000 per month raised a prolonged discussion on the 21st. The Hon. Mr. Porter replying, warned the Council that there would be a change of ministry if the resolution was carried.

The Hon. Member was followed by many non-official speakers, who strongly opposed the resolution. The resolution was put to vote and was lost, 15 voting against and 7 for it.

On the 23rd February Lala Chhail Behari Lal Kapur moved for the opening of Ayurvedic and Unani dispensaries. On an assurance from the Government that they were prepared to help, provided a well-thought out scheme was put forward, the resolution was withdrawn. On the 2nd instant, an amended resolution of Thakur Prasad Narain Singh urging local bodies to provide greater medical relief in rural areas and urging Government to give larger grants was passed.

The Council discussed another resolution urging the enquiry into the question of cattle wealth and milk supply and the Hon. Mr. Chintamani promised to place a report of the discussion before the Board of Agriculture.

On the 5th March the Council passed among others a resolution abolishing impressed labour (Coolie Utar) system within one year.

On the 8th instant, the Budget was presented. After the general discussion on the Budget on 10th and 11th, the Council took up resolutions on matters of public interest on 12th. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru moved for disciplinary action against men guilty of firing at Munshiganj in Rai Bareilly district without having been ordered to do so. It was lost.



THE HON. PUNDIT JAGAT NARAIN.

that had been placed before the public on behalf of the Government had never been challenged.

This resolution was also withdrawn.

Babu Itaryandas of Muttra moved that the irrigation rates recently enforced be reduced to the old level. It was carried by 43 votes against 32.

Lala Chhail Behari Kapur moved that the existing age limit bar applicable to Matriculation and School-leaving examinations be abolished. Mr. Chintamani pointed out that the resolution was



### The Central Provinces

The C. P. Legislative Council met on the 2nd March, when a message from the Governor inviting active support of all responsible persons in the suppression of disorder was read.

The Budget was then introduced by Mr. Standen. The budgeted expenditure for 1921-22 exceeded the receipts by twenty five lakhs.



HON. SIR G. M. CHITNAVIS.

The Financial Commissioner's Bill was then passed. The Deputy President's Salary next came in for consideration and was, after some debate, fixed at Rs. 3000. On the 3rd a resolution for increase of salaries to male and female teachers in vernacular schools was carried.

Mr. Mahajani's resolution for appointing a Committee to inquire into and settle the minimum proportion between taxation and expenditure was accepted.

Mr. Mahajani also brought in a motion on the 4th for stopping the exodus to the hills. Mr. Joshi pointed out that the exodus cost only Rs. 10,000. But the motion was carried 30 voting for and 27 against, after a prolonged debate.

### Assam

The Assam Legislative Council met on the 22nd February when the members took the oath of allegiance. H. E. Sir Nicholas Beatson Bell, the Governor, opened the proceedings with a felicitous speech.

On the conclusion of the Governor's speech the Council proceeded to elect its Deputy President. The votes having been taken, the President announced that Khan Bahadur Mohibuddin Ahmed received the largest number of votes and he was declared elected. On the next day, the President announced that Major H. B. Fox, Rai Bahadur Nalini Kanta Ray Dastidar, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Muhammad Bukht Mazumdar and Rai Sahib P. G. Barua had been nominated panel chairmen. The Deputy President's Salary Bill was then taken up for consideration, proposing a pay of Rs. 2,500 per mensem. Three amendments suggesting Re. 1 per mensem and Rs. 500 and Rs. 600 a year were moved, but lost. The bill was then put and declared carried.

A resolution for the appointment of a mixed Committee to advise on retrenchments in public expenditure suggesting *inter alia* that the Commissioners of Divisions might be dispensed with, was carried by 35 votes against 16.

### Burma

The Government of Burma Bill which is now before the House of Lords contemplates the creation of Dyarchy in Burma as in India. The text of the Bill which has since been published contains some of the leading features of the Montagu reforms. Moving the second reading of the Bill in the House of Lords, Lord Lytton mentioned that there had been some difference of opinion between Mr. Montagu and the Government of India regarding the constitution which should be established, and it had been decided to submit the whole case to Parliament.

Lord Sydenham moved the rejection of the Bill, but on being informed that if the Bill were rejected then Mr. Montagu would have no alternative but to proceed under the Government of India Act with his policy in his own way, he withdrew his motion. The debate was adjourned.

So far about the Burma Reforms in the House of Lords. Nearer home, the Burma Legislative Council met on the 12th when the Budget statement was presented by the Revenue Secretary, Mr. Booth Gravelly. The statement showed a large increase for education, public health, sanitation and public works.

## Labour and the Irish Problem

Mr. Philip Snowden, the well-known Labour leader, writing in the *East and West* on the Irish question, says that, among the serious problems the Labour Government would have to attempt to solve, none is more difficult than the Irish question.

He urges that the principle of "Self-Determination" should be accepted in regard to Ireland, even if it results in the separation of Ireland from the rest of the United Kingdom.

This question was discussed in the last Labour Party Conference. A considerable minority wanted to limit the exercise of self-determination for Ireland.

"Such a limitation" he says "of the right of a nation to determine its own form of government is inconsistent with the principle of self-determination, but it well illustrates the practical difficulty of logically and consistently applying a formula or a general principle in all circumstances.

For great Britain to say to the Irish people that they shall have the right of self-determination provided they agree to select a particular form of government approved by Great Britain, asserts a claim on the part of Great Britain to impose its will upon the Irish nation. This is a right which can never be enforced against the will of a people except by superior force."

Any attempt to reduce the Irish people to submission would leave Ireland disaffected and more irreconcilable than ever. The fears that, if the right of self-determination is offered to Ireland, she would demand in favour of complete political separation, are groundless. The present conditions necessitate the Irish people to make the most extreme demand. But says the writer:—

If the right of the Irish people to decide their own form of government without restriction or qualification were conceded, it is highly probable that the commonsense of the Irish people would decide that Ireland's economic interests could be best served by remaining in federal association with Great Britain for the joint treatment of questions of common interest to all parts of the United Kingdom.

It is the policy of the Labour Government to grant Ireland the full right of self-determination without any restriction or reservation.

## Positivism and Indian Tradition

Mr. Har Dyal writing in the *Positivist Review* for January, 1921, says that India needs Positivism for her growth and welfare and Rationalism has a great task to fulfil. But he is anxious to secure continuity in the interpretation of Positivism to the Indian people and harmony between the old and the new. The Indian mind has been prepared for the reception of the gospel of Positivism by several movements:— (1) Indian tradition has taught us to appeal to reason in all our philosophical inquiries and all our greatest philosophers have discussed the most abstruse problems without any reference to authority or revelation. (2) Indian thought has rejected the fatal and fatuous aberrations of monotheism, a most dangerous form of superstition; and the movement of the Brahmos and the Aryas who accept a sort of Hebraic Monotheism, is only a recent phenomenon. (3) Indian Theists cling to the doctrines of Karma and reincarnation and deny God's moral providence and also lean towards Pantheism while they profess pure Theism. (4) Indians are quite familiar with the idea that all good and great men deserve our homage, whatever their creed or race may be. They reject the creed, but honour the character of the departed teacher. Such is also the spirit of Positivism.

Thus the ground has been prepared for the advent of the philosophy of Positivism along these lines. Much remains to be done. The Indians are devoted to the philosophy of pessimism, quietism, asceticism and mysticism. They are exclusive and narrow-minded in their social life. They live in the little world of India's past, and are unwilling to learn philosophy from the West. The peasants are ignorant; and polytheism is the very foundation of the Hindu social system. Scientific modes of thinking are unknown. The belief in Reincarnation is as endemic as malaria and cholera. Life is looked upon in theory as at best a necessary evil. All this jungle of error must be cut down before healthy development is possible. Positivism alone can achieve this task. The European Positivists should respond to the call.



## Industrial Development in the C. P.

Sir C. E. Low, writing in the newly-started *Journal of Indian Industries and Labour* (Feb., 1921) describes the agricultural products of the Central Provinces the most important of which are the short staple cotton and Sun hemp: There is no prospect of establishing longer staple varieties of cotton on account of the limited supply of irrigation, the concentrated rainfall and the high cost of storage irrigation which prevent the taking of the cotton-growing season into the hot weather. The production of oil-seeds can be increased very largely by a generally improved system of rural economy. The crushing of seeds locally is obstructed by the lack of a demand for cake and by the high price of chemicals for the further treatment of the oil and its by-products. There is an abundant supply of hides and of many kinds of tanning materials and the prospects for local enterprise are favourable; but the future undoubtedly lies with large scale enterprise employing modern processes under expert control. The forests do not supply commercial timber on a large scale but many of the trees could produce gums and resins. Lac is well-developed. Of minerals, ores of iron, coal, aluminium and manganese, limestone and ochres are the most important.

There is enough coal in the Central Provinces to give a very material advantage to our local industrialists; especially if modern developments in the direction of making more effective use of low quality coal are followed. The most important of these is at present the coal blast, or firing by powdered coal. But our coal is not likely to be of use for metallurgy, and India's great future in respect of iron and steel production must be limited so far as can be foreseen, by the quantity of coking coals available in the coalfields at present worked or believed to exist in Bengal and Bihar and Orissa. In spite of this limitation I think India will be a large producer of iron and steel, and is likely to require a larger proportion of its coal supplies for this purpose than other industrial countries.

The power possibilities of the Province are fair; coal being available in quantities for power and heat production. The hydro-electric possibilities are not large nor very cheap. The rich

cotton tracts could support one or two more short lines of railway and the plateau of the Satpuras and the high ground to the north of Chattisgarh plain need new railways; ropeways and motor-lorries may be employed with great advantage for transport purposes.

Trade unions have sprung up; but with them may be combined employers' schemes for settling disputes. Education of labour is very important. There is not enough capital in the province to finance any rapid industrial expansion. Banking facilities are to be greatly extended. Government can support nascent industries by loans similar to *Takavi*, guaranteed orders, guaranteed interest on capital in special cases and by competent and disinterested technical advice.

## Missionary Activity in the World

Before the war, says a writer in *The International Review of Missions* (January,) missionary work was carried on in Asia, Africa etc., under external conditions that were relatively stable and forces which were calculable. To-day things are in a state of flux.

In Central and Eastern Europe starvation and disease are carrying off millions. Throughout large areas ordered society is in a state of dissolution. China appears to be drifting deeper and deeper into anarchy and chaos, while there too famine threatens the life of multitudes. India is swept by strong tides of unrest. Through the Near and Middle East hostilities are in progress or threaten at any moment to arise. Egypt has shared in the almost universal unrest. In Japan opposing forces are in conflict in the national life, while there is tension in external relations both with the United States and with China. In Africa there are evidences of a growing racial consciousness, and in some parts an increasing and grave embitterment of native feeling.

A world full of suspicion and distrust, of national antagonisms and hatreds, is in the highest degree unfavourable to the progress of missionary effort. Those who bear the Christian message are subject to an almost fatal disadvantage when the race to which they belong is the object of deep-rooted dislike.

The writer concludes that the most urgent duty of missionaries at the present time is to be true, good and simple Christians and avoid giving their religion in a European garb.

### America and Japan

The main reason why the Americans wish to exclude Japanese workmen from America seems to be, according to Professor Tokuzo Fukuda of the Tokyo Commercial College, the former's desire to maintain the high standard of living now obtaining among American workmen. As this may be said to be the national policy, nothing, says the Professor, in an article in the December issue of the *Japan Magazine*, is likely to be allowed to interfere with it. For in a State like California where the anti-Japanese feeling seems to be very high, if Japanese should congregate in one section and monopolise certain agricultural industries, it might seriously affect the American competitor. The longer hours and lower wage of the Japanese threaten the American shorter hours and higher wages. "Now the attempt to exclude Japanese labourers, while very hard on Japan is not necessarily unreasonable looked at from the American viewpoint. This is my opinion on the immigration question."

Now America has permitted Europeans to own land and outside California there is no restriction even against Japanese. California alone purposefully places restrictions upon the Japanese owning and leasing lands. This is the so-called race discrimination. No doubt race discrimination is objectionable on principle. But as to discrimination where the circumstances furnish certain good reasons for it, we cannot say it is always objectionable.

"Take the imaginary case of Chinese coolies employed in a Japanese factory. If only a few, no trouble would occur, but if many thousands invaded the factories in Japan working longer hours just at the will of the employer, serious objection would certainly be made. The Japanese workmen would strike and demand that immediate measures be taken to oust the Chinese. . . . The degree and extent of the invasion counts a great deal in questions of this sort."

So in regard to Japanese in California: a few immigrants occasion no comment, but a larger number extending their operations will be likely to arouse opposition.

### Female Education in England

Mr. K. H. Kelkar, reviewing in the December number of *The Indian Education* the progress of the Woman Movement in the West, says that the progress of female education in England only began to be perceptible from about 1850 onwards. Then a number of secondary schools were opened and colleges established at London, Oxford and Cambridge for women. The movement was helped by chivalrous and public spirited men, but it was mainly carried on by women. In the first instance high schools were founded for the benefit of the daughters of the middle classes who could afford to pay fees. From the beginning an attempt was made to maintain the tradition of English, modern languages, music and art and stress has been laid on the necessity of service to the community. At present greater emphasis is placed on the special duties of women as such to the community. Many educationists are of the opinion that inductions from experience do not form a substantial basis for differences in curricula between boys' schools and girls' schools. It has also become very difficult to solve the problem of how far definite technical instruction should be given to girls to prepare them for home life.

The following are some of the causes which led to the birth of the woman education movement in the 19th century.

- (1) The vast and far-reaching waves of thought and action set up by the French Revolution.
- (2) The spiritual movements associated with the names of Wesley and Newman.
- (3) The political reform of 1832.
- (4) The enlightening power of the scientific conceptions and modes of thinking which led to the liberation of reason from superstition and prejudice.
- (5) The influence of Queen Victoria aroused chivalry and elevated the standard of society. As a consequence of this, ladies of the upper and middle classes began to take interest in the lives of the poor, and in doing so they were often made to realise their own want of education.



### Urdu among Indian Vernaculars

Mr. Abdul Majid, writing in the *Modern Review* (for March) about the evolution and present strength of Urdu claims for Hindi an origin anterior even to that of Sanskrit and says that Hindi was the language of the aborigines of India and not an off-shoot of Sanskrit. In course of time Prakrit or original Hindi came to assume two forms.

One form of it came in direct contact and fused with the numerous incoming languages of India. Before the advent of the British there had been the exodus of numerous peoples to India,—the Aryans, the Persians, the Greeks, the Scythians, the Arabs, the Moghuls and the Afghans,—and all these peoples brought their own languages with them, none of which, however, was powerful enough to supplant the language of the land. A process of mutual influence, adoption and elimination, action and re-action, naturally ensued. One form of the old Prakrit freely imbibed these foreign influences,—Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Scythian, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian—the extent of influence in each case being largely determined by the length of sojourn that each people made in India. Mohammedan influence is thus inevitably seen to be the most dominant. This form of Prakrit is, in current parlance, the Hindustani or Urdu language.

The other form of Prakrit which was peculiar to the rustics and had thus fewer opportunities of being "contaminated" imbibed little of foreign influence, and even that little remained almost entirely confined to Sanskrit. The undefiled form of Prakrit is now Hindi.

Urdu and Hindi are not essentially different, both springing from the same mother-stock. The following are some of the conclusions of the writer which he deems to be incontrovertible.

1. In the pre-Aryan India numerous spoken languages were current to which the general name of Prakrit was given.

2. Sauraseni was the form of Prakrit spoken in Surasena, the country round Muthra.

3. The term 'Hindi' is a Persian word conveying two distinct meanings. In its wider sense, it was meant to cover all the dialects spoken in Hind (India). In its narrower sense, it denoted Sauraseni or that form of Prakrit which was the Northern *lingua*

*franca* and with which the foreigners first came in contact.

4. This Hindi, in its stricter and narrower sense, the Northern common language of the masses, came, in the course of time, to assume two different forms, one of which remained crude, coarse and poorly developed; the other one freely imbibed foreign influences.

5. The former retains the old appellation 'Hindi'; the latter came to be known as Urdu.

The conclusion is now obvious. Urdu having incorporated with it the quintessence of several cultures is more fitted as a medium of instruction, better equipped as a vehicle of literary expression, and more suited to the needs and requirements of civilisation than the less fortunate vernaculars of the land.

Urdu is thus eminently universal and adaptive in respect of which no other vernacular can even approach it. Urdu is not a relic of Muslim dominance, but a symbol of the Hindu-Muslim *entente*—a happy mean between Arabic and Persian on the one hand and Sanskrit and Prakrit on the other. It possesses an extensive literature, both creative and re-productive—the latter including translations, adaptations and compilations. Among the living Urdu writers, Akbar and the forceful Iqbal stand pre-eminent in poetry; fiction could boast of Nazir Ahmad, and serious prose men like Abdul Kalam Azad. Maulvi Shibli is great as a historian, as a literary critic and as a man of letters. The Usmania University Translation Bureau of Hyderabad, the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu of Aurangabad and the Shibli Academy of Azamgarh are three central institutions for the diffusion of Urdu literature.

The usual defects attributed to the script both phonological and calligraphical do not bear close scrutiny. Urdu contains letters and symbols to represent all the elementary short and long vowels and simple consonants and does not possess any letter to represent a diphthong or compound consonant. It has ten vocal sounds in this way and it is phonetically perfect. Urdu writing is a sort of natural shorthand, every letter having got a short form as well as a full one. The Urdu script with slight modifications is common to all Muslim countries.

### The German War-Lords

In the *American Political Science Quarterly* B. E. Schmitt writes about the recent publications of Falkenhayn, Ludendorff and von Tirpitz, which afford a clear revelation of the German military mind and also a fairly complete picture of the war in its larger aspect and constitute at the same time valuable first hand evidence. Tirpitz and Ludendorff condemn the vacillating policies and the alleged supineness of the civil authorities. Falkenhayn's book is only an authoritative expression of German strategy. Tirpitz is very entertaining and his version of events will cause some revision of accepted theories.

From this wealth of material certain conclusions stand out which, for lack of space, must be briefly recorded. In the first place, the war-time picture of an omniscient and omnipotent Great General Staff can be toned down heavily. There was never anything like harmony between the civil and the military authorities, and the former usually prevailed when the Emperor was called in to mediate, a procedure not to the liking of the military, in whom he inspired little confidence. Also the military leaders were lacking in some quality not easy to define. Perhaps they suffered from optimism. Falkenhayn, in fourteen different passages, expresses the "hope" that a plan will succeed, and Ludendorff is not free from the same tendency.

Secondly, the allies of Germany—"curious allies" Tirpitz calls them (II, 319)—were, from the military point of view, an element of weakness. Essential for the achievement of Germany's political aims, they used up men, money and material which were indispensable for victory in France. All three of our authors recognize, freely and repeatedly, that the unsound political system of the Dual Monarchy was the cause of its military deficiencies, and they are under no illusion as to the essential selfishness of Bulgaria. It is to Germany's credit that she never sought her own salvation by leaving her dependents in the lurch.

Lastly, although there is no admission that Germany was beaten in the field, fairly and squarely, and the blame for the catastrophe is laid on the politicians, not one of the three apologists will admit that the fallen Empire was built on a false foundation. Falkenhayn speaks of "the accursed revolution" (45). Tirpitz leaves the stage bellowing hatred of England, but he is persuaded that "the old structure of our state was not rotten, but capable of any development" (I, v). Ludendorff, dedicating his book to "the heroes who fell believing in Germany's greatness", is filled with shame and disgust (II, 433). This frame of mind is perhaps natural in defeated and discredited military leaders, but there is no evidence, as yet, that the political leaders have seen the light any more clearly.

### Women in Indian Society

In the course of an article in *Stri Dharma, The Indian Women's Magazine* (December, 1920) Babu Baghavandas urges that we should guard ourselves against the hypnotic influence of words and phrases like household drudgery etc. in making readjustments in our social arrangements and our ways of life with reference to our women. A false perspective is given to what is called the drudgery work of women at home which is really far more interesting and far more natural than that which is known as professional and dignified work. The education given to our women must be such as to avoid such false notions of dignity and drudgery. After discussing certain social problems like the abolition of the *purdah*, the raising of the age of marriage, the re-marriage of widows etc., the learned Babu discusses the Patel Bill of inter-marriage. His remarks on the subject may be found interesting incidentally.

Apart from the merits of the case, some much respected leaders of public opinion have expressed the view that the question is one for autonomous settlement within the community itself, as a purely social matter, without invoking the help of what is as yet a predominantly foreign legislature. Against this view it may be argued that in the ancient scheme such a social matter was held to be very much within the purview of legislative activity of the *State*, and secondly, that to induce the existing legislation to deal with such matters and decide them in accordance with enlightened public opinion is an important step in the conversion of that legislature from its foreign to an indigenous character.

If the Bill should become law, legal difficulties as to the inheritance of property by the issue of marriages contracted under it would be solved. But some subtle questions as to the "caste" of the wife and the progeny may be raised for social and academic purposes pending the complete restoration of the vocational significance of caste; but the questions should offer no serious difficulty. Even in the independent west, the woman takes the name of the husband. In India, she already takes his Gotra; she would take his caste naturally; and the children would be after the father's caste.



### Russian Religious Sects

In the December number of *The Occult Review* the Editor writes of the various Russian religious sects which undermined respect for authority and led partly to the Revolution of 1917. All the followers of these sects were more or less visionaries with Communistic conceptions of life; and some sects gave a powerful opportunity to the impostor. The *Soutaievtsi* founded by Sutaieff travel from place to place preaching that true Christianity consists in the love of one's neighbour and that there is only one religion, the religion of love and pity. They were for the abolition of private ownership, armies and war. The *Sons of God*, another band, maintain that all beings are manifestations of the Divinity, and that there are as many Christs as there are men and as many Holy Virgins as there are women. The *White-robed Believers* were strict vegetarians, they did not smoke or drink alcohol and abstained from tea, milk and eggs. The *Stranglers* were opposed to any one being left to die a natural death. The *Fugitives*, another sect, adopted as their belief, the Satanic origin of the Church, the state and the law and repudiated marriage, payment of taxes and all submission to authority. The *Douchobortzi*, a sect dating from the 18th century, taught the equality of man and the uselessness of public authority. The *Molokanes* living solely on a milk diet taught that where there is the Holy Ghost, there is also liberty and enjoined the duty of sheltering criminals who fled from justice, because the culprits may repent and their crimes wiped out. The *Stoundists* were Communists who prohibited the amassing of wealth and advocated a system of mutual exchange of goods. The *Merchants of Paradise*, founded by one Kornvaloff offer absolution of sins in return for offerings. Rasputin was a preacher of one of these new faiths. These have enabled the democratic upheaval to sweep all before it and have victimised the intellectuals.

### National Education

Mr. S. Subramanyam writing in the *Educational Review* for January puts forth a vigorous plea for a complete system of National Education suited to the requirements of India. In doing so he lays bare the existing defects of the present educational machinery—Elementary, Secondary, and University.

After quoting figures to show that the expenditure spent on education annually by the Government in India is very poor compared to that of other countries, he proceeds with the argument that the men turned out from the Indian Universities with the degress of B. A. and M. A. are utterly unfit for any technical calling because of the too literary system of education they have received. They are fit to become clerks in a government office. Even these clerical posts are reserved only for the favoured few. The rest are left in the lurch. The habit of applying for examinations and failing in them has become proverbial in every Indian household. The University degress in India have neither a cultural value nor a professional value.

The writer throws out some constructive suggestions to be followed in the future.

The Government of India should take upon itself the design, organisation and execution of systematic technical education and there is urgent need for it to bestir itself.

He says that the problem is two-fold, one to give elementary education even if necessary compulsory and secondly that a small proportion has received elementary education hitherto but no technical education. For that portion we should organise technical schools, in every small town, technical colleges in every large town, and a technical University in the metropolis.

The writer asks the question whose fault is it that, after 150 years of British rule in India, the majority of the educated classes are unable to earn a competent living. He answers the

question by saying that the fault is not with the Government for they have expressed their willingness to promote industrial education as is evidenced by a committee that has been appointed at the instance of the Government of India some time back. In that report the Commissioners state that there is a strongly expressed desire for colleges like the Sydenham College of Commerce in Bombay and in other parts of India as well. Sir Henry Maine in his address at the Calcutta University Convocation in 1866 has vigorously pleaded for technical and industrial education. If the Government and the University have pledged themselves to forward the cause of Industrial education in India why has it not been able to make any progress worth the name? It is due to the callousness of the educational reformers and none else.

The creation of new Universities on the model of the existing ones will not improve the situation a bit. It will simply increase the number of discontented and unemployed.

### The Case for Dyarchy in Burma

The proposals of Sir Reginald Craddock approved by the Government of India create an Executive Council of six of whom three will be non-officials and all are the nominees of the Governor. They are to work in double harness, the departments being distributed among the various couples. In cases of disagreement, an appeal lies to the Governor-in-Council. In the Legislature, there is a theoretical elected majority; but these are recruited by a system of indirect election and the budget is placed beyond their control. This scheme only reproduces the features of the Morley-Minto Councils and aggravates them by a large increase in the number of elected members. Says a writer in the *Asiatic Review*:

Responsibility is exactly what this scheme withholds; and its realization is possible only by use of the method of dyarchy. The idea of Sir Reginald Craddock and the Government of India is apparently to choose two Burmans, and train them so that they may be transformed into Ministers at some later date.

But what will happen if, when that golden day arrives, the Legislative Council refuses to extend its confidence to them? Upon the showing of the Lieutenant-Governor and his friends, no other competent Burmans exist. As for the members of the Legislative Council under such conditions, they will have received a training in hostile criticism, and nothing more. From this impasse there is no escape but dyarchy. If any risk is involved, it must be taken, for training can only be given by the grant and acceptance of responsibility—that is to say, by the actual exercise of the duty of choice and also of the duty of decision, in circumstances in which an account must be rendered of errors, not to official colleagues, but to the elected representatives of the people in the Legislature. Dyarchy is admittedly a half-way house, but it has been applied to the rest of British India, and the Burmese have every right to insist that they shall not be denied the new privileges which have been given without hesitation to the people of Orissa and Assam.

### Prosperity and Debt in the Punjab

Mr. M. C. Darling, lately Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the Punjab, reviews the causes for increasing indebtedness among the Punjab peasantry in the current number of the *Indian Journal of Economics*. (January, 1921). Every district in the province except Simla shows an increase in the net mortgage debt and the total indebtedness is not less than double the mortgage debt. The explanation seems to be that in a few areas good harvests, high prices, an increase in the value of the land have led to a sudden access of prosperity which facilitates mortgage. Here prosperity and debt would appear to be intimately connected. But ordinarily where small proprietors are concerned, the main causes of indebtedness are (1) bad seasons (2) increase of population without a corresponding increase in production (3) expansion of cultivation (4) splitting up of holdings (5) purchase of land on credit (6) high prices and (7) facile credit. There are other causes also such as intensive agriculture which demands more capital and the power of the usurer. Of these the great expansion of credit and the rise in prices stand large, the former operating throughout the province, the latter wherever holdings are small. Prosperity and debt are evidently intimately connected, leading to the lesson that credit should be controlled. Underlying the whole is the problem of small holdings.



### An Indian Missionary Grievance

It is essentially a bare act of justice that the Christian clergy and teachers of Indian birth should receive the same income and occupy the same status as those of foreign nationalities. There should be no casuistical argument put forward that missionaries are only provided with a living wage and that the living wage of an Indian is much less than that of a European or an American in India. The Editor of *The East and the West* (January, 1921) has the following pertinent note on the question.

"Our own belief is that the missionary societies would be wise to take action, and that immediately, in view of removing a grievance which, whether just or unjust, is felt by a large number of Indians. We should be disposed to offer foreign and Indian clergy who are possessed of equal educational qualifications equal stipends, and to arrange that these stipends should be higher than those now offered to Indian clergy, but somewhat lower than those now paid to foreign missionaries. We should give an additional grant to every foreign missionary who had to support either a wife or children or near relation outside India, and pay his or her passage to and from home at stated intervals or when health made a return necessary. To do this would no doubt require a large expenditure of money and probably a corresponding reduction in the number of European and American missionaries, but it would go far towards removing the grievance which at present exists, and would secure for the service of the Christian Church many of the best educated Indians who are at present to be found in Government employ."

Rash Behari Ghose's Speeches and Writings. Third Edition. Re. 1-4. To Subscribers of *I. R.*, Re. 1.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, G. T., Madras.

### The Only Hope of India

Col. Wedgwood writing on the Passion of India in the columns of the London *Nation* says that "there never was a Government so unpopular with all the people as is this irremovable Government." After describing Mr. Gandhi's tremendous influence and his alliance with "dangerous" elements he says:—

The only hope for India, and for England, is that the Government meet them half-way. An irremovable Government has got to become removable, gradually and with grace, but removable. The only ways to deal with an irremovable Government are violent revolution or passive resistance carried to the limit—anarchy in either case, and race hatred surpassing murder. A wise Government would call Pandits Motilal Nehru and Malaviya and Lajput Rai and C. R. Das into conference to help devise schemes for making Government removable. These men mean business, and cannot be squared, but they are not rash, fearing the consequences like all true statesmen.

### INDIA IN INDIAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

THE PLACE OF URDU IN THE INDIAN VERNACULARS By Abdul Majid, B.A., M.R.A.S., The Modern Review, March 1921.

INDIA AND IMPERIAL PREFERENCE. By R. M. Joshi [Journal of the Indian Economic Society, December 1920].

PRINCIPLES OF FINANCE IN INDIAN STATES. By "An Indian Thinker." [The Hindustan Review, January—February 1921].

THE RATE OF PROPAGATION OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN BENGAL. By Mr. J. T. Donovan I.C.S. [The Bengal, Behar and Orissa Co-operative Journal].

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## IMPRESSIONS OF INDIA

By COL. JOSIAH C. WEDGWOOD, D.S.O., M.P.

IT would not be surprising if a visitor who passes through India as I have done left it with impressions of a nightmare. From the time I arrived at Bombay, till the day I left Pondicherry with just two exiles to see me off, life was a dizzy whirl of fresh faces, fresh facts, fresh views, fresh garlands and fresh denunciation. Yet I do not think that any other four months of my life has been so enjoyable. I have been shown India and Indian kindness in better guise, probably, than any previous Englishman, have seen everybody and been taken into the heart of things as a friend.

What oppresses me, more even than the Indian problem, is how it will ever be possible for me to repay the infinite kindness that has been shown to my wife and myself by high and low, by clerks and governors; by extremist and moderate from Mahatma Gandhi to the Joshis of Nagpur. For the present all one can do is to go on being more whole-heartedly than ever the member for India in the British Parliament.

As for the Indian problem itself—how India can get self-Government?—I must confess that I do not yet see clear. If the Nationalists had gone into the Councils, which is to say if there had been no Martial Law in the Punjab, which is to say if there had been no Rowlatt Acts, no determined opposition by the Bureaucracy to the Reforms, no human nature,—if all these things had been, then the way would have been fairly clear. As it is, both sides are now exasperated. The Indian points to Jallianwalla Bagh, the

Englishman says: "We gave more than any other master nation would have given and they won't or can't use it. Be damned to them!" So the gulf widens, and no one holds out a hand. Both sides would rather save their face than save England or India.

What struck me very forcibly was the very close resemblance in mind between British and Indian. It is the habit to say that "East is East and West is West &c." I felt very much the reverse, at least among the cultivated classes and in the ranks of Labour. The Trades Unionists I got to know in Bombay, Lahore, Calcutta and Madras might have been precisely British Trades Unionists, so far as sentiments and ideas were concerned; unfortunately they are not yet so well situated in India as in England. The *intelligentia*, bred on the same literature, is the same free-thinking crowd of liberals with whom one talks with precisely the same ease and mutual comprehension in the Reform Club. The Brahmo-Samaj and the Arya Samaj are similar in the interest excited among the similar classes in the two countries by the Oxford Movement, and the establishment of the Free Kirk of Scotland. And in the same way, in both countries intellect knows no caste.

On the whole, it was the similarity between India and the West that impressed me, not the dissimilarity. The Mussalmans might have been Catholics; the nationally conscious and assertive extremists might have been our own class conscious socialists; where too there is a like cleavage bet-



ween the physical force and the passive resistance school. Human nature is the same East and West; and the human mind is the same too.

I remember the editor of the "Independent" of Allahabad saying to me: "Would Oxford or Cambridge students have all done as they were told,—walked five idiotic miles in the sun carrying their luggage? That is what they did at Lahore. Not one was found man enough to refuse,—not one! That is the result of the education you give to India. We do not want such education any more". I am afraid that if a Prussian officer had ruled in Oxford and issued similar orders, the result would have been the same. It is difficult to be the first apparently useless martyr. Human nature is the same, even in courage. Even with the best education, man is not easily made ready to risk death.

The resemblance between the Indian mill-worker and the British, between the Indian intellectuals and the British, is closer than between British and Italian, or even British and French,

I suppose, though I know the Italians best. In fact, throughout, the Indian position and problems reminded me of Italy before she was free,—the same exasperation, the same determination to be free.

Unfortunately I do not think mere determination is likely to be successful, while it is combined with a campaign against western civilisation. I grant that western civilisation is not too pretty a spectacle; but many people in India get their living from it to be willing to upset the trade, industries and democracy of the west.

I am looking forward to the possibility of Lord Reading bridging the gulf. If he can get India to accept and work the present Councils on the promise of a time limit for complete Home Rule, he will be serving well both England and India. Fortunately he has the complete confidence of Mr. Lloyd George, and whatever he decides will have the Coalition Government behind the decision. But if anything is to be done, it should be done quickly—before there is an accident.

## PARLIAMENT AND INDIA

BY MR. H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E., L.C.C.

(*Hon. Secretary, Indian Reforms Committee.*)

**B**OTH Houses of Parliament have now made their selections for the New Standing Joint Committee on Indian Affairs. The Lords have nominated the Earl of Middleton, the Earl of Donoughmore, Viscount Buxton, Lord Harris, Lord Chelmsford, Lord Lamington, Lord Islington, Lord Carmichael, Lord Sydenham, Lord Clwyd (better known to Indians as Sir Herbert Roberts) and Lord Meston. The Commons have chosen Mr. F. D. Acland, Sir Thomas Bennett, Sir Henry Craik, Major R. G. C. Glyn, Major the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, Sir William Joynson Hicks, Sir J. D. Rees, Mr. B. C. Spoor, Major General Sir Charles Townshend, Colonel J. C. Wedgwood and Lieut.-Commander E. Hilton Young.

It will be noticed that Lord Crewe, Lord Selborne, Lord Ampthill and Sir Charles Yate are absentees from the list. The two first are understood to have been unwilling to serve. Not so the other two who have openly protested against their exclusion, Lord Ampthill going so far as to say that as an ex-Governor of Madras he was entitled to a seat. As a matter of fact, neither will be missed. Their point of view is adequately represented by Lord Sydenham and Sir William Joynson Hicks and it is a wholly mischievous one. These gentlemen affect to believe, and are inviting the British public to believe, that India is on the verge of rebellion, that the reforms are a failure, that the newly appointed Indian Ministers are Bolsheviks in disguise and that English girls

are being publicly insulted in the streets of the leading cities. They have formed an "Indian Emergency Committee in conjunction with Sir Michael O'Dwyer and some Anglo-Indian merchants, and are loudly proclaiming that nothing will save the situation except a strict application of the methods of "resolute government" which have already produced such disastrous results in the Punjab, and created anarchy in Ireland.

Two, therefore, of this brand of "extremists" are more than sufficient upon a Committee of Parliament which is expected to give wise and sympathetic consideration on the questions referred to them. What of the remainder? Lord Middleton, as a landlord in the South of Ireland, has been driven (it is thought) to modify his views upon autocracy which has ceased to wear that benevolent and beneficent aspect with which he once credited it. Lord Buxton, lately Governor General of the Union of South Africa, and W. Acland who served as a member of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Act, represent the Independent Liberals. Neither are particularly interested in Indian problems, and belong to the Whig School of politicians. Major Glyn is the Tory member for Clackmannan and East Stirlingshire, and is one of the plentiful crop of military mediocrities yielded by the "coupon" election of November 1918. He does not possess even the advantage enjoyed by Sir William Joynson Hicks, of having paid a hurried visit to India, but may be reckoned upon to accept that self-constituted "Expert" as his mentor. The two labour members are, of course, Mr. Spoor and Colonel Wedgwood. Both are believed to have shed many illusions as the result of their recent investigation of up-to-date Congress methods: and if they can be induced to be practical instead of sentimental should render useful service.

Lord Harris is afflicted with so colourless a personality that it is difficult to diagnose his con-

victions: but of Sir Henry Craik it may safely be said that he is if anything inclined to be reactionary. Lord Lamington is absorbed in Persia, and the attention of Sir Charles Townshend is equally monopolized by Mesopotamia. Mr. Hilton Young is known to Indians in connection with the financial enquiry conducted by him with Lord Meston and Mr. Charles Roberts: while Lord Donoughmore did excellent work as a member of the Southborough Committee. The real weight of the committee lies in these two members and in such stalwarts as Lord Ulwyd, Lord Carmichael, Lord Meston, Lord Islington, Sir Thomas Bennett, Major Ormsby and Sir J. D. Rees. All (even the last named in his latest avatar) have warmly supported the policy of Mr. Montagu and with the exception of Lord Islington and Lord Meston, all are also members of the Indian Reforms Committee, the organization in London which keeps in touch with the Indian National Liberal Federation. It remains to be seen whether Lord Chelmsford upon his arrival will ally himself with them or will elect to play a lone hand.

Neither Mr. Montagu nor his Under Secretary, Lord Lytton, have seats on the Committee: but it may be taken for granted that their assistance in the shape of information or suggestion will always be available. As the functions of the Committee are purely advisory and consultative, the inclusion of the Secretary of State and his deputy is not essential. Conditions were obviously different when the Government of India Act was under discussion.

Lord Islington has been elected by the Committee as chairman. The choice accords with public anticipation and should meet with the approval of Indians. No better selection could, in fact, have been made. Of Lord Islington's twenty-one colleagues ten only can be regarded as avowedly friendly to Indian aspirations, and four at any rate are most certainly



hostile. The balance will be held by the remaining seven: and the utmost tact and judgment will be needed to keep some of these from straying into the enemy's camp. Both are qualities which the chairman is fortunate enough to possess in a marked degree.

The first test will arise over the Government of Burma Bill. This measure is of the simplest possible character. It extends to Burma the system of dyarchy which has been set up in the eight major provinces of India, and at the same time provides firstly that the new legislature shall consist of 92 members and secondly that the minimum proportion of elected representatives shall be sixty, instead of seventy per cent. A step of this kind could have been taken by the issue of a notification under the Government of India Act and it is greatly to be regretted that the Burmese should be flung into the cock pit of British politics. The responsibility rests with Sir Reginald Craddock, the Lieutenant-Governor, and the Government of India. Both have, with incredible blindness and obstinacy, refused to fall in with the desire of Mr. Montagu to proceed under the Act. They insist upon the adoption of a fantastic scheme of their own which has been emphatically condemned by public opinion in Burma and rejected by an advisory committee at the India Office and also by an unanimous vote of the Secretary of State's Council. Such folly is not only uncalled for: it has produced the worst results. The Burmese have grown increasingly impatient, and as Lord Lytton said during the debate in the House of Lords on the second reading, the Moderates of yesterday are rapidly being transformed into the Extremists of to-day. Lord Sydenham has already made one effort to kill the Bill, and will no doubt renew his exertions in committee. Men of this type appear to imagine that the world is standing still and find their favourite occupation in accusing others of the discontent of which they

are themselves the parents. To the ordinary observer it will seem to be utterly absurd that Burma should be denied a constitution which has been freely granted to Orissa and Assam.

Another matter which is likely to engage the attention of the committee at an early stage is the settlement of the dispute between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments regarding the allocation of revenue. Bengal is understood to be asserting itself with vigour in this connection and Madras and Bombay will, no doubt, follow suit. The present position is clearly intolerable: and relief is imperative in some form or another.

Other questions will, of course, emerge from time to time: but it will not be unfair to judge the committee from the manner in which they handle these two. Meanwhile, it is necessary to add just a word regarding the relations between Parliament and India which have been created by the reforms: and under this head mention must be made of a recent ruling by the speaker which has been much discussed.

The incident arose out of a "discovery" on the part of the "Morning Post." This newspaper which prides itself upon its championship of lost causes and impossible beliefs, announced on February 16 that "the new councils are being filled from the prison and the dock, with convicted enemies of the British Empire in India." The statement was palpably false: but it served as a peg upon which to hang a tirade against the appointment of Lala Harkishen Lal to be a Minister in the Punjab. A question upon the subject was addressed to Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons on February 23 by Sir William Davison who sits, appropriately enough, for South Kensington, that Mecca of the retired Anglo-Indian official. The speaker intervened and ruled that it was for the Provincial Council, and not for Parliament, to decide upon the fitness of Lala Harkishen Lal. "The House," he added

"having given practically Home Rule or something in the nature of Home Rule, to the Councils, the less it interferes with the Councils the better." After a fresh shower of vitriol from the "Morning Post," the speaker was invited on the following day to reconsider his ruling. He replied that he saw no reason to do so. "We are now commencing a new era in India," he said, "and it still appears to me that it would be extremely undesirable that this House should attempt to undertake the function of controlling or criticizing Ministers, who are responsible to legislative bodies." On March, the speaker was again questioned by Sir Henry Craik. He again maintained his ground, but pointed out that his ruling referred to transferred subjects only, in regard to which Parliament had handed over complete control to Legislatures in India. That being the case, censure whether direct or indirect, upon any Minister would not only be futile, but, on that very account, undesirable. "If it was desired to condemn the action of a Governor in matters which were not transferred it was open to a member to make a motion of a character similar to that which could be made in the case of a Governor-General of India or the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland."

Lord Ampthill, who has politely informed the European Members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State that they have no business to object to the poisonous propaganda in which he and his friends are employed has chosen to regard this ruling as the death blow to British rule in India. He has worked himself up into such a state of excitement that he has declared that the House of Commons is henceforth deprived of the right of asking for information even in the extreme case of a British official conspiring with Indians to subvert the British Raj! The speaker's ruling means, he says, that no injustice or injury inflicted on Englishmen and Englishwomen in India may form the subject of enquiry in the House of Commons, if it is the act, either deliberate or accidental, of an Indian Minister or of an Indian Provincial Council. What a farrago of fustian and rhodomontade to proceed from a responsible public man! It is not every one who realises that Lord Ampthill's sole knowledge of India is derived from a gilded captivity of five years at Ootacamund and Guindy. If disordered views such as his were at all prevalent in this country or among the Englishmen in India whom he professes to represent, the outlook for the continuance of the British connexion with India

would, indeed, be dark. Happily they were not. Mr. Frank Carter and his European colleagues at Delhi have emphatically repudiated their would be spokesman: while the attitude assumed towards the reforms by the ordinary Englishman with any pretence to sanity, was admirably put by the "Times" on March 21, when it administered a scathing rebuke to Lord Ampthill for his incessant endeavours to cultivate rancour and foment strife. It is certainly not easy to discover what special sources of knowledge are open to these busy bodies in London which are unknown to the English members of the Legislatures in India. If Lord Ampthill were less obsessed with the notion of his own importance, he would not have courted this second rebuff. For a fortnight earlier, a heated harangue by him had met with a similar reception. Parliament, Lord Lytton told him on March 8, retained the same responsibility as it had always had with regard to reserved subjects and it undoubtedly had an ultimate responsibility with regard to transferred subjects. But, at the same time it must be perfectly clear that the government of India under the new system would be absolutely impossible if Parliament by virtue of its ultimate responsibility, were to interfere in the administrative subjects which it had transferred to local governments. Parliament in fact, is called upon to exercise some self-restraint of its responsibility in this matter. "Having set up the machinery, Parliament must content itself by not pulling up the young plants to see how they are growing."

Indians do not require to be reminded of the steadfast and devoted friend they possess in Mr. Montagu. But they have yet to become closely acquainted with Lord Lytton, whose work has not hitherto been spectacular. They may rest assured that they have in him also a statesman upon whom they can confidently rely. It has become a truism in British politics that the real conception of imperial obligations is nowadays more conspicuously present in the younger Tory than in the older Liberal. Lord Lytton, like Major Ormsby Gore, is far more courageous and progressive in his outlook upon India than Lord Crewe. He is endowed with that gift of imagination which enables its owner to do the right thing at the right time. Had a little of this gift been vouchsafed to the bureaucrats who control the central machine in India, the world might have been spared the spectacle of that series of death-bed repentances which have been exhibited at Delhi during the past few weeks.



# RECONSTRUCTING INDIA

BY DR. SIR P. C. RAY.

THE author \* is a well-known figure in India and an engineer of reputation and an eminent expert on irrigation. As Dewan of Mysore, he has taken an active part in the administration of one of the most advanced and ably managed Feudatory States. The present writer had an opportunity of visiting Mysore some four years ago and seeing with his own eyes the Sivasamudram Dam and other works of public utility, projected by this eminent Mysorean. Besides, Sir M. Visvesvaraya has travelled abroad more than once. A keen and shrewd observer, he has studied the institutions of Japan, Canada, the United States and England and has thus been in a position to institute a comparison between the state of things obtaining in these countries as also in our own. Our author is also an educational and social reformer and there is a ring of sincerity and fervid patriotism in all that he writes. Sir M. Visvesvaraya thus enters upon his task with a degree of preparation rarely met with. The book has appeared at an opportune moment as we are about to embark upon a most eventful period in the history of modern India.

We shall now proceed to present our readers with the author's suggestions about "Reconstructing India" in his own words as far as possible. The *raison d'être* of the book is thus summed up in a nutshell.

"It will be necessary to study world conditions as well as local conditions in order to discover the weak points in the Indian system. The deficiencies must, then, be catalogued and plans formulated. This book is an attempt, though a very imperfect one, in this direction".

At the outset the first problem which strikes one who approaches the study of India is her appalling and grinding poverty. Our author arrives at an approximate figure based upon the total production of British India including minerals etc., of Rs. 36 per head of the population. This is rather an overestimate as a considerable portion of the profits of production find their way into the pockets of Europeans. In connection with this estimate it is desirable to place side by side the figures given by Naoroji, Digby, Romesh Dutt and others. According to these authorities, the average income would not exceed Rs. 24 per head. The poverty of India will also be apparent from another standpoint:

"At a rough estimate, the entire assets of India, including the value of land, buildings, furniture, gold,

silver, live-stock, factories and other property, amounted to £3,500,000,000 before the war. This, distributed among the population of British India, works out to about £14 per head." The corresponding figures for other countries were: The United States, £391; the United Kingdom, £320; Australia, £262; Canada, £259; and Japan, £52.

Yet, this country has been tied to the wheel of the imperial policy. Her people have absolutely no voice in the control of her own purse. The Secretary of State, as a member of the British Cabinet, supposed to be the custodian of the dumb millions entrusted to his care, looks upon India more as a milch cow than as his defenceless ward and is always anxious to oblige his colleagues. Indian interests are thus ruthlessly sacrificed at the altar of party exigencies. Whitehall dictates the policy and unhappy India has to foot the bill; a crushing military burden has thus been thrown upon her. As our author says:—

"In the budget for the year 1920-21, £41,000,000, has been set aside for purposes of defence. This amounts to nearly half the total net revenue of the country. Military expenditure on such a scale in peace time is without parallel in any county in the world."

In 1919-20, the military expenditure rose to the appalling figure of 87 crores, while in the budget for 1921-22, 62 crores have been allotted for this purpose.

Moreover,

"During the war, on account of her dependent position, the monetary affairs of India were controlled from London. The people suffered from high prices. The war profits went to a very small percentage of business men. Many commodities were purchased very much below the world prices. Food control was exercised secretly, without the public being aware of the extent to which food was exported. Great mortality was caused through the lack of proper sustenance during the influenza epidemic. The export of articles such as hides was controlled in order to secure them for Britain and her Allies below the market value. In order to maintain artificial conditions of exchange, ordinary trade in rice, jute, timber, wheat, hides and other articles was prohibited on private account, and in some cases stopped. India lost heavily on her investments in England, and her own money in the currency reserves remained locked up in England. Large purchases of silver were made through commercial agencies instead of in India itself."

While Indian interests are thus ruthlessly and without compunction subordinated to those of England, the most urgent needs of India are systematically neglected. Education is starved:

"One of the greatest deficiencies which India has to make up is her lack of facilities for securing education. To-day three villages out of every four are without a school house, and about 30,000,000 children of school-going age are growing up without any instruction. The officials have been so opposed to compulsory education that, until quite recently, they

\*Reconstructing India, by Sir M. Visvesvaraya, K.C.I.E., London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd.

were disinclined even to permit municipalities willing to bear the cost to introduce such a system. No wonder that barely seven per cent. of the Indian population can read and write, whereas in progressive countries eighty to ninety per cent. of the population is literate."

"The provision for technical and commercial education is meagre in the extreme."

Lack of liberality in this respect, and absence of official encouragement of indigenous enterprises, have kept Indians from developing new and expanding old industries and extending commerce. At the same time, the world-competition has made it impossible for the indigenous industries to thrive. Indians have, therefore, been driven more and more to the land."

While the crushing burdens imposed upon India has the effect of relegating education and sanitation to the background, no encouragement is given to industry, nay, it is penalised. As our author says:

"Substantial success in trade and commerce is impossible to-day without large capital and combines. In the United Kingdom, such combinations are encouraged and assisted by Government. In India, on the contrary, they are regarded as a menace to British trade and, therefore, to British supremacy, and discouraged."

Industry is even penalized. Excise duty is, for instance, imposed upon cotton manufactures. Canada taxes all imported goods; 15 per cent in cotton goods from the United Kingdom and 22 to 23 per cent. on those from the United States. The duty is put on with the express intention of protecting the Canadian manufacture from foreign competition."

"In India, on the other hand, not only are cotton goods imported practically free, but the Government actually imposes an excise duty on the products of the local mills to enable the British manufactures to compete successfully with them. Nowhere else in the world would such an obvious attempt to handicap industry be tolerated."

"But the expansion of trade and industry has been a matter of British domination and has left the people of the country disinherited with no share in the control of policy or its operations."

"The cumulative effect of these policies upon the economic condition of the people has been most deplorable. An unskilled labourer in the United States or Canada earns more in a week than the Indian worker earns in a whole year. The estimated average wealth of the Indian population is less than one-twentieth of the corresponding average for the United Kingdom, about one-thirtieth of that for the United States. And yet the 325,000,000 of Indians have not only to feed and clothe themselves, but also to support one of the costliest administrations in the world."

"The present system of governance aims at preserving order rather than ensuring progress. Peace and security are maintained, moreover, by autocratic methods, and the activities of the people are restricted and their national growth stunted in the process."

If India is not to lag behind in the present world competition, a change of the present policy is imperative; as our author says:

"In order to create conditions favourable to progress, there must be a radical change in the system of Imperial control over Indian affairs, and in the official attitude towards the people's aspirations and Indian problems generally."

Our Government cannot do better than borrow a leaf out of Japan since all her "industrial progress has been achieved in comparatively recent years; she offers to India the most direct and valuable lessons obtainable in material advancement and reconstruction."

Moreover, in Japan, direct relations exist between the Government and the industry. There pioneer industries were, indeed, set going and for years maintained at the public cost. Contrast with the above the attitude of our paternal Government towards the nascent enterprises of this nature. The present writer along with two other friends has been running a passenger-service steamer in one of the rivers in Lower Bengal. The fare from the starting ghaut to the terminus was one rupee. As soon as it was discovered that the line was a paying one, a powerful English company sent three steamers to run in competition with ours and reduced the fare to one anna in order to starve us out of existence. This unequal fight has been going on for the last twelve years. Ours, of course, is a pigmy effort. Messrs. Tata & Co, however, fared no better. Our author is well justified in summing up the policy in these words:

"But the expansion of trade and industry has been a matter of British dominations and has left the people of the country disinherited, with no share in the control of policy or its operation."

The result of this selfish policy has been that "shipping is practically all English." The indigenous shipping has entirely disappeared. During the war, Indian trade suffered enormous loss for lack of indigenous shipping."

How disastrously this policy has acted upon India is thus described and the remedy suggested.

"In the middle of the last century there were 34,000 Indian-owned vessels with an aggregate tonnage of 1,250,000. Towards 1,900, these had dwindled to a tonnage of little over 100,000. During the War, a few small vessels were constructed, presumably for use in Mesopotamia, but it is safe to say that, for all practical purposes, there is to-day no Indian-owned shipping."

"It is necessary in the interests of the country for the Government of India to start building ships on its own account. It should be able to build ships in its own yard for the Royal Indian Marine. Even if nothing more could be done than to assemble parts in



India, the industry would give profitable employment to a large number of people."

"Australia has purchased all private ships, started ship-building yards, and nationalised the whole industry, including the working."

"In Japan the State took the initiative in ship-building and iron and steel manufacture, although raw materials for these two industries were not so easily procurable in Japan as they are in India."

Much is made in the official reports of the expansion of the volume of trade but these exaggerate the value to the country of its foreign trade, since they make no distinction between the trade carried on by the indigenous population, the profits of which are retained in India, and that by the British and foreign agencies."

How backward we are in industrial and commercial concerns is evident from the fact that in 1914, the capital of all the joint-stock companies registered in India and held mainly by Indians did not exceed £60,000,000. "The total capital of all the joint-stock companies registered in India was £471,000,000, the greater portion of it, namely £411,000,000 being of companies registered in England and presumably held by the people of the British Isles."

The author suggests among others the following methods by which Government in India can render direct help.

"The principal Governments may make a start by pioneering some of the larger industries like ship-building, machinery, engines, motor transport, chemicals, paper, etc, and also some of the many key industries needed, with the object of making them a success and subsequently transferring them to the people. There are few technical secrets that are not readily available, or that cannot be secured by the expenditure of money."

In reconstructing India of the future, social reform must play an important part. The late Sir T. Madhava Rao very aptly said:

"The longer one lives, observes and thinks, the more does one feel that there is no community on the face of the earth that suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted or self-accepted or self-created and therefore avoidable evils than the Hindu."

Our author also maintains that India must not obstinately cling to effete practices and permit herself to lag behind and he very truly points out that

"Social distinctions exist in every country—distinctions based upon wealth, birth or occupation. No country outside India has, however, a social system which cuts at the very root of human brotherhood, condemn millions of persons to perpetual degradation, makes people hyper-exclusive, magnifies religious differences and disorganises society."

The present writer has also spoken on the subjects in unequivocal terms and laid stress

upon the fact that unless we are able to shake ourselves free from the shackles of the caste system and thus remove glaring social inequalities it is absurd to speak of India as a nation.\*

In the India of the future education must necessarily play the most important part and the statistics which our author furnishes forms a most dismal chapter and fills one with dismay and despair as regards the future of our unhappy land. "Whereas the population attending elementary schools in India is but 2.9 per cent., it was 14.3 per cent. in Japan and 16.5 per cent. in Great Britain (1916-17.) Unfortunately, our Government has always regarded education as the most unprofitable and most unproductive of investments and the educated Indian as the *bête noir* and a source of political danger. It is thus clear why in 1919-20, the expenditure on education amounted to 7½ crores while the military expenditure rose to 87 crores. The author's views on this subject may thus be summarised in his own words:

"Expenditure on education, like labour expended upon tilling and fertilising the soil, will repay itself many fold. Since the nation will reap the first fruits of this harvest, the increasing outlay upon education should, in the main, be a national charge. The fees should be merely nominal, and the scholarships sufficient in number really to encourage talent and endeavour."

Again.

"Both the Government and the people must recognise that only by pursuing a liberal educational policy, and making generous financial provision for schools and colleges can they lift India out of her present low condition and ensure rapid progress."

We are afraid we have already taken up too much space and we must therefore bring our review to a close with a few apposite extracts on nation building.

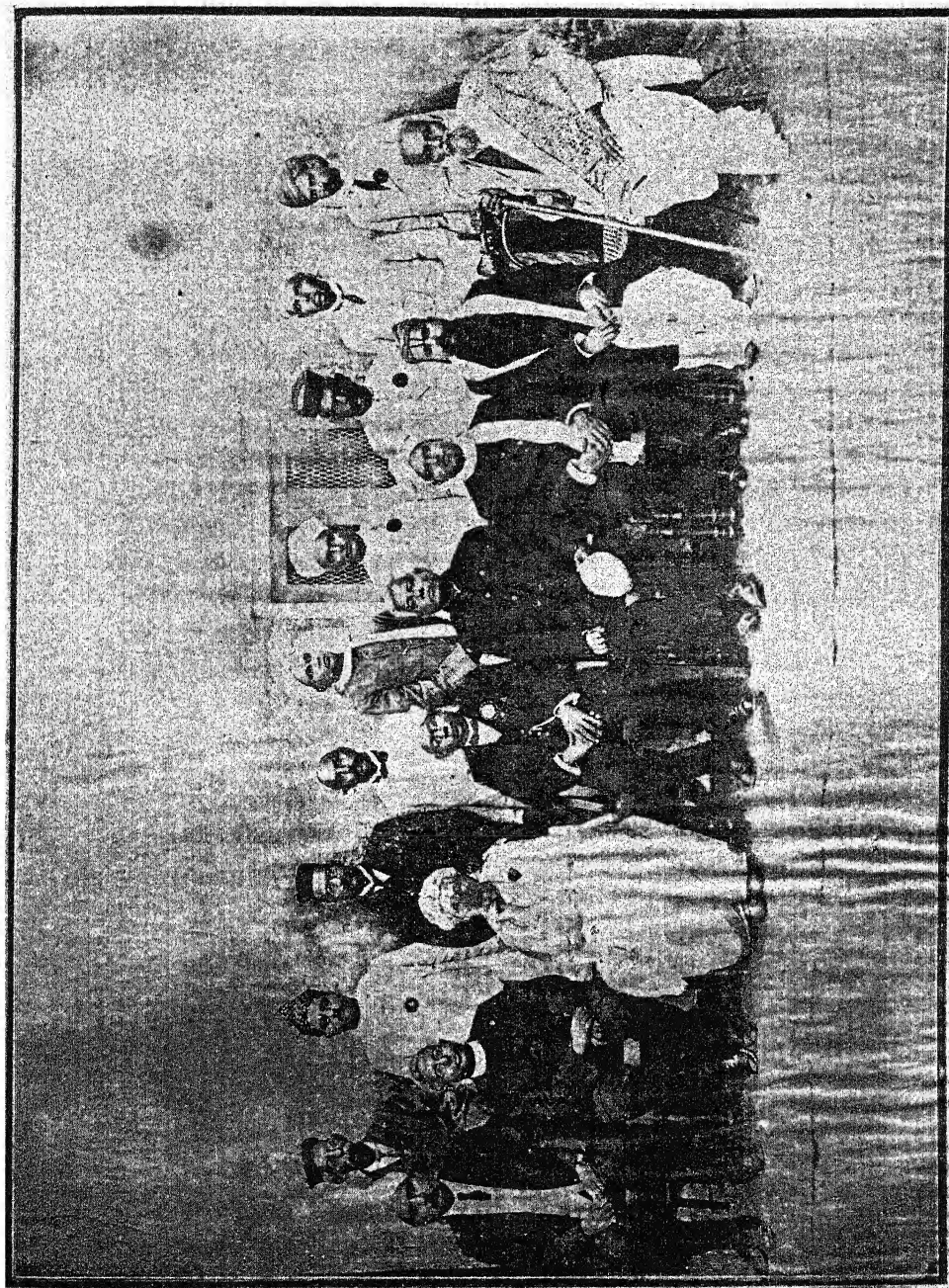
"Do the people of India propose to profit by the lessons which world experience has to teach them, or will they be content to allow matters to drift and themselves grow weaker and poorer year by year?"

"This is the problem of the hour. They have to choose whether they will be educated or remain ignorant; whether they will come into closer touch with the outer world and become responsive to its influences, or remain secluded and indifferent; whether they will be organised or dispassive; an industrial or an agricultural nation; rich or poor; strong and respected, or weak and dominated by forward nations. The future is in their own hands. Action, not sentiment, will be the determining factor."

"Nations are made by their own efforts."

We need not proceed further; the book is full of valuable suggestions and is a mine of useful information.

\* *Vide*: Social Reform in India—Essays and Discourses (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras)

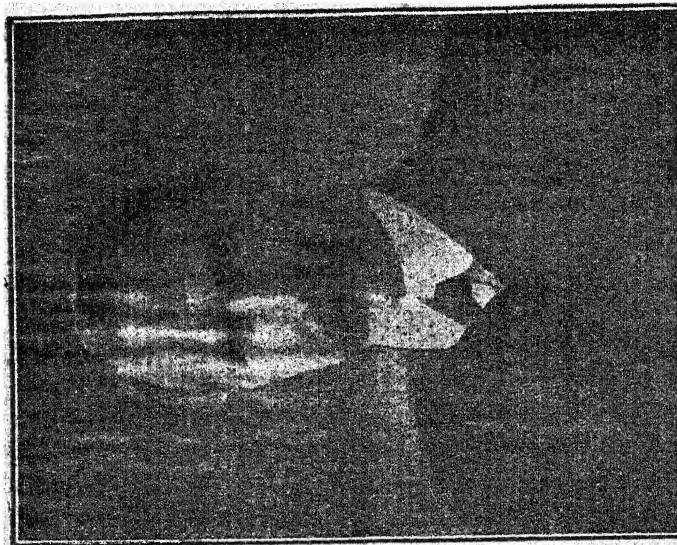


A GROUP TAKEN AT THE LAST SESSION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION AT MADRAS.





THE RT. HON. MR. AUSTIN CHAMBERLAIN.  
Who has been elected leader of the Unionist  
Party in the House of Commons.



THE RT. HON. MR. BONAR LAW.  
Who has resigned the Leadership of the  
Unionist Party.

# The Eastern Question and its Solution

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BY

Mr. J. NORRIE ANDERSON, M.A.

THIS book\* is written by an American Professor, who has devoted himself specially to Near Eastern problems. It labors under the disadvantage of having been written before the Sevres Treaty was concluded—August 1920.

In his first chapter, entitled the "Failure of European Diplomacy in the Near East" he sketches the history of the Eastern Question. Fundamentally its cause is the recession of that tide of Mohammedan invasion, which swept up to the gates of Vienna, and to the plains of France.

Geographically the problem falls into three divisions, (1) Northern Africa. (2) The Balkan States. (3) Asia Minor and its outpost Syria.

The weakening and decay of the Turkish power gave the European powers the opportunity of dividing the spoils. In Northern Africa this has led to a division between France, Italy and Great Britain.

In the Balkans it led to four international conflicts: 1. The Crimean War of 1854-6, when Britain buttressed Turkey as a barrier against the Russian advance to the Mediterranean. 2. The Russo-Turkish War of 1876-78. 3. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13. 4. The Great European War of 1914.

Professor Jastrow maintains that the real issue, viz., the liberation of the Balkan States from the Turkish yoke, was dodged in 1856; while in the Wars of 1912-13, when the Balkan States might have settled the question themselves, the Central Powers intervened to preserve what was left of the sovereignty of the Turkish Empire. Germany

and Austria succeeded in stirring up an intra-fraternal struggle with the result that the Turks, in alliance with Serbia and Greece against Bulgaria, regained Adrianople, and saved themselves from being ejected from Europe. Had the European powers kept their hands off, Jastrow considers that the Balkan League would have settled one part of the Near Eastern problem, and, what is more, the War of 1914-18 might have been averted, for the Balkan League would have formed a cordon against Germany's advance towards the Near East.

Germany, under the leadership of William the Second, who visited the Sultan in 1898, began to look to Asia Minor as a field for expansion; and so the project of the Berlin-Bagdad Railway was launched. The Slav state of Serbia, in historic alliance with Russia, stood at Belgrade right athwart that policy; while Bulgaria in her hour of humiliation and defeat, threw herself into the arms of Germany. Thus we see the arranging of the powers for the great struggle.

As a result of the Great War, the rule of the Turk has practically vanished from Europe; and with the establishment of independent national states in the Balkans, under the protection of the League of Nations, we may hope that that storm-centre of Europe may begin to know the meaning of peace and security.

There remains the cockpit of Asia—what principles are to be applied to Asia Minor and its outposts?

As a direct result of the War, Georgia was separated from Russia, while Armenia, Azerbaijan (between Georgia and the Caspian Sea), Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Arabia were definitely released from their former dependence on Turkey,

\* *The Eastern Question and its Solution* by Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph. D., LL.D., Professor of the University of Pennsylvania. J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.



Owing to the revolution in Russia, the situation has been relieved of one embarrassing element, namely the promise of the Allies to give Constantinople to Russia. Italy was promised a large strip on the south coast of Asia Minor along with the Dodecanese Islands off this coast; while Great Britain looked to Palestine and Mesopotamia and France to Syria.

This policy of the Allies is consistent, Jastrow thinks, with their traditional diplomacy towards the East. In pursuance of this policy Britain proclaimed the Sherif of Mecca, Husain Ibn Ali, King of the Hedjaz, the strip of Arabia along the Red Sea, and dangled before him, according to Jastrow, the possibility of the reorganization of a great Arabic state in return for his aid in uniting the Arabs against Turkey.

"The Sherif (i. e. "noble") of the holy city of Mecca has always regarded himself as occupying a peculiar position as the custodian of the most sacred sanctuary of Islam, the Caaba in Mecca. . . He was never a Caliph, though some of the occupants of the Sherifate had ambitions in that direction, but his authority, increased by the fact that the occupant was supposed to be a descendant of Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, was always recognised as a matter of policy by the Sultan. To the Arabs, constituting the very core of orthodox Mohammedanism, the Turkish yoke had always been distasteful."

King Hussain sent his son, the Emir Feisul to the Paris Conference, where his demand for a Greater Arabia encountered opposition both from the French, who laid claim to Syria, and from the Zionists who wished to see Palestine transformed into a Jewish State.

As a result of the Special Conference Great Britain has been given a mandate for Palestine and France for Syria.

How is Asia Minor proper to be settled? There you have some seven millions of Turks, and also a large Greek population along the west coast. If

any part of the sea coast be given to Greece, where is the boundary line to be drawn? This difficulty is one of the causes which has made a revision of the Treaty of Sevres necessary. The idea of entirely dissolving Turkey by handing over Asia Minor to some Power would be sheer madness.

As a result of the War, Armenia and Georgia (Batoum, Kars, Tiflis—Russia) declared their independence. The Greek occupation of Smyrna, and the adjacent coastland was sanctioned by the Allies as a provisional measure. While Britain, as a result of her successful campaigns, virtually governed Palestine and Mesopotamia, and France sent General Gourand to occupy Alexandretta and Beirut in Syria in anticipation of the decision of the Paris Conference.

"Such is the situation", Professor Jastrow sums up, "largely brought about by the continuation of the old time-spirit . . . Unless an entirely different principle is set up at the coming Conference (Sevres), nothing is to be expected except further outbursts of fanaticism of the Turks against Greeks and Armenians, the outbreak of hostilities between Greeks and Italians, the rising of Palestinian Mohammedans against the Jews, and of Syrian natives against the ambitions of the Arabs."

As a prophet of doom Professor Jastrow has not been entirely justified in detail, but the rebellions in Egypt, in Mesopotamia and in Syria, along with Khilafat agitation in India go far to confirm his conclusion that the corpse of the sick man of Europe will be as troublesome as the moribund patient.

In his third chapter—"Mandates not a Solution"—Professor Jastrow gives us the American point of view on the vexed subject of the mandate method—a method which the world owes to the fertile imagination of General Smuts. "A mandate," Professor Jastrow writes, "may be defined as a trusteeship committed to a Power with the proviso that the Power so entrusted is responsible

to the League of Nations." The Power which discharges a mandate may not exceed its limitations.

He admits that the mandate method meets the need of tutelage in the case of backward peoples, and that the League can prevent the Government entrusted with the mandate from stepping beyond its proper bounds. For these reasons the mandate method marks a great step forward, but he doubts the advisability of applying it to regions which were once centres of culture *e. g.*, Asia Minor and Syria.

He suggests that there are only three possible candidates for mandates in the near East—Britain, France and the United States. Mesopotamia and Palestine naturally fall to Britain; Syria to France. There remain the newly organized states of Arabia, Armenia and Azerbaijan (between Georgia and the Caspian Sea—Baku), Georgia, and the rest of Asia Minor to be disposed of. He suggests Britain for Arabia; the United States for Armenia. "But in the opinion of many competent students it would be unwise as well as, in many respects, impracticable to apportion Armenia, and what we may conveniently call Turkish Asia Minor to two Powers. If this were done, however, one does not see how any other decision can be reached except again to assign to Great Britain the mandatory power over Turkish Asia Minor." Then he proceeds to develop an argument which seeks to show the peril to the peace of the world which would result from this control by Great Britain of the historic highway across Asia Minor. The peril seems entirely one of his own imagination, and his reasoning seems rather perverse. America declines to be responsible for Armenia—Armenia and Turkish Asia Minor should go together under one mandate—place another little burden on Britain's back, and then turn round and accuse her of seeking to control the destinies of the Near East! Is this quite fair?

And as a matter of history, the Treaty of Sevres has given no mandate for Turkish Asia Minor—that remains an independent state; while, thanks to the delay and unwillingness of U. S. A., Armenia is still without a mandatory Power—the prey of Bolshevik and Turk.

Britain is given a mandate over Palestine and Mesopotamia, though recent events in the valley of the Tigris may cause a revision of the mandate granted.

France is given a control in Syria, limited to the coast towns, and a narrow inland strip including the province of the Lebanon; while the interior including the principal cities, has been controlled and administered by an Arab Provisional Government with its headquarters at Damascus.

Thus another of Professor Jastrow's anticipations is falsified. In discussing whether U. S. A. should undertake a mandate for Armenia and Turkish Asia Minor, as urged by their famous diplomatist and ex-Ambassador to Turkey, the Hon. Henry Morgenthau, Professor Jastrow seems to forget his former argument, when he brings forward the strong American opposition to a combined mandate for fear that it would result in strengthening the Turk and in weakening the Armenian. Would not this argument apply equally to a British combined control?

His chief objection, however, against the undertaking by U. S. A. of a mandate for Armenia, is that this would involve under present conditions the provision of a considerable army to maintain order. "There is no mistaking the strong feeling existing in this country," he writes, "against entering into any further military activities on the other side of the ocean, now that, with our help, the menace to the civilized world for which we entered the war has been removed." But has it? The first sentence in his book declares that "the war is not over, nor will it be until the Eastern Question has been disposed of." "If



the U. S." he goes on in Chapter 3, "as a nation free from any militaristic ambitions were to furnish the example of a standing army of *large proportions*, it is felt that there would be little hope of ever carrying out a policy of gradual disarmament throughout the world". Once again we think the argument is weak. He puts the maximum numbers required for maintaining order in Armenia at 50,000. Does he suggest that the supply of such a force for a period long enough to enable the Armenians to undertake their own self-defence, would be a real obstacle to disarmament? Surely one of the lessons of the War has been that it is sheer political folly for the democratic nations of the world to desist from maintaining an effective military force, so long as any region *e.g.* Mexico or the Near East—is in a condition of insecurity and disorder. We do not live in a Utopia merely as a result of signing the League of Nations Covenant. May it not be that the shortest road to ultimate disarmament may just be the provision of the protectors whom Armenia so sorely needs?

"The pertinent question is asked", he goes on, "why should we assume a guardianship for a part of the world with which, outside promoting commercial and friendly relations, we have nothing to do, and with which we have nothing in common?" We are glad that he does not fully share this point of view himself. That this question should ever be asked, is but another example of how little the American people have learned by the War. Have they not realized after the tragedy of the last seven years, that no nation in the world can live to itself, that the strong must bear the burdens of the weak, and that, if they refuse, another international catastrophe will ensue, into which, as inevitably as in the recent conflict, the U. S. will be drawn. Surely the policy of political isolation is morally out of date!

"We stand emphatically" he states, "for the policy of the self-government of peoples, which means that those peoples who are not yet able to govern themselves should realize that they are placed under the tutelage of more advanced nations *solely* with this end in view and no other. We are free from the suspicion of ulterior motives. We need no territory as a bulwark to our possessions, and we are not menaced by any encroachment on our domain. But on the other hand it should be recognised that, in the fulfilment of obligations, that would rest upon us as a member of the League of Nations, we ought not to be asked to take a step which should involve the further sacrifice of young American lives."

It is sad, indeed, to read such a sentence from a citizen of the same land as Abraham Lincoln. 'We want a better world, and we would like to see Armenia safe and free, only don't ask us to risk our lives in achieving that most desirable end.' No wonder, Woodrow Wilson is a broken-hearted man.

Britain and France who poured forth their best young blood like water—they may accept mandate because of course they have ulterior motives, but as for us we will mind our own affairs!

Surely for the sake of the future world it would be a stimulating and inspiring spectacle to see the U. S. lead the way in a task of really unselfish service. Are all motives to remain mercenary, while the presence of the U. S. as a mandatory power in the Near East would help to prevent that very evolution of trusteeship into proprietorship, which he so much dreads.

Dissatisfied with the mandate system, Professor Jastrow, in the last chapter, seeks a solution in what he calls "Internationalism." "Is it possible" he asks, "to hold on to the correct principle underlying the mandatory idea, and yet advance to a form in its application which will obviate the dangers, difficulties and objections inherent in assigning the trusteeship of each of the sub-divisions

of the Near East to *one* power?" He therefore suggests assigning to international commissions the tutelage of the nine sub-divisions into which this region naturally falls:—1. Constantinople 2. Turkish Asia-Minor 3. Armenia. 4. Georgia 5. Azerbaijan 6. Syria 7. Palestine 8. Mesopotamia 10. Arabia.

On each commission there should be representation of the native population. Their work would be primarily that of reconstruction into which, he thinks, the political factor need not enter unless we deliberately introduce it.

He contends for the following advantages under this system. 1. The financial obligations incurred would be shared by all while the benefits would accrue to all.

2. There would be no tariff wars between the nine sub-divisions.

3. The elimination of large standing armies, and, with this, the removal of the main objection urged in this country against American participation in the affairs of the East.

4. All the splendid plans which the present Mandatory Powers have in mind for the countries entrusted to them, could be carried out just as well and even better in co-operation with the other Powers represented on an international for that land and with their good will.

5. Lastly the plan of international commissions would solve the perplexing problem of what to do with Constantinople. Under such a commission which should include Greek and Turkish representation, Constantinople would naturally become a free city like Dantzig.

"The *conditio sine qua non* for trying the new experiment of international commissions in settling the Eastern Question, is the whole-souled willingness of the Great Powers to abandon all ambitions for extension of territorial sovereignty over lands, which do not belong to them.

"We do not need the East, but the East needs us; and there is a sense in which we also need the

East for progress in the world has always been brought about through the interchange of Eastern and Western ideas and inspirations."

In debating this issue as between the mandate system and that of international commissions, we do well to remember that mandated territories do not form part of the sovereign domain of the mandatory Power, but are merely attributed to it on condition it fulfils specified conditions *e.g.*, rendering a yearly report to the League of nations. If the mandatory Power fails in its duties or violates the requirements laid upon it, it can be deprived of its mandate.

Besides the method of condominium *i. e.*, of sharing of sovereignty by one or more nations has been tried and found wanting, because of the difficulty of fixing responsibility under such a system. And for this same reason international commissions are likely to prove unsuitable for administering large regions.

But if international control is inadmissible for mandated territories, purely national control is not without dangers. To avoid and overcome these dangers the League of Nations exists, and it can function successfully, whether by the system of mandates or not, only as a new spirit permeates the policy of all the nations—that new spirit which kindled into flame at the words of Woodrow Wilson.

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# THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BY

MR. T. S. SANKARA SUBBU, M.A., B.L.

THE manifesto of the Congress held at Glasgow in 1919 says "The League of Nations is the greatest experiment ever tried upon the earth. In its success lies the future hope of humanity." What is this League of Nations? Wherein lies the necessity to try this greatest experiment? What are its aims and measures? Is the world ready to welcome this League? Is it bound to be the future hope of humanity? These are evidently some of the very many important questions which require an answer in order to have a correct understanding and appreciation of the subject.

The European political thought has thrown in its horizon as the summit of its attainments a new ideal in the shape of the League of Nations. A common sense definition of the term is perhaps that it is a combination of all the representatives of the peoples of the universe for security of peace and order and for the total abolition of all abhorrent wars in future. In substance, it must imply that the whole human race has only one origin and that artificial differences arising by way of divergences in creed, colour and locality will weigh nothing in the light of the common welfare of the universe. Stated thus, the League looks like a splendid ideal with which, as Lord Bryce says "the future Temple of Peace can be safely built." Differences between nations in all matters concerning their welfare will be settled by a common world tribunal, and the decision of such a tribunal is bound to bind all those who compose the same. Looked at from this point of view, it is not only desirable to have such an institution for the future security of universal peace, but it is also most highly necessary.

Wherein lies the necessity to try this greatest experiment? The late European war has instilled

into the mind of every human being a longing after peace and order and a hatred for war and its consequences. The economic effects of the late disastrous world war are still fresh in the minds of all nations, and no nation is as yet free from the unbearable sufferings and hardships imposed upon them, in their mode of living, and standard of comfort. Besides this natural and inborn desire of men for peace, there is also the fear that, perhaps, a future war, if it comes at all—may God forbid—is likely to be a hundred or even a thousand times more costly than the late one. A third reason, certainly very important from the stand point of History, arises out of a desire to preserve the remnants of civilisation from time immemorial, in architecture, art etc. Those of us who have been glancing through the 'London Times' or the 'Times of India' during the war period will recollect with vivid imagination and memory some of the horrible atrocities, sacrilegious acts, and vandalistic behaviour committed upon civilisation. Beautiful buildings illustrating the development of architectural skill, and fine arts representing the height of human capacity were made the victims of fire and cannon balls. Human nature must, in its best and most refined sense, show an aversion to vandalism, and try to preserve its progress in civilisation from stage to stage so that future generations may have that aesthetic pleasure and taste to impose upon improved methods, and make life also a pleasant thing to live in this world theatre.

So then, a necessity having been felt for the formation of such a League, we shall note the aim as well as the measures with which the League intends to carry out its aim. The main object of the League can be inferentially drawn from its definition to be the promotion of international

co-operation, and the abolition of international enmity and strife. In the preamble to the Covenant of 28th April 1919, it is laid down that the aim of the League is "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war." But in a nutshell, the main aim of the League is the abolition of war. To carry out this aim, several elaborate provisions have been drawn. There must be a definite and mutual guarantee of territory and independence. Every nation must recognise that any act or circumstance which goes to threaten international peace is a matter of international interest. Till a peaceful settlement has been tried in case of disputes, all nations must agree not to go to war. If any member of the League violates the sacredness of this agreement, all the other members should declare a state of war against it and they should strictly preclude themselves from all dealings with that member. Though a provision has been made with regard to the limitation of armaments, still an arrangement has been made for the organisation of a huge and well-trained international police,—other ways failing—to secure a peaceful settlement."

Besides this ultimate and most important aim of preventing future wars, the scope of the work of the League is considerably widened by its necessity to solve a number of universal problems, economic and social, that have arisen in almost all the countries of the world as a direct consequence of the most liberal ideas of fraternity, equality and liberty thrown in the political horizon by the volcanic eruption of the French Revolution in the last decade of the eighteenth century. One of the most important of such universal problems is the successful solution of the keen struggle between capital on the one hand and labor on the other. Readers of newspapers, Englishmen as well as Indians, will recollect how strikes and lock-outs have become everyday phenomena, and how

capital has to yield to labor gradually by promise of increased wages and better conditions of living. Even in an undeveloped country like India, strikes on the part of the laborers have become so common and so serious that capitalists seriously fear, that they, in the near future, would have to be mechanical tools in the hands of the laborers. The Madras tramway strikes of 1918 and mill-laborer strikes at Bombay and at Allahabad represent the dignity that labor has assumed, even though the success has been infinitesimally small. English Industrial History has shown that, in the eighteenth century, capitalists were a nightmare to the laborers, and a source of terror to their sources of living. But now, the importance of labor has been realised to a degree, which was probably unthought of before two centuries. Recently, the English capitalists had to descend, and to promise more wages to the laborers in the coal-strike. Now arises the question "what is to be the role of capital? Is it to dictate to labor or to serve as a source of supply to it? As it is, it seems that labor has strengthened itself by the organisation of trade-unions and has impressed its importance upon the economic world so much so, there is an honest fear that the position of capital and labor will be reversed, and that the laborer will be the ruling autocrat of the world, as were the military soldiers in Germany. So, the arrival of a smooth and happy relationship between capital and labor is one of the very many problems left to the League for solution.

Another and still more important question arises in connection with the status of the small states in Europe. Are they to be erased from the map of Europe just like the shameful partition of Poland, or, are they still to be kept intact and made the cause of further internecine strifes and struggles? History has already recorded within her bosom the slur cast upon the different nationalities of Europe for having most shamefully, and against all scruples of human civilisa-



tion, partitioned Poland. What is to be done with small states like Belgium and Switzerland? Ever since the dawn of history, they have been the main reservoirs supplying the cause of almost all the European wars. The interests of civilisation require that the small states must be preserved, and their rights must be respected, but the interests of the League necessitate a total erasure of all the small states unless the big nations are prepared to recognise the small ones as having equal status and importance in the world's history.

Subject countries like India or Ireland seem to be a third bugbear to the council of the League of Nations. Though the inauguration of the League is hailed with applause in certain quarters of the world, yet there are countries, like India, which view the League as the 'greatest tragedy of the late war.' One of the Indian papers observes that the League is a good preparation for a new war, and that so long as there are powers with interests to guard, or ambitions to fulfil, or even a grudge to pay out, they do not mean to let the League impose peace on an immature world. The reason for this view is due to the fact that, while small states like Belgium and Switzerland are represented in the International Labor Office, India alone is denied the right of representation. The denial is made more tragic by the fact of its apparent justification with causes too trivial and silly, by the organisers of the League.

Ireland is another tragic instance, when England, the strong advocate of the League, fails to mete out justice. Filled with ideas of diplomacy, balance of power, and the everlasting glory of the British Empire, England has not yet made up its mind to grant even Dominion Home Rule even though martyrs, like the Lord Mayor of Cork, would not be satisfied with anything less than absolute independence. To England, as to all countries, History has taught nothing, and the same story has to be repeated in all countries

which cry for national independence, as was the case in Italy and France. There is a great deal of truth in the statement that England has to sacrifice a great deal of her 'Imperial imperialism' for the sake of the League if she earnestly advocates it. This is perhaps the reason why it is said that all those who are concerned with the formation of the League of Nations are not friends of the British Empire. Bishop Frodsham makes a comparison between the League of Nations on the one hand, and the British Empire on the other, and holds the view that no greater world disaster could be committed than the starting of the League of Nations. In his own words, "The League of Nations is a glorious dream but the British Empire is a solid reality. The British Empire is the product of gradual development and of three hundred years of practical experience and no greater world disaster could be conceived than that the fabric of the Empire should be undermined in order to make room for an ambitious but imperfectly thought-out scheme for building a Palace of Peace which may turn out to be only another Castle in Spain." Hence even in England, the glorious advocate, then, have arisen two hostile camps, one desiring her to sacrifice a great deal of her imperialism for the cause of internationalism and the other fully impregnated with the view that the sun never sets on the British Empire, not willing to leave away the bird in hand to seek after two in the bush. Morley in his *Recollections* (Vol. II) says. "The very word 'Empire' is in history and essence military; Emperor means soldier; all modern history and tradition associate Empires with war." The advocates of the British Empire are the enemies of the League of Nations the main aim of which is to strike at the root of all causes for future wars.

At this stage, a question naturally arises. Is the world ready and well-equipped to welcome such a League? These who trace the progress of

History from its dawn will note with interest the various stages that society has gone through up to the present day, from individuals to groups of individuals, from groups to tribes, from tribes to societies, and from societies to states. It is at this stage of development, that the organisers make a high jump from states to inter-states. This involves an assumption that all over the world, there are only states of equal status, and that all that is necessary is to mingle them up in a sort of international federation. But this assumption is against historic truth and fact. Some countries are just beginning to develop; some remain as subject countries like India and Ireland; which so many, like Belgium and Switzerland remain as small states to be played as tossing balls between the mighty nations of the world organised in two hostile camps. The League itself is not all-comprehensive. America and Russia do not represent themselves in the Council. This is, in short, a passing account of the states of the world at present.

Now it may be asked whether the League starting with the aims and measures aforesaid has a chance to stand in the premature condition of the world. The answer can be very well begun with the recital of a passage occurring in an official communique issued by Mr. Lloyd George and Signor Giolitti in connection with the Polish affairs, which goes as follows: "The world in the east and west is crying for peace but it is only obtainable on the basis of full recognition of the liberties of nations." These words, coming as they do, from the lips of such a great man as Mr. Lloyd George are entitled to great weight and consideration. If it is a statement made without meaning, then it is only a diplomatic way of softening the higher aspirations of other undeveloped countries like Ireland from making any further attempts towards national independence and national freedom. But if that statement has come from his lips after deliberate thinking for

the welfare of the universe, then the only way left open to Mr. Lloyd George is simply to recognise the liberties of all nations. If absolute freedom for nations is recognised, then it means that the 'Empire' idea must perish, and England has to be only one among many nations in the world. As it is, the promise of England to Ireland and India, is practically a castle in the air and one is forced to think in a pessimistic way whether a repetition of all the attempts and acts that had to be gone through in all struggles for national independence, is not necessary before the liberties of all nations are recognised, and before any such idea of a League of Nations can be launched in the sphere of practical politics. Prof. Gilbert Murray seems to think that the idea of nationality is dangerous to the future peace of the world. Mr. Sydney Herbert writes, "Nationality is a spiritual principle fit only for the performance of a spiritual function divorced from all associations regarding state or administration." Perhaps, it is in the interest of Mr. Sydney Herbert, and the country to which he belongs, to say so. This sort of viewing life by different compartments of human activity is not always correct, and cannot be made applicable at all times, and in all countries. Politics, in its essence, must cover the sum and substance of human activities which go to contribute towards the greatness of those people who compose a state. Hence countries, which are under foreign domination, must be made free, and their national liberties must be recognised before any idea of a world peace is to be put into action. Mere talk of truth and justice is of no use for the future security of the world.

Now, to go into the merits of the aim, and measures of the League, the aim of the League, as has been repeatedly said, is the abolition of war, and the diminution of the chances of its breaking out. As a means to this aim, the League makes an elaborate provision for an international police



to settle differences of opinion between States. Article XVI in the Preamble lays down: "If any member of the League should resort to war in disregard of its covenants, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade and financial relations." It is clear from this that there is an obvious necessity to organise on a large scale an international police, to arbitrate conflicting opinions between two divisions in the Council. Evidently, it means that might is to be the only dictator of the rights of nations, and that all talk of protection to weak states, and justice to subordinate ones will be only a sham. This is the main reason why the League of Nations is condemned as one defeating its own purpose. Dr. Alfred Freid says "that the League to be useful and successful must not have for its foundation an international police, but must be based upon a moral code which must bind the whole universe." To say this is exactly begging the question. Is the world ready to be guided by a moral code? This obviously requires a recognition of equality and national independence in all states, small or great, subject or independent, undeveloped, or advanced. But as it is, there are so many subject countries, like India and Ireland, crying and fighting for national liberty, and there are several small states always fearing that they might be partitioned piecemeal by bigger ones. One other fact, namely, the exclusion of some countries, like Russia and the withdrawal of some, like the United States, from the League is proof positive to show that the world is not yet ripe to welcome such a League. Recently, the inability of the League to decide the question of difference between Persia and Russia, has shown to the spectators, the glaring weakness, and the consequent futility of the League.

And this defect in the constitution of the League, as it is, is that the League is more a League

of Governments than a League of Peoples. Perhaps, it may be said that all governments have become democratic, and that they stand only as peoples of the universe. But it must be borne in mind that there are so many countries in the world to which democracy and freedom of nationality are denied, and till all of them become nations of equal status with the organisers of the League, the League will be declared premature, and the chances of its success are practically nil.

Summing up, the League, as it is composed, is only a castle in the air, and has practically no chance of standing at present. It is easy for Lord Bryce, the arm-chair historian, to say "on the sanctity of treaties must the future Temple of Peace be built." The statement only shows an incapacity to understand the human psychology. The predominance of 'Self' in man has developed in the politics of to day in the shape of the all-powerful 'State.' To work for it, to improve it, and to die for it, these are the predominant ideals of the present day political life. It is nothing but glib talk to say that international treaties must be respected, when the policy of every state is to see that it stands over the heads of the others. So, then, the future Temple of Peace is not to be built upon the sanctity of treaties but upon the recognition of the liberties of all nations. Ever since the dawn of the world, its progress up till to-day has been very small. War, which has been the means of deciding disputes between individuals is now made use of as a means of arbitration between states, and between different nations. A further development is yet to come. Just as in a state, the individual binds himself according to the decision of the courts of justice, the states also must develop to such an extent as would agree to bind themselves by the decisions of the world tribunals.

# THOUGHTS FROM VEDANTA

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BY

MR. H. W. B. MORENO, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S.

Thy thirst, deluded one, for wealth avoid,  
Make mind and soul and all, of that devoid,  
The fruit of thine own labours is thy lot,  
Seek but for this, why seek for what is not?  
Who is thy wife, or who thy son? Indeed,  
Strange is this world to such as do pay heed,  
Dost know to whom, O, brother, thou belong'st?  
Reflect on It, <sup>2</sup> from whence thou know'st thou  
com'st.

Why seek for earthly wealth, or worldly fame,  
Both have their baffling ills, their woes the same;  
Know that the bee that doth the honey bring  
Hides in its sheath the sharp and painful sting.

With pride of wealth old age and youth do play,  
Fleeth all this as doth the light of day,  
Knowing thou this, illusive pomp <sup>3</sup> forsake,  
To the goal of Brahman, <sup>4</sup> now thyself betake.

Unsteady as the water on the leaf,  
Of budding lotus, so is transient, brief,  
All wordly joy, eschew this false domain,  
Penance thy raft, thou'lt cross the Samsar-main <sup>5</sup>

For birth and death they follow one another,  
Like twins they issue from the womb of mother,  
Such is the Wheel of Karma <sup>6</sup> circling round,  
Now up thou art and now thou seek'st the ground.

Day follows night and winter ushers spring,  
Each has its joys and both their sorrows bring;  
Time hastens on and if Life's span decrease,  
Hope ever rises and man's aims increase.

Hoary with age and poised on trembling joints,  
Man wends his way, while Hope to Distance points,

The bright mirage defeats his longing will,  
Now it is near and now 'tis distant still.  
Life is but death and death the gate of life,  
This in thy bosom face all earthly strife;  
For yet the death of deaths shall set thee free,  
To enjoy the sweets of immortality.

Away from tumult, far from voice or sound,  
Couched on thy deer-hide, <sup>7</sup> seek the tranquil  
ground,

There let thy soul in contemplation rise,  
To realms above the earth, beyond the skies.

For friend and foe and kith and kin must cease,  
When thou hast reached the bonds of perfect peace,  
There from those heights empyrean thou shalt see,  
Alone thou wast, and is, and e'er shall be. <sup>8</sup>

The earth and sea below, the sky above,  
Shall merge into the ocean of pure love,  
Beyond those bournes Thy Self <sup>9</sup> in joy serene,  
Shall view what shall be, is, and what has been.

Set free from all desire, from lust and greed,  
Made free from bond of caste or earthly creed,  
Ask "Who am I"? Then let the inward eye,  
Of contemplation answer to that cry.

For birth and death must cease and thou and I,  
And God and man, for vain such notions lie,  
The All is I and I the All thou'lt say,  
Lo "Aum" <sup>10</sup> reveals this as the light of day.

Lost in the ocean of eternal bliss, <sup>11</sup>  
All thoughts shall vanish, all shall pass but this;  
"The One Unknown that broods upon the deep,  
Doth fold me in Its wings in dreamless sleep". <sup>12</sup>

Vedanta. The system of Hindu philosophy expounded  
by Sankaracharya.

2. It.—God as impersonal, unknown and unknowable.

3. Illusive pomp.—The illusion of this universe, *maya*.

4. Brahman.—God in the character of Creator.

5. Samsar-main.—This Universe and all that it  
entails.

6. Karma.—The law of causality, that actions bring  
their own reward; an endless cycle of births  
and rebirths due to our actions which have to  
be atoned for in other lives.

7. Deer-hide.—The common carpet on which all *yogis*  
*i.e.*, religious devotees, sit in contemplation.

8. Alone . . . shall be.—A reference to the Monistic  
theory, that the soul of man expanded is the  
World-Soul or God and is therefore the only  
entity in the universe.

9. Self.—The Higher Self or the Divine *Atman*.

10. Aum.—The secret name of God.

11. Eternal bliss.—Called *Ananda*, the Buddhist  
*Nirvana*.

12. Dreamless sleep.—Called *Samadhi*.



# Mr. NEVINSON'S POEMS

BY MR. B. NATESAN

**M**R. HENRY Nevinson is a journalist and writer of distinction. To us in India, he endeared himself by the remarkably frank and sympathetic studies he contributed to the *Manchester Guardian* in the stirring days of 1907—1908. Those interesting sketches were collected and published in the form of a book, "The New Spirit in India" which traced the cause of the Indian unrest and suggested remedies which time has proved salutary.

Mr. Nevinson has led a vigorous life—a life full of varied experiences. He has travelled far and wide

Beyond the village, through the garden gate  
Down the white road across the harbour bar,  
And out upon the ocean desolate;

and has told in prose and verse

Of other men where other mortals are,  
Where rites impenetrable consecrate  
The glittering temple domes of Candahar,  
Or where the Pyramids, confronting fate,  
Watch over Egypt's immemorial state;  
Told them of jewelled vaults in Travancore,  
And bid them all the haunted bays explore  
Of Asia, slumbering on her memories.

A scholar of Christ Church, he early took to journalism which, in England, offers a fine field for energy and intelligence. He joined the staff of the *Daily Chronicle* on which he served as a war correspondent during the Greco-Turkish war of 1897. In '98 he travelled in Spain and was subsequently sent to Natal and Transvaal during the Boer war. He visited Central Africa in 1904 where he exposed the Portuguese Slave Trade in a series of brilliant articles which stirred the reading public and profoundly disturbed the placidity of the Government. He was then called to Russia in 1905 and deputed to take the English Address to the President of the Duma in 1906. Later, he travelled in the Caucasus and then came to India, 1909 found him in Spain writing sketches to the *Daily News* to which he also wrote a periodical account of the Spanish campaign in Morocco. Albania saw him in 1911 while in 1912 he was with the Bulgarian army. Truly he may sing:

I have laboured long  
And much enjoyed, much suffered, wandering far  
In unknown wilds and cities of old fame.

Mr. Nevinson has been associated with the London *Nation* since 1906 when it was founded by Mr. Massingham. He contributed largely to its pages and wrote some remarkably telling articles during the last great war.

In the midst of such a life of toil and adventure Mr. Nevinson has found time to "cultivate the muse." And in the book under review \* he aptly quotes the pregnant words of Socrates uttered on the morning of his execution: "For it seemed safer not to depart this life before I had absolved and purified my soul by making poems in obedience to the dream." Fit motto for a scholar's book of verses!

We are familiar with his prose—nervous, eloquent, colloquial, chatty—a handy style fit for every species of writing—descriptive, narrative, studiously philosophic or whimsically reflective, as the occasion may require. But to many of his readers his command of the felicities of metre and his easy turn for poetical composition and the fine success he has achieved in this line must be agreeably surprising. This collection of occasional verses which are mainly autobiographical will be read with interest by all lovers of his delightful essays. Indeed his verses are much more than the diversions of a man of letters, practising rhyming for pleasure. Poetry seems so inevitable to this happy traveller. "I too was born a pilgrim" he sings,

And sought  
From land to land by holy reverence led  
The relic of mankind's immortal dead;

and so on he goes singing like a minstrel bard from land to land. Thus of Greece the classic ground of wisdom and romance in a familiar strain:

I stood beside the column  
Of Athene's ruined shrine;  
And looked from far at Sparta,  
And drank the risened wine;  
And heard the goat God speak,  
Where the asphodel was growing,  
And the mother tongue was Greek.

\* *Lines of Life* By H. W. Nevinson, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.

But for sheer beauty of description and splendour of words I must quote this passage from a poem entitled the "German Winter:"

Oh, far away

A purple mountain rises from the sand,  
The golden sand beneath the golden day;  
Down the bright steep the waterfall plunges free,  
From ledge to radiant ledge, and on the strand.  
*Sounds the long murmur of the eternal sea.*

The last line, has, to mine ear, all the poetical excellence in Tennyson's beautiful line: "The long glories of the winter moon." It will be profitable to study the sounds of the vowels in either case and the skilful disposition of words.

We have had in recent years a few masters of prose embarking on the perilous sea of poesy with such easy mastery and sureness of touch that it makes us regret all the more that they had not taken to the muse much earlier in life. Mr. Nevinson's efforts remind us of the achievements of Edmond Gosse and Christopher Benson who have dabbled in verse with conspicuous success. His poems, like theirs, are marked by the same polish and elegance, the same grace of style and delicacy of execution coupled with a note of seriousness becoming the scholar which distinguishes his verses from the playful parodies of mere critics and pedants. Mr. Nevinson is no dilettante. He is too seriously inclined and his mood, whether grave or gay, is seldom frivolous and always inspired by the masters. No mere skilful dealing in words could make a true poet. Mr. Nevinson has all the mood and spirit of rare artistry. But in the exquisite "Prayer in Spring," there is the authentic voice of great poetry.

Love open, too, I have shared, and love that came,  
With fragrance of a midnight rose,  
And silent arms; and after wisdom's flame.

As a wild hunter sought

In life and record, following where she goes

Down the pale glens of thought;

Much have I striven, like the old Greek who chose  
Service to war and the muses—each a strife!

But in the dusk and storm that battle wrought  
Peace came undreamt of, as a miraculous flower

Sprung from a harsh and thorny stick,

And rapturous for an hour.

He is, like his obvious favourites, the poet of life, consciously or unconsciously echoing the style and sentiments of Milton and Wordsworth. It is the over-powering expression of the scholar in the poet even as in Mathew Arnold.

Now in the centre of life's arch I stand,  
And view its curve descending from to-day;  
How brief the road from birth's mysterious strand,

How brief its passage till it close in grey;  
Yet by this bridge went all the immortal band,  
And the world's saviour did not reach halfway.

And then there are plentiful lines in which Mr. Nevinson has adapted the strain of the greater poets, lines like:

So has it been since I was born;  
So lasts till death or longer

Or

When I consider this queer soul of mine,  
And kindred souls of all my fellows here

Or

O Death, here is thy sting!  
Here, Grave, thy Victory!

Or that splendid perversion of the well worn lines:

But now his soul lies mouldering in the grave,  
And his body goes marching on.

It would be surprising indeed if Mr. Nevinson, the journalist had not written on the war—the war that inspired Rupert Brooke and the new Elizabethans. In a brilliant study of the wounded soldier he has packed in three lines the whole philosophy of the concluding chapter in Pater's Renaissance, when he depicts the hero's longing for life—one last, lingering look of love and desire to

Feel the rebellious heart confronting me  
And know the miracle of the sudden smile,  
And live the immortal life of moments.

In fact the passion of life and the delights of labour are the very spice of Mr. Nevinson's philosophy even as it was of Stevenson's. What can be more touching and withal more exulting than the song of the wounded soldier—a song which in its rich vocabulary of the sea is so truly reminiscent of Tennyson:

Shall I not sail a ship again, nor feel  
The rudder leaping in my hand



Like a big fish, nor hear deep waters slide  
 Hissing in foam against the slanted keel,  
 Nor watch the jagged horizon show a land  
 Grey with the rain and cloud,  
 Nor when the moaning winds are loud,  
 Up through the storm exultant ride,  
 Bearing great orders, climb the mountain side,  
 Cross the dim watershed of plunging snow,  
 And see an army's braziers sparkling far  
 below?

Such is the poet's joy in motion and the glory  
 of limb and life. We are familiar with the ways  
 of poets and philosophers who praise the soul at  
 the expense of the body. Here is a poet refresh-  
 ingly original:

I do not greatly care what may befall  
 My soul when it shall fade in air;  
 but he is deeply perturbed by the fate of the  
 body,

Dear host and comrade of the soul,  
 and deplores the pitiful destiny that awaits this  
 mortal coil, so scorned and despised alike by the  
 stupid and the wise, the stupid who are ignorant  
 of its proper use and the wise who are stoically  
 indifferent. What shall come of it, asks the  
 poet.

Oh, the broad chest that broke the swollen wave  
 The feet that were so swift to run  
 The eyes that threw a light so glad and brave  
 Back to the sun,  
 And limbs that learnt of love his utmost worth  
 And humming heart that loved so true!  
 Sweet earth, have pity on a little earth  
 That pitied you!

Such lines are not the result of mere tricks of  
 style or sentiment. They embody a deliberate  
 philosophy of life—rejoicing in action, and keenly  
 sensitive to the pleasures of the earth, yet austere,  
 supremely disdainful of vulgar temptations  
 and defying the base compromises of indolence  
 and pusillanimity. He is no epicure. His soul,  
 like that of the elder poets is possessed by that  
 inexhaustible word, life, of which he discourses  
 with such eloquence and wisdom. He is truly  
 Wordsworthian even where you suspect he is dull  
 or pompous. But what interests him is always  
 life,

Life, the muslin network of the flesh,  
 The sacred web where soul and substance meet,  
 Mysterious, passing knowledge, with a mesh

Of wonder inter-woven till it works  
 In perfect function; limbs obey the call  
 Of lightning riders racing to and fro,  
 Silent, invisible, carrying the commands  
 Of a dominant thing unknown, that somewhere  
 lurks

Silent, invisible, hidden apart from all,  
 But interfered and intermingled so  
 That while they live secure, secure it stands,  
 And if they suffer, suffering too it lies,  
 And if they die, it dies.

As we said he is no epicure. He would battle  
 for the right unto the end and though

He hears the lawful instruments of hell  
 Approaching,

there still

Remains the unconquerable will  
 The soul untamed, defiant to the death;

and like the knight errant of old he calls on us  
 also to defy

Legalised murderer, spewing poisonous breath,  
 Successful ghouls of purchased infamy  
 Life's prostitutes, suckers of noble blood.  
 And freedom's hypocrites whose zeal is spent  
 In praising distant freedom.

Yes; "Freedom's hypocrites whose zeal is spent  
 in praising *distant* freedom" what an apt descrip-  
 tion of the politicians at the Peace Table and  
 what a commentary on the contrast between  
 practice and profession!

Mr. Nevinson is at home in such a theme, and  
 his style rises to the height of his argument. The  
 prospect of Freedom and Brotherhood inspires him  
 as it inspires the gifted author of *Towards Demo-  
 cracy*. It is hard to resist the temptation to quote  
 at length from his last poem "A vigil"—a piece  
 of superb beauty, which alike in its nobility of  
 thought and phrasing will stand comparison with  
 the choicest specimens of contemporary verse.  
 Mr. Nevinson shares with Mathew Arnold the  
 scholar-poet's fondness for classical and long  
 drawn out similes which in themselves contribute  
 so much to the excellence of his poems. But space  
 forbids. This beautiful piece ends with the  
 lofty and austere injunction to scorn delights  
 and live laborious days,

To covet no reward of worldly state  
 To live indifferent to the public hate;  
 Nor drink the alluring opiate of a home.

# PROBLEMS IN NON-CO-OPERATION 231

BY

MR. V. V. BAPAT, B. A., (HONS)

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IT seems hard times," one naturally exclaims at the happenings of the day. India is passing at present through a very critical stage when a single step can make or mar her progress according as it is taken in the right or wrong direction. The whole nation is stirred to its depths by the burning question of Non-Co-operation. The whole country is ringing with one voice. The same topic is heard everywhere—in clubs and in messes, in class-rooms and in playgrounds, in private talk and in public speeches. The air is in ferment; the element is seething; the atmosphere is surcharged. There is bustle and turmoil, agitation and excitement. The movement of N. C. O. is no longer confined to the circle of politicians but has affected the general mass, the rank and file, in thousand ways and one. Friends have alienated, strangers have united. The extremists are toned down to moderation, some well known moderates have shot up into extremists. The erst-while optimist sees with a shudder the political horizon clouded with danger, the erst-while pessimist is glowed with a ray of hope. The idols of yesterday have fallen into the dust from their pedestals, the dust of yesterday is incarnated into idols to-day. As in human affairs there is a tide also in national affairs which, when taken at the flood, leads us on to fortune. We are, at present, driven by such a tide and are drifting to and fro on its uncertain waters which are lashed into fury by a tremendous storm. The situation is extremely tense. The womb of time which is ever big with destiny and there is no knowing what may happen the next moment. Whether this movement will lead us on to the heights of glory or hurl us down into the abyss of misery; whether it will herald the dawn of a new era of freedom and prosperity or be the precursor of the darkest ages in the history of British rule; whether we are sweeping our tyrants at one stroke or are merely tilting at windmills—these are questions which have tossed the minds of every thinker on the waves of conflicting emotions. Mahatma Gandhi has lit up the torch and no one knows whether it will blaze up into a mighty conflagration or smoulder into dying embers. A wind is being sown and no one knows whether we shall ride the whirlwind or reap it.

These are times when both sentiment and prejudice are at high tide. On the one hand, the movement has given rise to a display of fiery

orations and angry demonstrations, of windy rhetoric and an effusion of a blustering sort of patriotism. Speakers of note and no note are working upon the feelings of the mob by screwing up its emotions to the highest pitch by means of catch-words which are used as shibboleths to conjure the fanatics with. On the other hand, the sponsor of the scheme is bombarded with volleys of senseless ridicule and venomous invective. Some are burning incense to the N. C. O. scheme and are singing *hossainas* to its followers, while the very name of N. C. O. stinks into the nostrills of others and draws out a shower of abuse. The very brilliancy of the scheme strikes the imagination of some enthusiasts who are so enamoured of it that they never stop to think that there is every likelihood that it will prove a will-o'-the-wisp and lure us into quagmires while others with dazzled eyes, on account of that very brilliancy, refuse like owls to face it squarely, are moping and howling in lonely corners. At such a time when there is such a din and roar on both sides, the still small voice of reason is likely to be drowned in it; yet there might be some souls who realise that rhetoric is not argument, vehemence is not strength, and abuse is not defence. Let reason for their sake, take courage in both hands and set her face like flint against all opposition and do justice to this question of questions.

The reasons why Mahatma Gandhi was led to launch this scheme of N. C. O. are now patent to everybody. Even a school boy can now reproduce the hackneyed arguments. The British Government has systematically flouted public opinion and trampled down the elementary rights of the people; it was not ashamed to ride roughshod over the pledges given to the Muslims, it has perpetrated horrible atrocities in the Punjab, the very memory of which still makes our flesh creep; it has not only failed to redress our grievances, but, on the contrary, has attempted to whitewash the doings of the bureaucrats of the Panjab—all this is now the stock-in-trade of the political 'agitator.' By this callous indifference to these grievances, the British Government has forfeited all claims to loyalty from the Indian people. The faith of the people in British justice is now shaken to the foundation. A feeling of resentment has come over the hearts of the people and to avoid the mightier explosion of suppressed discontent,



Mahatma Gandhi has given it an outlet in the N. C. O. on the safety-valve principle.

The scheme of N. C. O. is now too well-known to be reproduced here. The whole scheme is conceived in a spirit of nothing-to-do-ism with the British Government which is misconstrued in some quarters as a spirit of hatred but which, in reality, is a *natural consequence* of the sore disappointment that the Indians received at the hands of the British Government in the matters of the Punjab and the Khilafat. It is perfectly natural for the Indians, if they refuse to shake hands with the murderers, and no power on earth can compel them to do so against their will. Britain has India's confidence and consequently she refuses any longer to remain tied down to the apron-strings of Britain. This is the central principle embodied in this scheme which was never before declared with such outspokenness, and the credit of it goes entirely to Mahatma Gandhi. He looks upon the present Government as the rule of Satan and is bent upon severing all connection with it. He is out against everything British and stands for everything Indian. Accustomed for years to look to the help of the British for the uplift of our country, Mahatma Gandhi has disillusioned the Indians once and for all and has blazoned forth with a trumpet voice the importance and necessity of Self-help. "Be aloof"—that is the war cry of Mahatma Gandhi.

"Be aloof", indeed! Oh!, if it were possible without danger to our lives! Non-co-operate—yes, who will co-operate with evil? Non-co-operation *with evil* is alright; but non-co operation with everything British seems something that will involve our safety. India has found herself in the deadly coils of the dragon; Mahatma Gandhi has unsheathed the sword of N. C. O. and is going to make short work of the venomous reptile. But "Beware Mahatmaji!—lest, with the fangs of the dragon, the head of mother Ind will be truncated". Let us see how.

The first stage of Non-Co-operation is the renunciation of titles and honours, which, some think, will bring home to the Government how acutely and poignantly we feel the wrongs done to us. But we need not attach any importance to this particular item of the programme concerning title holders. The bureaucracy knows their stuff and any show of resentment from them by the surrender of titles etc., will create no effect on the Government.

Next comes the item of the boycott of councils.

The argument advanced in favour of this is that, if we enter the councils, it will show that we are ready to work the Reforms and that we do not resent the tyrannous rule of the British. Besides, it is said that the council atmosphere is so very pestilential that it will affect the patriotism of the leaders and the enemy is likely to ensnare them without their knowledge. But in saying like this, is not Mr. Gandhi betrayed into a confession of our own weakness? Why should we suppose that every one who seeks election goes into the council with a view to co-operate with the Government? It is as good as saying that every warrior who *meets* his enemy on the battlefield is a traitor to his country. Is it not necessary to fight the enemy on the same ground? And where can a passage-at arms be possible if not in the councils?

Again Mahatma Gandhi says, the wily tricks of the enemy will seduce the leaders if they enter the councils. That means, he has got a lurking diffidence in his mind about the sincerity of the patriotism of the present political workers; that they are not made of that iron stuff as not to swerve an inch even if the heavens fall; that they can be buffeted at will by bureaucracy; and in order to escape that censure, he asks the leaders to avoid squarely facing the adversary. We grant, there might be many temptations, but does it behove us on that ground to refuse to take up the gauntlet? To retire from the arena and declare from the house tops that the enemy can be best fought when not fought, might be cogent logic for saints; but common sense will look upon it as sheer cowardice which flies away from evil instead of resisting it boldly.

Besides that the boycott of councils is a serious strategical blunder in more than one direction. The true leaders of the people will be barred out and the humpty-dumpties who have managed to get into the councils will masquerade as the representatives of the people. On account of their political impotence they will not be able to oppose the repressive measures that the bureaucracy will pass. We shall thus be saddled with these laws on the plea that our representatives have passed them. And though we shall not approve of them, we shall have no *legal* reason to complain. But leaving aside the question of such tyrannical measures, let us take the case of such salutary measures as the Free and Compulsory Education. Suppose a minister is able (though there is hardly any likelihood of his doing so in view of the financial straits) to pass a free and compulsory

education bill in the new legislatures. The bill will, then, naturally be embodied as a law in the statute-book. Now the question will naturally arise—if the present councillors are not our representatives are we bound to pass the laws passed by them? The Government will compel the students to join the schools on the strength of this Bill; Non-Co-operators will preach withdrawal of students from schools. Pledged as we are to N. C. O. we shall have to forego the advantages of a free and compulsory education, which is the crying need at present and this we can do only by offering civil disobedience. Passive Resistance will thus be a natural outcome of the policy of N. C. O. But Mahatma Gandhi has time and again emphasized the fact that Satyagraha is not included in the N. C. O. programme. It is difficult to see how he will reconcile himself.

Moreover, how the boycott of councils has paralysed the Government is beyond our comprehension. If there had been absolute unity among our political leaders, if all the seats in the councils had been left vacant, then that would certainly have been a glorious triumph of N. C. O. But as long as there are fissiparous tendencies evident amongst us, it is highly impolitic, to say the least, to boycott the councils. To capture as many seats in the councils as possible and afterwards to resign *in a body* and thus to bring a dead-lock in the administration by rendering it impossible to pass any legislation would have been a far more effective way of Non-Co-operation than this of allowing the bureaucracy a free play. But now the elections have taken place, and now it is no use crying over spilt milk.

Then comes the question of withdrawal of students from aided and Government schools and colleges. Mahatma Gandhi says that our self-respect revolts at the idea of the Satan taking the Bible class or the murderer of our brothers being the guardian of our children. Also the education imparted at present to the student is not only useless to the student in his after life but is also pernicious in several ways as it tends to create a slave psychology in our students. That the present education is highly deleterious, we do not dispute. But to refuse that education on the ground that it is given with the aid of Government money which is tainted with blood is merest sentimental spooft. But with the grants-in-aid comes the Government control—some will say: but these can be removed very easily now that the Department of Education is transferred to the Minister who will mostly be in sympathy with our aspirations.

Again just as Mahatma Gandhi considers the use of Railway and Telegraphs and Posts as his rights, is it not our right also to demand education according to our wishes, if we give the necessary taxes? Why should we allow our servant—the civil servant, a rather disobedient servant, but after all a servant—to stodge himself fat on the pay without rendering any services in return? We must harness him to our purposes by the use of lashes instead of allowing him to run amok unbridled. It is a question of right and constitutional history, has proved to the hilt that *it is better to ensure the recognition of a right even by its imperfect exercise than allow it to become obsolete by disuse.*

The original resolution of the Calcutta Congress proposed to bring the N. C. O. into practice by stages, but the Nagpur Congress has altered the resolution and decided to bring the whole programme into operation simultaneously. With the change, the objection that Mahatma Gandhi, in asking people to withdraw their children from schools before the non-payment of taxes, was asking them to pay the bill of the landlady while enjoining the hospitality of a friend, falls, no doubt, to the ground; but a new one stronger than the first comes to the forefront. The N. C. O. programme as altered at Nagpur has gained in strength in one way but is also weakened in another. Mahatma Gandhi's former advice of wholesale boycott of schools and colleges, no matter whether national schools and colleges are opened or not, was at least consistent in its own way and could at least be defended on the theory of 'burning the boats.' But by his climb-down at Nagpur, it must be said, he has purchased unity at the cost of consistency with the aim in view. For paralysis is always sudden like the electric shock; it is never gradual. A *gradual* boycott of schools and colleges will never create the desired effect on the bureaucracy.

Again the idea of creating a net-work of schools and colleges all over India conducted by private enterprise, is mere moonshine. The theory might be backed up by evidence from our ancient history. But much water has flown over the bridge of educational theories since then; old ideas of cultural education are found wanting; people have realised the necessity of supplementing it with technical and industrial education in this age of materialism. And this is an education which cannot be imparted by self-less Rishis (even if they are coming forth) in their homely huts as in the halcyon days of yore. We must erect factories on a gigantic scale, and this



is a work which requires bullions of gold. Let us not be deluded with the false hopes that the merchant class is a perennial source of money; for, once this enthusiasm is subsided, all tall talk of promises will receive its quietus. Bengal has once burnt her fingers; it is well that we take her lesson to heart.

The fourth stage is the non-payment of taxes. Now it is inconceivable to see how this is consistent with the basic principles of N. C. O., as distinguished from Satyagraha. For, Satyagraha is active, N. C. O. is passive; Satyagraha is positive, N. C. O. is negative. Satyagraha is soul-force, N. C. O. is No-force. Satyagraha is rebellious, N. C. O. is non-violent. Satyagraha courts dangers, N. C. O. steers clear of them. Satyagraha is a conscious and conscientious violation of law, N. C. O. endeavours to escape the clutches of the law. Mahatma Gandhi has, in press and on platform, emphasized over and over again, that N. C. O. does not include Satyagraha. But this non-payment of taxes trenches on the very ground of Satyagraha. And Mahatma Gandhi has confessed that India is not ripe for Satyagraha.

Here lies the flagrant inconsistency. It is impossible that the non-violent character of the movement will continue when this step is taken. Government will not fail to take strong measures, the people when once roused will not take back and then those days of the reign of terror of April 1919! When once the mob is excited, violence is bound to ensue. Mahatma Gandhi will then retire to the Himalayas and the poor mob will be left in the lurch.

Another action which, though not actually embodied in the resolution but which, nevertheless, is seriously preached abroad, is social boycott against those who do not agree to Non-Co-operate. Now this is an action against which every true lover of freedom must enter a strong protest. Mahatma Gandhi himself has declared that he does not make a fetish of the Congress mandate and that he is always free to act according to the dictates of his own conscience. If so, we claim, what right he has to preach social boycott against those who choose to differ from him? Liberty of conscience and freedom of thought are not the sole prerogatives of a Mahatma; they are the elementary rights of every citizen. Is it not fanaticism to dragoon the people into a policy of N. C. O. by threatening them with the torture of social boycott? Is this in any way different from the religious persecution of non-believers by the bigoted neophytes of a new cult, which was

practised in old days? It is strange that Mahatma Gandhi, of all, should stoop to lend his support to this ignoble practice. But idealism makes strange converts of us all.

It will now be abundantly clear, we hope, how the N. C. O. will truncate the head, Mother Ind, along with the fangs of the dragon. However well-intentioned the scheme might be, it will, as Lok. Tilak said on his deathbed, lead to disaster, because it ignores two most vital considerations essential for the success of the movement: Firstly N. C. O. cannot be practised against a well established rule without seriously jeopardizing the interest of the nation, and secondly, perfect unity is a primary condition for its success. And it is this fact that has made several ardent souls diffident about the success of the movement. For the countless ties of the British rule are so intermingled with the interests of the nation that it is impossible to cut the one without injuring the other. Fate has tied us to the branch of the tree of the British Empire; and in a desperate effort to escape we are cutting the branch on which we stand. But then, some will say, "N. C. O. is admittedly a double-edged sword. It does call upon the nation to sacrifice her interest on the altar of liberty. How can you hope to win freedom without self-sacrifice?" True, but self-sacrifice does not mean suicide. Some noble souls inspired by ascetic ideals might be prepared for such a risk; but such an asceticism will not appeal to the world as long as it is the world, and as we said, the movement cannot be a success, with a few noble zealots; it must be backed up by the whole nation. For, unity is the soul of this movement and without it, it is doomed.

Thus an analytical examination of the question will show that the N. C. O. programme is a strange farrago of inconsistencies; but synthetically considered it is an embodiment of a sublime principle and it is this synthetical unity, despite analytical inconsistencies, that draws out the sympathy of the nation towards it.

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# THE YOUNG POLITICIAN

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AN ADAPTATION FROM THE FRENCH OF CH. ROLLIN.

BY DR. MAULVI MUHAMMAD AHMED, M.A., PH.D., BAR-AT-LAW.

**D**AZZLED by the glory achieved by their compatriots, Themistocles and Pericles, and inspired by a mad ambition in consequence of having attended a short course of lectures given by Sophists, (who pretended to convert their pupils into great politicians), the young men of Athens considered themselves capable of everything and aspired to the highest posts. One of them named Glaucon, though scarcely out of his teens, had so determinedly taken it into his head to conduct public affairs that none of his elders or friends could dissuade him from an ambition so incompatible with his age and capacity.

Socrates who was interested in the young man on account of the regard he entertained for his elder brother Plato, alone succeeded on making Glaucon change his resolution.

Meeting him one day, Socrates addressed him so engagingly that Glaucon felt greatly interested, and by rousing his interest Socrates gained half the battle.

"You desire," he began, "to govern the republic."

"That is so," replied Glaucon.

"You could not have a better object in life," rejoined Socrates, "because, if you succeed, you would be in a position not only to oblige your friends but to make suitable additions to your dwelling house and possibly to extend the boundaries of your country. You would achieve renown not only in Athens but throughout Greece and perhaps your fame, like that of Themistocles, would spread among other nations, so that, wherever you might find yourself, you would attract the respect and admiration of the entire world."

This insinuating and flattering introduction greatly pleased the young man, for it touched his weak points and instead of breaking away, as he usually did from other men, he tarried voluntarily and without any further effort to detain him. Socrates continued his discourse.

"As you desire to be esteemed and honoured, it is clear that you should try to render yourself useful to the public."

"Assuredly."

"Tell me, then, what is the first service which you have rendered or propose to render to the state."

As Glaucon appeared to be embarrassed and hesitated what reply to make, Socrates continued :—  
"Apparently you would like to enrich the state, i.e., to increase its revenue."

"Exactly."

"Doubtless you know what the revenue of the State consists of, and to what extent it can be increased. You must have made a special study of the question in order that, in case a particular tax failed to draw the necessary amount, you could easily replace it by another."

"I confess I have never thought of it."

"You have at least scrutinised the expenses of the republic, for you know how important it is to cut down those that are superfluous."

"I confess I know no more about the expenses than about the taxes."

"It will, in that case, be necessary to postpone your project to enrich the republic, for you can do nothing if you have no idea of the income or the expenditure of the State."

"But," said Glaucon, "there is another method, which you have ignored, you can enrich the state by bringing about the ruin of its enemies."

"You are right," replied Socrates, "but in order to do that, the State must be strong; otherwise it runs the risk of losing all that it possesses. It is therefore essential that any one who talks of undertaking a war must know the forces at the command of his own state as well as of his enemies. If he finds his country's forces superior, he may advise war, if necessary; otherwise it would be his duty to dissuade his people from fighting. Now you probably know the forces at the command of our republic, their numbers on land and sea as well as those of our enemies. As you must have noted them carefully, I should be obliged if you would enlighten me on the subject."

"I have done nothing of the kind," replied Glaucon.

"Then it is evident," rejoined Socrates "that, if you are now appointed a member of



Government, you will not be in a hurry to declare war, for you have to learn many things, take a lot of pains and exercise a great deal of care and caution."

They touched on many other equally important questions of statecraft, of which Glaucon proved to be equally ignorant and unprepared. He thus realized the ridiculous temerity of people who desire to rule their country without any qualifications other than their self-conceit and an insensate ambition to raise themselves to the highest posts.

"Look out, my dear Glaucon," quietly remarked Socrates "lest your too eager desire for honours should blind you to facts and urge you to take a false step which is certain to cover you with shame and to expose you to the ridicule of the world."

Glaucon wisely profited by this advice and took time to instruct and prepare himself properly, before making a public appearance.

The above dialogue conveys a lesson for all time, and its moral is applicable to many persons of all ages and of all sorts and conditions.

## NON-CO-OPERATION IN EDUCATION

[The volume of well considered opinion against Non-Co-operation in education has been steadily growing. It is evident from the feeble response of the students themselves to the fervid appeals of Non-Co-operationists, that they, at any rate, are alive to the folly of the suicidal step they are advised to take. The leaders who assembled at Bezwada seem to have realised the failure of the movement in this particular and it is with some relief that we learn that this "does not now require concentration of universal effort." We are glad that prominent publicists and educationists have condemned this pernicious movement and we make no apology for giving the following excerpts on the subject. Ed. I. R.]

### i LORD RONALDSHAY ON THE "NEW ORIENTATION."\*

THERE are two main respects in which I desire to see change. I desire to see education given a more practical turn, more facilities provided for vocational training, less exclusive concentration upon purely literary courses. I think there are some grounds for the contention that we have devoted ourselves too exclusively to Letters and the Law; that it is time that Medicine came into its own and that Engineering, Mining, Architecture, Agriculture, Commerce and Industry had their turn. At the same time I would utter a word of caution. There is some danger of the phrase "vocational education" becoming a fetish. Those who see in it a panacea for all our educational ills are likely to experience a rude awakening. A liberal education in Arts and Sciences is by far the soundest preparation for life in the case of the vast majority of those aspiring to an University education. Vocational training should take its proper place in the educational system. But its proper place so far as the majority is concerned is before rather than after the University standard has been reached in the schools and the Intermediate colleges which, in due course, I hope to see established.

\* Address to the Calcutta University, 24th March.

The function of the University in the matter of vocational education is to provide specialised courses for the training of experts; and if disappointment is to be avoided, it must be borne in mind that the openings for experts except in the case of medicine and engineering are strictly limited. In the second place I desire to see the whole system given a more specifically Indian orientation. A system that produced not Indians but imitation Europeans would stand self-condemned. I do not suggest that the existing system does that. How could I with the object-lesson before me of the numbers of eminent Indians which it has produced? But I confess that, in the past, at any rate, it may have had a tendency in that direction. The system of higher education has undoubtedly been too greatly divorced from the peculiar genius, the ancient tradition, the mode of thought and the daily lives of those whom it has sought to educate. Why, otherwise, should we see on all sides of us an unconscious searching after a different educational atmosphere, as, for example, in the case of the Gurukul at Hardwar or the Shanti Niketan at Bolpur? This is an aspect of the present educational unrest which we must not and cannot ignore, for we cannot afford to sacrifice the contribution which India, with its highly developed sense of religion

and its growing ideals, is capable of making to the moral, and intellectual store-house of mankind. Here again the question is,—shall change be brought about by evolution or by revolution? Shall Western education be destroyed, uprooted and utterly swept away? Or shall we strive after a gradual synthesis between all that is best of East and West? As in the political sphere, so in the educational, it is revolution that the non-co-operators wish to bring about. What they aim at is cutting down the tree of Western learning, root and branch. They would banish it completely from the land. "English learning" said one of the leaders of the movement the other day "may be good—English culture may be good—their philosophy may be good—their Government, their law—everything may be good, but each one of these but helps to rivet the fetters of our servitude. Therefore, I say to the English, good as these things may be, take them away—beyond the seas, beyond the rivers far off to your Western home so that we and our generation may have nothing to do with them." Such a statement of the views of the non-co operators has the supreme merit of unambiguity. It leaves no sort of doubt in one's mind as to what it is that they aim at. Western learning of every kind is to be swept from the land—in other words, there is to be an educational revolution. "To me it is suffi-

cient that the "*charika*" is a type of our revolt against the West. That one fact is sufficient for me. We shall take up the spinning wheel—not because it is economically sound—not because it will contribute to our material prosperity. We shall take it up because it is our own, because it accentuates the difference, the eternal and undying contrast between India and Europe."

That is a remarkable speech. I disagree altogether with the conclusions of the speaker; but I think I understand the frame of mind which produced such a speech and I respect the depth of feeling from which such words must have sprung. Had I been an Indian student I think I should have been carried away by it at the time. But on reflection, I think it would have been borne home to me that it constituted a counsel of despair. Let India foster her own learning by all means. But why should she turn her back upon all that the West has to offer her by way of supplement to that which she claims as her own. Knowledge is not the monopoly of one country or of one race; it is the common property of mankind; and if, in certain branches of knowledge, it so happens that the Western races have forged ahead of others, why should those others deprive themselves of the fruits of Western success? To do so is not patriotism—it is suicidal folly.

## ii SIR NILRATAN SARCAR ON "SLAVE MENTALITY."\*

**A**MONG the charges levelled against our University none is more unreal, none more fantastic, than that the education that she imparts produces slave mentality in the youths of our country. No greater calumny than this has ever been uttered against those of our men and women who have received the benefits of modern education. It is neither fair nor just that an education that has conferred such lasting benefits on the people of India should be assailed in this fashion. Those who make this extraordinary suggestion betray not only a lamentable lack of a knowledge of realities but also a wanton disregard of facts. A little thinking will dispel much of the misconception that exists in the minds of many persons in the matter, and a comparison of the mentality of those who have had no education with that of those who have come under the influence of education will at once show the absurdity of the proposition that the education

that the University imparts has a special proneness to make people servile. It is amongst educated men that ideas of liberty and progress have mainly flourished. It is they who have not only identified themselves with, but have been in the vanguard of, the progressive movements of the day. It is they who have attempted to remove superstitious practices and to eradicate social evils that block the way of progress and reform. It is they who have worked for the amelioration of the condition of the masses, and for removing the inequalities that disfigure the life of the community. They have always stood against oppression and wrong, have worked for the uplift of the people, and have endeavoured to secure the honor and welfare of their country, often at considerable inconvenience and sacrifice. It is they who, in the main, have thus worked for furthering the work of nation-building. These are not signs indicative of what our critics so fondly describe as slave-mentality. Our University is to be judged by her best products not by the indifferent ones who abound and preponderate in every University.

\* From the Convocational Address to the Calcutta University.



I have referred at some length to the systematic assault that has, of late, been carried on against our University and have endeavoured to meet some of the charges that have, I think, been unjustly brought against her. While agreeing that the University has not been unmindful of her duties and responsibilities, it can not be denied that, if she is to fulfil the true functions of a modern University, she must adapt her teaching to the altered conditions of the time. The structure of University government has also to be remodelled on more popular and liberal lines, but this does not rest entirely with the members of the present University and I am not concerned with this question to-day. Referring to the adaptation of teaching in respect of which it has been complained that we have devoted no proper attention to the question of finding careers for our graduates, I admit, that we have too long neglected the agricultural, commercial, and technological sides of education. The result has been that we are placed at what may be said to be almost a permanent disadvantage in comparison with the other countries of the world. The problem before us is, how are we to fight the formidable organisations that advanced countries have set up for the training of their businessmen and industrialists? The goal to-day is thus, as I said last year, a University which mobilises all the resources, moral as well as material, for organised national service. What is demanded is that, in addition to the literary education that the University has so far

practically been engaged in imparting, she should provide instruction in a regular and systematic manner in applied science and other practical subjects. If we are not able to do this it would be difficult for us to hold our ground in the flood of new competition that is surging up around us. One of the reasons why the propaganda against existing educational institutions received some response from the students and their parents was the absence of a definite purpose in the minds of students following many of our courses of studies. Students pursuing vocational courses such as medicine, law and engineering have not thus generally been found to be moved by the entreaties of those who wanted to seduce them from their studies. Having regard to the urgent needs of the country as well as for providing adequate and suitable careers for our youths, it is imperative that a turn should be given to education on the lines of practical utility as indicated above. But this is not wholly a question of University education. The country wants a much larger number of foremen, supervisors, overseers and others like these than that of high class experts to be turned by the University. And vocational education in order that it may have a high top like other branches of education must have a broad base. This must be provided by introducing a better form of secondary education with a properly equipped vocational side. I am glad to say that some steps are being taken in this direction.

### iii Dr. MUKERJEA ON THE SCOPE OF EDUCATION.\*

TO educate is to arm the people. We make a grievance that we have been disarmed, but what we should grieve more is that our people remain dispossessed of the intellectual and moral weapons of far greater potency than the mere physical and mechanical weapons. But in order that education may draw out the latent powers of the people, we must see to it that it adjusts itself completely to their requirements. The effectiveness of machinery depends upon the capacity that can handle it. Educational, like political, reforms must take account of the limiting natural conditions and cannot be introduced on mere abstract grounds of their theoretical utility. What is needed is a careful educational survey of the entire mental and moral resources of the peoples, their natural antecedents and traditions, their habits, and

ways of life, to which all our educational experiments must closely correspond in order that they may be fruitful and not be wasted upon a barren soil. This means that we must have in every community, which always exhibits a complex composition and stratification, a variety of types of educational institutions, instead of one rigid uniform type seeking to cast in one mould materials radically different and inherently requiring a different treatment. Our schools beginning with the imparting of instruction in the 3 R's. must, for example, differentiate into agricultural and trade schools according to variations of local conditions and requirements, while manual training must be retained in all our educational curricula as a common element considering that it is now universally recognised as part of liberal education itself. The proper training of the hand, for example, is an important aid to the development of the brain itself, as the scientists tell us, and constitutes the mark of the

\* From Dr. Radhakumad Mukerjea's Presidential Address to the Tumkur Educational Conference.

cultured gentleman in modern times. Even Spinoza, the great philosopher, took to carpentry as the avocation most helpful to his metaphysical speculations. We have so far only been fitting our right hand for the task of copying out writings and producing a race of clerks, with the trained hand of the scribe, and have neglected its other latent capacities, which can turn out much higher and nobler work than that of mere copying, the artistic things of beauty which are a joy for ever. Thus our educational system in all its grades must admit of a wide range of variety in its contents or courses of training to suit the variety of human talent, existing in every community, while each of these different lines of instruction must have a continuous scope through our primary and secondary schools and University. The training of the technical talent of which the

beginnings and foundations have to be laid in the elementary schools must be continued in a properly developed technological side in connection with our University. It is thus that the vast mass of our buried industrial talent can be recovered and utilized for the economic advancement of the country. Industrial aptitudes must be discovered and cherished in proper time before they are nipped in the bud. We cannot afford to lose a single dose of our available resources in human talent. The exploitation of the moral resources of the country is more important and difficult of achievement than the exploitation of its material resources. The spiritual potentialities and possibilities require a far more delicate treatment and handling than the physical potentialities and possibilities of a country.

#### iv MAJOR O'DONNELL ON EDUCATIONAL NON-CO-OPERATION.\*

NO nation will ever become great where individual expression of thought is not given free play. The constructive policy which is necessary at the present time is to take every possible means to give ample scope and opportunity for creating and spreading the capability of a just, calm and reasonable expression of individual opinion. There is only one way of gaining that end, and that way is education.

What exactly does Non-Co-operation in education mean? Or rather what effects will be produced? Every one knows the meaning of Non-Co-operation in education. It means the withdrawal of all students from Government or Government-aided schools and colleges. Suppose for one brief moment that the movement was entirely successful and that all the schools and colleges were emptied. What would be the net practical result from the point of view of advancing the cause of India? It would undoubtedly mean putting back the clock of progress for at least one generation, if not for many more. Moreover, one of the principal points in the Non-Co-operation movement is to hamper and harass the existing Government. How would the Non-Co-operation movement in education effect this? Rather it would benefit the existing Government to the extent of crores of rupees annually. On the other hand, where are all the school boys and college students to go? It is easy to say that they are to become acquainted with

their native industries, assist in propaganda work, and attend national institutions. The national institutions cannot be erected in a day, and native industries will absorb very few until a complete organization of the present social and industrial system takes place. Even the limited number of those who have already Non-Co-operated are already sending anxious appeals for help to the authors of the movement. It is easy to visualize the catastrophe which would undoubtedly take place if the Non-Co-operation movement in education met with any great measure of success.

And here is another point of view which is so obvious as to escape the notice of a large number of people. Suppose for a moment that India had its own national government. There would be need for millions more of educated Indians than exist at present to carry out the administration of the country. What is the present number of educated Indians? Think of the small proportion that number bears to the whole of the population. A national India, an India conscious of its greatness, can only arise when there is an intelligent electorate, an electorate which will at least be able to read and write and form a judgment of its own. The electorate can only be formed by the spread of education, and this is one of the reasons why the Non-Co operation movement in education is futile, nay, suicidal at the present moment. It is a thousand pities that the student delegates at Nagpur did not think of the sinister effects their resolution with regard to Non-Co-operation would cause. Most of the

\* Major T. F. O'Donnell, Principal, Agra College.



other resolutions passed can be carried out by continuing the present system, and naturally improving it. Nay more, most of the other resolutions would be almost impossible to carry out without a definite organization behind it. The resolutions referred to are the formation of societies for boy scouts, cadet corps, samities and so on. Abandon the present system, and a new system will have to be put in its place. The optimists will say, that can be done. It can be done, or rather it may be done, but it will take years and years in time and crores and crores in rupees. In the meantime, the movement is retrograde and destructive instead of being progressive and constructive.

Undoubtedly the most pressing and urgent requirement for India to-day is education. The present general situation is political rather than educational, but it is educational in so far as it is absolutely and imperatively necessary to ensure an ample and constant supply of patriotic

politicians. Every one is a patriot. Love of country is inherent in every breast.

Such is the patriot's boast wherever we roam. His first best country ever is at home.

Every one, however, cannot be a true politician, but the true politician, the politician who has the real welfare of his country at heart, requires, in addition to the feelings of a patriot, an elaborate professional training. Moreover, there may be an abundant supply of good and true politicians, but their work will be unnecessarily and unduly prolonged in the absence of an intelligent electorate.

From whatever point of view the matter is seen, one main fact clearly stands out, namely, that education is an imperative necessity. The standard to be borne by the student community in India at the present day should have inscribed thereon in letters of fire: 'Education, education and still more education.' Educate yourselves and educate others.

## V THE HON. MR. PARANJPYE ON NATIONAL EDUCATION\*

The so-called National Education cannot be national, as it will not be efficient.

For efficient education what is most necessary is better teachers and, therefore, efficiency is more or less a question of funds.

With limited means of private donors it is possible to start excellent national institutions, but a *system* of National Education is possible only by securing control of the State purse.

The absence of religious and technical instruction in the present schools is just as it should be. They are not the places for this kind of instruction, which should be given in special institutions started for the purpose.

The neglect of physical education is not due to the Government but to the boys and their parents and will continue in the so-called National Schools also.

Owing to the objectionable methods of sanctioning books, the books used in the schools at present are no doubt unsatisfactory but it is

not right to say that they are purposely written to show an Indian to disadvantage.

The censorship on political discussions in schools has done much harm to the boys, as well as to the teachers, inasmuch as they have learned to look for guidance to an outsider and the influence of the head master has been limited.

It should be remembered, however, that times have changed. Secondary education is now a transferred subject and it will be our own fault if we allow these objectionable features of State control to continue much longer. Indications of the coming change are not wanting, and can be seen if we only keep our eyes open. Whatever might have been the condition in the past, one must agree with Pandit Malaviya that now State recognition, instead of being an impediment to education, is a great help. At this moment, when we are almost at the threshold of National Education in the real sense of the world, it would be extremely foolish to undo all the work of the last sixty years by throwing aside recognition as advised by Mr. Gandhi.

\*From the *Indian Education*.

IT has been my object to give effect to the proposals of the Calcutta University Commission, so far as in me lay, subject to minor variations and the exigencies of the Budget. It may be well, briefly, to summarise the points in which the Dacca University will differ from the majority of the existing University Institutions in India.

(i) It will be a unitary University in which teaching and the testing of teaching by examinations will go hand in hand. It will be the due object of the University to see that not only the exceptional but the average student, instead of preparing under pressure for an examination, shall work steadily throughout the year and do individual work under the guidance of his tutors in addition to attending formal lectures.

(ii) The teachers in the University will not be burdened with the first two years of teaching for the Intermediate examination, which was regarded by the Commission as school work, and not University work. The teachers as a body, therefore, starting at a higher level, will be free to devote themselves to more advanced work.

(iii) The University will be a residential University. The majority of the students will live in Halls and Hostels, and all of them will be attached for their social life to a Hall or a Hostel. There will be physical training for all students and organised games—both Indian and European, and admirable opportunities for all students to live a healthy life. There will also be systematic physical training for all students, under the supervision of a Director of Physical Education who has already specialised in this subject and is himself a qualified medical man. It is hoped that a medical and a statistical study of the physical development of the students, their condition, and their dietaries, may lead to important results for the health of the students of Bengal generally.

(iv) The concentration of the students in a relatively small area of about a square mile will bring the different faculties in direct contact with one another, and it is hoped that they will thereby gain the advantages of the training and social life characteristic of the residential Universities of Great Britain and other countries, such as America. But I wish clearly to state that Dacca should not and, I trust, will not, copy any other University. Under the academic control and guidance of teachers of whom the great majority

will be Indian, it will be an Indian University of a new type.

It has been the aim of those who have planned the University to create a solid nucleus of humane and scientific instruction comprising branches none of which could safely have been omitted. But I hope that it may be possible gradually to develop the teaching of the Chemistry Department and of other departments on the technical side and to utilise the resources of the Government Engineering School, and possibly of the Government Agricultural Institution in Dacca, for this purpose. As financial resources become available it will further be possible to create the Agricultural Faculty and the Medical Faculty as contemplated by the Act.

In all departments, it will be the aim of the University as far as possible to give opportunities to the teachers to conduct individual investigations in addition to their teaching. The conduct of such original work is an influence not only on those who take part in it, but on the students as a body, who realise that human knowledge is not something final, but something growing and developing.

It has been no easy task to recruit the staff and that task is not yet complete. Certain posts for which no qualified candidates have presented themselves either in India or in England must be left vacant until adequate candidates can be found to occupy them. On the other hand, every care has been taken to secure men who, by their experience and personal qualifications, are qualified to take part in pioneering work. A certain number of experienced teachers have been taken from the existing colleges in Dacca—the Dacca College and the Jagannath College, and other appointments have been made from the outside. The salaries have been fixed so as to be able to secure a certain number of men already in the Indian Educational Service or Provincial Educational Service.

It is my firm conviction that the men who have been appointed by the Chancellor on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee constituted under the Dacca University Act (consisting of the Hon'ble Nawab Sir Syed Shamsul Huda, President of the Bengal Legislative Council, the Director of Public Instruction, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, as Chairman,) will form a band of workers equal to the great task which lies before them.

\* Note on the Dacca University by Mr. P. J. Hartog, Vice-Chancellor.



# LORD READING: THE NEW VICEROY

A GREAT Viceroy once said that the proper time to judge him was not when he donned his Viceregal robe but when he laid it down. Lord Reading comes to India at a critical time in



the history of this country and it is no easy inheritance that Lord Chelmsford leaves his successor. A sense of bitterness and disappointment is over the land and the embers of a great controversy have not yet subsided. Smarting under an acute sense of injustice a section of the people have even ceased to look to England for justice or redress. The Khilafat wrong and the Punjab tragedy have widened the gulf between the Government and the people: while even the patent merits of a great scheme of Constitutional Reforms are overshadowed by other issues. The appointment at such a time of the Lord Chief Justice of England to the Indian Viceroyalty is not therefore without particular significance. The people of India ask for nothing more nor less than justice which Lord Reading declared to be the keynote of his regime.

"The justice now in my charge is not confined within statutes or law reports. It is a justice that is unfettered and has regard to all conditions and circumstances, and should be pursued in close alliance with sympathy and understanding. Above all, it

must be regardless of distinctions and rigorously impartial."

"The British reputation for justice must never be impaired during my tenure of office, and I am convinced that all who are associated in the Government and administration of Indian affairs will strive their utmost to maintain this reputation at its highest standard."

And his Lordship is rightly confident that such a policy will restore the lost faith and ensure success. Human nature is just the same all the world over.

"All my experience of human beings and human affairs has convinced me that justice and sympathy never fail to evoke responsive chords in the hearts of men of whatever race, creed or class. They are the two brightest gems in any diadem. Without them, there is no lustre in a crown."

Lord Reading is just over 60 and is probably the oldest Viceroy that ever ventured to take charge of a great office at such an age. Son of a city merchant he was for a time a stock broker before he became apprenticed to Law. Called to the Bar after a varied and adventurous career Rufus Isaacs, as he was then known, took Silk in 1898 and attained a great reputation. The ascent was thereafter rapid and he reached the highest offices in quick succession. In 1910 he was appointed Solicitor-General and before the end of the year became Attorney-General. He entered the Cabinet in June 1912 and was subsequently appointed Lord Chief Justice in October 1913 and created a peer in 1914. A G. C. B. was conferred on him for war services in 1915, and a Viscountcy in the next year. He visited the U. S. A. on a Financial Mission in 1917, and an Earldom was conferred on him at the end of the year. In January 1918, he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the United States—an office which he held with singular distinction. In May 1919, he returned to the Judiciary and after considerable hesitation accepted the yet more responsible office of the King's representative in India.

Lord Reading's is certainly a dramatic career. Forty years ago Rufus, a sailor boy came in a tramp boat and saw the gleaming spires of Calcutta from his deck. It is an adventurous career that crowns his age with the highest gift under the British crown; and that same lad is to-day the Viceroy and Governor General of India.

His Excellency arrived in Bombay on April 2, and it speaks highly of his sagacity in visiting the Punjab soon after his accession. "Ever since I was destined for the honour of the

Viceroyalty" he declared, "the shadow of Amritsar has pursued me." No wonder that almost the first act of his was to visit the scene of the tragedy at the Jallianwalla Bagh and appeal again in the simple and eloquent words of the Duke to let bygones be bygones. "When one goes to India," said he in London, "one will find human nature there as it is here in Britain." Indeed his speeches abound in sentiments of justice and benevolence and his touching reference to his eastern origin in reply to the Bombay Corporation's address is, it is hoped, but an expression of his anxious solicitude to do the best according to his lights. There is in his words an unmistakable ring of sincerity when he refers to his Hebrew origin :—

"It is my only connection with the East until the present moment, and this leads me to wonder whether perhaps by some fortunate, almost indefinitely subtle sub-consciousness, it may quicken and facilitate my understanding of the aims and aspirations, the trials and tribulations, the joys and sorrows of the Indian people, and assist me to catch the almost inaudible whispers of these multitudes who sometimes suffer most and yet find it difficult, if not impossible, to express their needs."

Lord Reading has shown an admirable spirit of

goodwill and reconciliation and his earnest exhortation to "to forget and forgive" has no doubt been conceived in a wise and generous spirit.

Lord Reading has won a great reputation for smoothing differences by his genial temper. Says A. G. G. in the *Daily News* :—

In temper and temperament Lord Reading is perfectly fitted for the task he has courageously undertaken. He is good-natured and good-humoured, has a great gift of patience, an unusual measure of tolerance for ideas he does not share, a fine sense of justice and a humane and kindly outlook upon life. The fact that he is not English in origin is, in the circumstances, not a loss, but a gain. It gives him that detached point of view, that comprehensive survey of the situation, which was never more necessary than now. All that he needs to make his Viceroyalty memorable in the history of India is the courage to act boldly and firmly according to the dictates of his judgment in the midst of such a swirl of violent cross currents as few men have been called upon to navigate. If he has courage, he may win India to us again. If he lacks courage the present drift of India to separation will continue.

May we hope that His Excellency will succeed in steering the country clear of all misunderstanding and distrust and restore the waning confidence of India in England's integrity.

## THE ESHER REPORT

IT will be remembered that the Indian Legislative Assembly appointed a Committee to go into the whole question of the Esher Report and submit their recommendations for the approval of the Assembly. The Committee had only six days at their disposal to traverse the whole ground covered by the Army Report : but they had, with considerable energy and promptitude, tackled the question in its various aspects and framed their criticisms and recommendations in the form of a series of fifteen resolutions which were moved by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar in a masterly speech at the Assembly meeting on March 28. Sir Sivaswami Aiyar indeed had, for some time past, been a thorough and searching student of Indian military problems. During the war he organised the Indian Voluntary Corps with whose wants and requirements he came to be intimately acquainted. Soon after the publication of the Esher Report Sir Sivaswami Aiyar wrote to the *Indian Review* a criticism of their recommendations which also formed the subject of an elaborate set of resolutions moved by him at the last session of the National Liberal Federation of India at Madras in December last.

Sir Sivaswami Aiyar was entrusted by the Assembly Committee to move the series of resolutions embodying their report on the Esher Recommendations. The first resolution ran as follows :

(a) That the purpose of the Army in India must be held to be the defence of India against external aggression and the maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity. To the extent to which it is necessary for India to maintain an army for these purposes, its organisation, equipment and administration should be thoroughly up-to-date and with due regard to Indian conditions in accordance with the present day standards of efficiency in the British Army, so that when the Army in India has to co-operate with the British Army on any occasion there may be no dissimilarities of organisation, etc., which would render such co-operation difficult. For any purpose other than those mentioned in the first sentence, the obligations resting on India should be no more onerous than those resting on the Self-Governing Dominions and should be undertaken subject to the same conditions as are applicable to those Dominions.

(b) To repudiate the assumption underlying the whole Report of the Esher Committee : (1) that the administration of the Army in India cannot be considered otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire and (2) that the military resources of India should be developed in a manner suited to Imperial necessities.



In moving this Sir Sivaswami Aiyar referred to the alarm and disappointment created by the Esher Report and expressed his surprise that while an army of 340,000 would cost England only 69 millions, the Indian army at a far lower figure would cost India 58 crores of rupees. He then made it clear,

that not a single pie should be spent on the Indian Army except for purposes of internal unrest and external aggression and that for this purpose the efficiency of the Army should be the same as that of the British Army. India did not desire to shirk her obligations as regards the difficulties of the Empire, but she insisted that such obligations should be the same as rested upon the Self-Governing Dominions.

Mr. Reddiar and Sir Godfrey Fell brought in some amendments which were lost while Sir Sivaswami Aiyar's original motion was carried. Sir Godfrey congratulated Sir Sivaswami on his "extremely able, extremely lucid and extremely moderate speech".

The second resolution specified the purpose for which the army was maintained in India:—

That the Army in India should not as a rule be employed for service outside the external frontiers of India except for purely defensive purposes or with the previous consent of the Governor-General in Council in very grave emergencies provided that this resolution does not preclude the employment on the garrison duties overseas, of Indian troops at the expense of His Majesty's Government and with the consent of the Government of India.

Munshi Ishwar Saran moved an amendment which was lost while Mr. Samarth withdrew his.

The third resolution was for placing the portfolio of Defence under a Civilian Member of the Executive Council. It emphasised the principle of the ultimate supremacy of the civil power, and demanded that the Commander-in-Chief should, without prejudice to his official precedence, cease to be a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

Mr. Ishwar Saran's amendment for the inclusion of the minority view of the Esher Committee and Mr. Neogi's suggestion for the creation of an Army Council in India by Royal Warrant were both lost.

The next resolution which was carried with Mr. Samarth's amendment deleting reference to the portfolio of Defence being in charge of a Civilian Member, ran as follows:—

This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the proposal of the majority of the Esher Committee for the creation of a separate department for production and provision under a member of the Executive Council be not accepted and that the proposal of the minority, namely, that

the responsibility should be entrusted to a surveyor-general of supply, who should be a civil member of the Commander-in-Chief's Military Council, be accepted.

The fifth resolution vesting all Army appointments in the hands of the Secretary of State and the Government of India was carried without discussion. The last clause urged that

the appointment of the Secretary to the Military Department, India Office, should be made by the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the Government of India and after advice obtained from the Chief of the Imperial General Staff. He should have the status of a Deputy Chief of the Imperial General Staff and should have the right of attending the meetings of the Army Council when questions affecting India are discussed. He should not be under the orders of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

The next resolution was as follows:—

This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the Commander-in-Chief's right of correspondence with the Chief of the Imperial General Staff should be subject to the restriction that it does not commit the Government of India to any pecuniary responsibility or any line of military policy which has not already been the subject of decision by them, copies of all such correspondence at both ends being immediately furnished to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India.

Munshi Ishwar Saran moved an Amendment touching the restriction of the Commander-in-Chief's correspondence was lost and the original motion was carried.

The seventh resolution demanded free admission of Indians to all Arms of His Majesty's forces:—

(a) That the King-Emperor's Indian subjects should be freely admitted to all arms of his Majesty's military, naval and air forces in India and the ancillary services and the auxiliary forces. That every encouragement should be given to Indians including the educated middle classes subject to the prescribed standards of fitness to enter the commissioned ranks of the army and that, in nominating candidates for the entrance examination unofficial Indians should be associated with the nominating authorities.

(b) That not less than 25 per cent. of the King's commissions granted every year should be given to his Majesty's Indian subjects to start with.

Mr. Renouf moved an amendment to this resolution adding the following to clause (b).

That, in granting King's commissions, after giving full regard to the claims to promotion of officers of the Indian Army who already hold commissions of His Excellency the Viceroy, the rest of the commissions granted be given to cadets trained at Sandhurst. The general rule in selecting candidates for this training should be that a large majority of the

selections should be from the communities which furnish recruits to the army, as far as possible in proportion to the numbers in which they furnish recruits.

The resolution as amended was passed. The next resolution asked for an Indian Sandhurst.

(a) This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that adequate facilities should be provided in India for the preliminary training of Indians to fit them to enter the Military College, Sandhurst.

(b) That the desirability of establishing in India a military college such as Sandhurst should be kept in view.

Mr. Ishwar Saran moved an amendment that for clause (b) the following be substituted :—

That as soon as funds be available, steps should be taken to establish in India a military college such as Sandhurst and the desirability of establishing in India, training and educational institutions for other branches of the army should be steadily kept in view.



H. E. LORD RAWLINSON

The Commander-in-Chief accepted the amendment and promised to start a college at Dehra Dun for the education of young Indians, particularly sons of Indian officers, in service as soon as funds would permit. The resolution as amended was carried.

The ninth resolution urged for an Indian basis of pay for the commissioned ranks. Sir Sivaswami Iyer pointed out that the Civil Service to which they were grateful for many things had set a bad model of a most costly service.

The tenth resolution urged :—

That a serious effort should be made to organise and encourage the formation of an adequate territorial force on attractive conditions, to introduce in the Indian Army a system of short colour service followed by a few years in the reserve and to carry out a gradual and prudent reduction of the ratio of the British to Indian troops.

The next two resolutions related to the pay, prospects and position of different grades of the Indian army.

The next resolution urged that the Government of India should consider the expediency of reducing the size of the administrative staff at Army Headquarters. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief promised to do everything he could to carry out the spirit of this resolution as soon as possible. The resolution was carried.

The fourteenth resolution that was passed asked for a committee for the purpose of examining and reporting upon

(a) the best method of giving effect to the natural rights and aspirations of the people of India to take an honourable part in the defence of their country and prepare the country for the attainment of full responsible government which has been declared to be the goal of British policy ;

(b) the financial capacity of India to bear the burden of military expenditure ; and

(c) her claim to equality of status and treatment with the self-governing dominions.

Mr. S. R. Garud brought in an amendment that the committee should be immediately appointed. It was however lost.

Mr. Ishwar Saran's amendment for enlarging the scope of the committee's enquiry was also negated.

Sir Sivaswami Iyer's last resolution asserted that Anglo-Indians were included in the term Indian in all his resolutions.

Concluding, Sir Sivaswami Iyer expressed the great sense of humiliation which Indians felt in having all through been treated in the Army as hewers of wood and drawers of water. He appealed to the characteristic phase of British policy to do the right thing at the right time by following a line which would restore the emasculated nation to its full vigour and, further, add to the efficiency and contentment of the Indian Army.



# THE REFORMED LEGISLATURES

## THE COUNCIL OF STATE

At the meeting of the Council of State on March 21, Mr. Cook, Financial Secretary, asked the President to exercise his discretion to suspend the existing rules to make it possible for the Finance Bill as passed by the Assembly to be taken into consideration on the 23rd. He pointed out the urgency of getting the Bill passed before the end of the month as Government would otherwise lose revenue to the extent of 75 lakhs. It was accepted.

### THE FINANCE BILL

The Finance Bill was accordingly taken up on the 23rd when the Council met under the presidency of Mr. Muddiman.

Mr. Cook moved that the Finance Bill be taken into consideration. He said that he should give an idea of the financial position of the Government after the Bill had emerged from the Lower House. As a result of voting on demands in the Lower House, expenditure had been reduced by 192 lakhs of rupees and new taxation had been reduced by 85 lakhs. Thus the Government was better by 44 lakhs financially than when they introduced the budget. He hoped this House would not grudge them this sum in the case of great uncertainties in the outlook of trade and exchange.

Amendments were brought forward by different members in the increase or reduction of duties on various articles. It is unnecessary to go into the whole list of articles on which the debates centred. But one subject should be noted. Already there was considerable uneasiness over the new postal rates. Sir M. B. Dadabhoy's motion for the retention of the old rates was lost and so was Mr. Khaparde's for levying half an anna for half a tola.

Mr. Sethna's motion that the cost of one tola letter be three-fourths of an anna and one anna be charged for a letter between one tola and two tolas and a half was adopted, Government accepting it.

Mr. Khaparde's motion levying quarter of an anna for a weight not exceeding eight tolas in the case of registered newspapers and half an anna up to 20 tolas was carried, Government accepting it.

Sir A. Murray moved that the rate of tax on goods be two and a half annas when carried by railways and one anna and a quarter when carried by inland vessels. It was carried, Government accepting it.

Before the close of the debate Sir M. Dadabhoy paid a tribute to Mr. Hailey's masterly manner in grappling with the difficult situation. Mr. Hailey acknowledged this tribute on behalf of the Finance Department.

On the 24th Mr. Raza Ali moved a resolution recommending to the Governor-General in Council

To convey to His Majesty's Government, through the Secretary of State for India, the considered opinion of this Council that any attempt made in certain quarters in England to place obstacles in the working of the Government of India Act, 1919, in accordance with the wishes of the people of India, is calculated to endanger the new regime.



RAJA SIR HARNAM SINGH

Sir Harnam Singh supported Mr. Raza Ali, while Sir M. Dadabhoy characterised the resolution as superfluous. The motion was lost.

Mr. Khaparde moved that a committee be appointed to examine the recent distribution of portfolios among the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Only three members voted for it and it was lost.

## HINDU LAW

Dr. Ganganath Jha moved :

That steps be taken for appointing a committee of lawyers and Sanskrit scholars to consider the advisability and possibility of codifying the Hindu Law as administered by the Law Courts and to advise upon the desirability of introducing such changes as may be consistent with the text of the Hindu Law.

Dr. Sapru promised to address the High Courts, whereupon the motion was withdrawn. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas also withdrew his resolution touching the methods of ascertaining the total taxable income of an assessee carrying on business in different provinces.

Mr. Maung Po Bye's motion recommending the formation of Peace and Vigilance Committees in all towns and villages was opposed by Mr. Raza Ali and others. Mr. Khaparde brought in an amendment which was lost. The motion was withdrawn on the advice of Sardar Jogendra Singh.

The Council reassembled on the 26th when three Government bills, two Government motions and three non-official resolutions were debated. The resolutions related to the reparation from Germany to India, the release of the Savarkar brothers, and exemption to members of local, as well as Central Legislatures from the operation of the arms act.

## INDIAN ELECTRICITY ACT JOINT COMMITTEE

Mr. Chatterjee, Secretary for Industry, moved

That the Council do agree to a joint committee of twelve members to amend the Indian Electricity Act, 1910 and that the following six members be nominated to serve on the Joint Committee:—Sir Alexander Murray, Mr. Froom, Sir M. Dadabhoy, Sardar Jogendra Singh, Mr. Moncrieff Smith and the mover himself.

The motion for joint committee was put and agreed to.

## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY ACT

Mr. Shafi moved that the bill to amend the law relating to the Calcutta University as passed by the Assembly be considered. He said that the Bill intended to create organic connection with the Bengal Government.

## RIGHTS OF HINDUS

On the motion of Sir William Vincent Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar's Bill to declare the rights of Hindus to make transfers and bequests of unborn persons in the city of Madras as passed by the Assembly, was carried.

## SAVARKAR BROTHERS

Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar moved for the extension of amnesty to Savarkar brothers. It was

negatived on the opposition of Mr. Seddon, Sir William Vincent and Col. Umar Hayat Khan.

## ARMS RULES

Lala Sukhbir Singh moved that members of Councils, Provincial as well Central, be exempted from the operations of the Arms Act.

On the motion of Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy this resolution was put in parts and exemption in case of Magistrates was carried, sixteen voting for and fourteen against. Exemption in case of Local Councils was lost, while, in the case of members of both the Houses of the Indian Legislature, exemption was agreed to by a majority, the Government members voting against it.

## REPARATIONS TO INDIA

The Hon Mr. V. G. Kale moved :

That the Secretary of State be moved to secure for this country through His Majesty's Government an adequate share of indemnities and reparations to be obtained from Germany.

He said that India was a member of the League of Nations. It had contributed to war both in men and money and out of 22 per cent. share of the British Empire, India should get a sum consistent with her sacrifices.

Mr. Moncrieff Smith emphasised that the Government had been considering this matter for some time past and had reached at Rs. 8,675,000 as the share of India out of the reparations from the enemy including Germany, Austria and Turkey. The Government would gladly accept the resolution.

Mr. Kale's motion was then put and carried unanimously.

The Council was prorogued on the 29th.

## INDIAN ARTS, INDUSTRIES &amp; AGRICULTURE

Indian Industrial and Economic Problems. By Prof. V. G. Kale, Fergusson College, Poona. Third Edition. Price Rs. Two. To Subscribers of "I.R." Re. 1-8.

Essays on Indian Economics. (3rd Edition.) By Mahadev Govind Ranade. Rs. 2. To Subscribers "I.R." Re. 1-8. Industrial India. By Glyn Barlow, M.A. Second Edition. Re. 1. To Subscribers of the "I.R." As. 12.

The Swadeshi Movement.—A Symposium by Representative Indians and Anglo-Indians. Second Edition. Re. 1-4. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," Re. 1.

Agricultural Industries in India. By Seedick R. Sayani. With an introduction by Sir Vitaldas Damodar Thackersey. Second edition. Revised and enlarged. Re. 1. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review." As. 12.

Lift-Irrigation. By A. Chatterton. Second Edition. Rs. 2. To Subscribers of "I.R." Re. 1-8.

The Improvement of Indian Agriculture.—Some Lessons from America. By Cathelyne Singh. Second Edition. Price Re. 1. To Subscribers of "I. R." As. 12.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.



The debate on the Finance Bill continued for three weeks since the presentation of the Budget on the 1st of March. It is unnecessary to go into the details of the discussion as it touched on every article of export or import, of production and consumption. Almost every member of the Assembly took part in the debate and the bill was eventually passed on the 19th.

We pass over several Government Bills and motions for committees which were formally put before the Assembly and carried. Mention may however be made of the Calcutta University Act,



MR. T. V. SESHAGIRI AIYAR

the Indian Electricity Bill and Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar's Bill to declare the rights of Hindus. On March 21, Mr. T. Rangachariar was given leave to introduce a Bill to further amend the Transfer of Property Act.

#### EMIGRATION BILL

Mr. Innes moved for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the law relating to emigration. Sir George Barnes explained the objects of the measure to be to legally put an end to indentured emigration, to provide safeguards for the protection of unskilled labour, and to appoint agents of Government overseas.

In the course of a lengthy statement Sir George pointed out that the proposal was to repeal the old Emigration Act and to substitute a new act. "Indentured emigration is dead," he said, "but it is necessary to safeguard ourselves against its resurrection in any form." He, however, pointed

out that the Bill does not provide for any control over free emigration as it would hamper individual freedom. He deprecated retaliatory legislation. He spoke at length on the position of Indians in the Empire and the status of India and the Dominions, and concluded:—

Throughout his term of office H. E. the Viceroy has worked strenuously and persistently for the uplifting of the status of India and of Indians, and I venture to think, with some measure of success. (Applause). So far as India herself is concerned, she is now admitted as a member of the British Empire on an equality with the Dominions, and the voice of her representatives will have the same weight as the representatives of the Dominions at the Great Council which will take place next June, and I may remind you, Sir, that the position of Indians in other parts of the Empire has, at the request of the Viceroy and of his colleagues, been placed on the agenda for discussion. With regard to the recognition of the status of Indians, we have made progress and shall make further progress. Rome was not built in a day, and the progress may not be rapid as we could wish, but our goal must continue to be the admission of India, throughout the Empire, to all the rights and all the privileges of British citizens.

On the 23rd Dr. Gour introduced his Marriage Bill, 32 voting for and 17 against.

#### NON-CO-OPERATION RESOLUTION

The same day the Assembly discussed a Resolution on Non-Co-operation asking the Government to adhere to the policy enunciated last October and November and urging the Local Governments to stop all repressive measures now being used all over India. Mr. Jatkar, who originally gave notice of this resolution, withdrew it.

A breezy discussion ensued from this procedure and Dr. Nand Lal was given the option to move the same resolution. Mr. Jatkar himself supported it whereupon Sir William Vincent made a lengthy statement explaining the Government's attitude and the desperate efforts of the Non-Co-operators. In conclusion he said:—

The Government's policy was this—to meet the legitimate demands of the people, strengthen Moderate opinion, make the Reforms a reality, remove agrarian and other grievances, go out of our way even at the sacrifice of efficiency in order to satisfy legitimate demands. But, at the same time, where we have disorders and excitement either direct or indirect we should punish them. Now, I want this Assembly to support me in the announcement of this policy of the Government.

Khan Bahadur Hussain Khan and Rao Bahadur Rangachari each moved and withdrew an amendment, while Mr. O'Donnell's motion that the Government should adhere to its policy as announced to the Assembly that day and as far

as possible avoid resorting to any proceedings under exceptional legislation in dealing with the non-co-operation movement was passed.

#### FINANCE BILL

The Assembly met on the 24th and accepted 16 amendments to the Finance Bill as passed by the Upper House. Objection was raised in regard to the rate on postal letters.

Sir Sivaswamy Iyer appealed to the members not to create a deadlock in the first year of the working of the new constitution, necessitating the intervention of the Governor General, and suggested the addition of a new clause that half an anna be charged for letters not exceeding half tola.



MR. HARCHANDRAI VISHANDAS

Mr. H. Vishandas endorsed Sir Sivaswami Iyer's observations.

Mr. Hailey replied and the Bill, as amended by the Council of State, was eventually accepted with the Government assurance that they would introduce by executive order the half an anna rate for half a tola letters.

#### CODIFICATION OF HINDU LAW

On March 26, a resolution for the appointment of a Committee to consider the question of the Codification of Hindu Law was moved. It was however withdrawn on Dr. Sapru's assurance that the question would be referred to High Courts, Local Governments and Bar Associations.

#### AN INDIAN PRIVY COUNCIL

Dr. Gour moved a resolution to establish a



MR. EARDLEY NORTON

court of ultimate appeal in India. Mr. Eardley Norton and Mr. Seshagiri Iyer welcomed the amendment of Dr. Sapru "to collect the opinions of the Local Governments, the High Courts, and other legal authorities and to ascertain public opinion generally." The amendment was carried.

On Monday the 28th, the Assembly met for the last time to transact business for this session. Sir Sivaswami Iyer moved a series of Resolutions on the Esher Report which is discussed elsewhere in this issue.

The Assembly along with the Council of State was prorogued on the 29th by H. E. the Viceroy.

Lord Chelmsford, in his closing speech, paid a tribute to the Presidents in conducting their business and congratulated the non-officials on their tone and temper throughout the deliberations.

The working of a constitution was no easy task and any constitution could be reduced to absurdity if its constituent parts were unmindful of their responsibility to work it with good will and fair play. His Government had worked through this session, in the words of Mr. Gladstone, in mutual respect and in a common interest for a common aim. This session should dispel the doubts of those who looked to the new era with gloomy forebodings and should hearten those pledged to constitutional cause against the forces of disorder and anarchy. But there was still need for the spreading of constitutional gospel in the country by teaching the people their real power.



# PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES

## Madras.

The Council commenced voting on Government demands for grants on March 21st. Among the important motions considered was one by Mr. C. V. S. Narasimha Raju for reducing by 1.16 lakhs the provision of Rs. 5.36 lakhs under tentage and travelling allowances to Collectors, Sub Collectors and Assistant Collectors. This was lost by 34 voting for and 48 voting against it.

Another motion by the same member for reducing the provision for carrying out increases in the Provincial Civil Services was also lost.

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar's motion reducing by one lakh the grant of Rs. 55 lakhs under district administration was carried by 45 against 31.

Mr. Biswanath Dass's motion on the 22nd for the omission of Rs 2.16 lakhs for the Russelkonda Saw Mill scheme was carried by 40 votes against 34.

On March 23rd, Mr. C.V. Venkatarama Iyengar moved for the reduction of the provision of Rs. 1.92 lakhs for the Ministers by Rs. 84,000. The motion was lost by 16 against 73, 9 remaining neutral.

He moved another resolution for the reduction of Rs. 30,000 from Rs. 1.20 lakhs for travelling allowances to members of Council. This was also lost by 15 against 52. A third resolution of his for reducing by Rs. 75,000 the provision for the personal staff and body guard of H. E. the Governor was adopted, Government agreeing to the extent of Rs. 18,120.

A motion for reducing the salary of the Publicity Officer and another for omitting the provision for the Publicity Bureau were also lost.

On the 24th Mr. B. Muniswami Naidu's motion for the reduction of Rs. 3,76,320 in the provision for increase of salaries to District Munsiffs was lost by 37 against 32 votes, 20 members remaining neutral.

This resolution, though ostensibly brought in to effect a retrenchment, was in reality designed to spite the Brahmins and cast insinuations against the High Court. This was apparent in the discussion that ensued. The Hon. Mr. K. Srinivasa Iyengar effectively disposed of the charges levelled against the High Court by quoting figures which showed that the proportion of Brahmin Munsiffs for the number of Brahmin Vakils was 1 to 10 while Christians had 1 to 6, Mahomedans 1 to 2 and other non-Brahmins 1 to 9. He further protested against the reduction of salaries of these able and hard-working officers. It was evident that the supporters of the motion were only bent on cutting the nose to spite the face.

After the voting of grants, the Council took up consideration of resolutions on matters of public interest.

## WOMEN SUFFRAGE

Dewan Bahadur Mr. Krishnan Nair moved a resolution

for the removal of the "sex disqualification prescribed in sub-clause (b) of clause (1) in rule 7 of the Madras Electoral Rules for registration on the electoral roll in respect of women and for fixing the same qualifications for women.



DEWAN BAHADUR M. KRISHNAN NAIR

This was passed, 47 voting for and 13 against and 10 remaining neutral.

## CONTRIBUTION TO THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The Council unanimously passed a resolution by Mr. K. Prabhakara Thampan.

protesting against the arbitrary manner in which the sum of 384.29 lakhs was fixed as the Madras contribution to the Central Government and asking the Local Government to send suitable representations to the higher authorities.

## "A COMMERCIAL DISPUTE"

Mr. O. Thanikachallam Chetty moved a resolution recommending to Government

that the power of making appointment to the office of District munsiffs now vested to the High Court may

with a view to effect being given to the recommendations of the Public Services Commission, be taken into the hands of the Government, such power being exercised with the advice of the High Court.

The resolution was much debated upon and continued the next day also, non-Brahmin members expressing dissatisfaction at the undue preponderance of Brahmins in the cadre of District Munsifs. They also blamed the High Court as being responsible for the glaring disparity between the two communities. The Hon. Mr. K. Srinivasa Iyengar, the Law Member indignantly said that he would not condescend to reply to the attacks on the High Court. This was, in effect, a mere "commercial dispute" as the *'Times of India'* correspondent aptly called it.

Sir Lionel Davidson, on behalf of the Government protested against the unwarranted insinuations against the Judges of the High Court, and said it was dangerous to suggest perversity or lack of reasonable care on the part of the judges of the High Court in making these appointments.

Sir Lionel Davidson further undertook to re-examine the whole question in consultation with the High Court, and suggested to the mover that the resolution might be withdrawn.

The mover withdrew his resolution in the light of the assurance given.

Another resolution was moved by Mr. Thanikachalam Chetty

recommending to the Government to give effect to the recommendations of the Public Services Commission, recruitment to the judicial offices may be made directly from the bar and that such recruitment may be made for the next five years from amongst non-Brahmin Hindus, Christians and Mahomedans so as to secure the due representations of all the different communities in the Judicial Service.

The resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority. This is "communal rustication" with a vengeance, to be sure. Commenting on this extraordinary motion the *Daily Express* says that "it is precisely in regard to such resolutions that the provision of the Veto is specially contemplated."

It adds :

The proportion of applicants from Brahman and non-Brahman Hindus was as 83 from the former and 14 from the latter, but the proportion of appointments was as 15 for the former and 50 for the latter. Notwithstanding these figures, from what point of view the head of a Government could be called upon to altogether prohibit the recruitment from the Brahman community has not been made clear. It rests solely on the preponderance of Brahman Munsifs in the department. From preponderance to exclusion may no doubt be a process of reasoning, but would be contemptibly unfair and would utterly belie the principles of British Rule in India.

The Council was then prorogued (April 2).

## Bombay

On March 18, Mr. K. R. Godbole moved a resolution for taking steps to make the development departments a transferred subject to be placed in charge of a Minister. The resolution was, after some discussion, withdrawn. Another resolution urging the establishment of experimental forest industries in Kolaba, Thana, and certain other districts was withdrawn after an assurance from the Minister that he would do his best.

On March 19, Mr. Kambli moved a resolution for the increase of grants to municipalities for primary education from one-half to two thirds of their expenditure. An amendment to the effect that such increase should be given for two years to municipalities which were not able to meet their expenditure was accepted, and the resolution as amended was passed.



SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTULLAH  
Member, Executive Council.

The Council then elected a committee of public accounts.

On 21st March, Rao Saheb Desai moved a resolution

placing on record the Council's high appreciation of services rendered by the Hon'ble Sir George Curtis to the Bombay Presidency during his distinguished career for over 30 years and regretting that high-minded officers of his stamp should be leaving Bombay at this important juncture in its political future.

A number of non-official members supported the mover and the resolution was carried unanimously. Sir George Curtis expressed his thanks



for the kind words in which the resolution was couched and made a touching reply.

Mr. Haji moved that certain publications of Government like the Gazette, Council Reports, and administration reports of departments be supplied free to members. This was accepted.

Major Fernandez's resolution for the appointment of a committee to consider the forest grievances of Canara was also accepted.

#### WOMEN SUFFRAGE

At the meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council on March 21, Mr. Trivedi brought in a resolution recommending the removal of the disqualification of women contained in the Bombay electoral rules. The subject was debated upon. Mr. Trivedi pointed out that the Bombay women were already exercising the Municipal franchise. Mr. Paranjpye supported the motion which, he said, was perfectly reasonable. While Sir Chimantal Setalvad "hoped that the Council would not grudge this elementary right to women," Rao Bahadur Bhital and Mr. S. P. Ligade opposed the motion. At the end Mr. M. H. W. Hayward pointed out that the motion resolved itself into two main propositions on which they should have a definite ruling from the chair. Whether women should be allowed to vote was a question within the competence of the Council to solve but, he further observed, that it was only the House of Commons that could decide whether women could be admitted as members of the Council. The President held that the motion involving two such distinct issues was out of order.

On March 22, there was much discussion over the acquisition of land in the Poona district in connection with the Tata Hydro-Electric Works. Mr. V. R. Gupte moved a resolution recommending to the Government the stoppage of works that were proceeding in Mulshipeta till the Council fully examined the scheme and considered the agreement, if any, to be entered into by the Government with the company. The mover pointed out that about 37 villages had been acquired and that the inhabitants numbering about 15,000 had not been compensated. Sir George Curtis said that there was delay in compensation only with regard to the villagers of Andhra Valley and that Government would be issuing notification on the subject shortly.

Rao Bahadur Kale moved an amendment:—

That the Government take necessary steps to secure to the inhabitants of the affected area, liberal compensation either in kind or in money at an early date.

The amendment was accepted, and the resolution as amended was carried.

#### Bengal

The discussion on demands for Grants which began on 14th March came to a close on 24th. There were in all 30 motions asking the Council to sanction a total of nearly 10 crores. Some 212 amendments were moved by non-official members with a view to reducing this total. Of these 39 were carried, 27 lost and the remaining withdrawn. Consequently, unless vetoed by the Governor, the demands for grants were reduced by Rs. 46.69 lakhs.

On the 6th instant, the Council accepted a motion

urging one hour's recess at mid-day on Fridays in all courts and Government offices to enable Muhammadans to say their Jumma prayers.

The Council also accepted a resolution

urging the Government to give effect to the decision of the Public Services Commission to amend the rules prescribing that candidates for the Bengal Pilot Service must be Europeans, and that the appointment of officers be made in England only when suitable candidates were not locally available.



H. E. LORD RONALDSHAY

On the 7th instant, His Excellency the Governor, in the course of his address to the Council, referred to the constitution of the Legislature and said the Council's treatment of the budget of the reserved half of the Government had not been in accordance with the intentions of Parliament. He pointed out the fundamental differences of the two halves of the Government, and said that, while the Ministers were responsible to the Council, the Executive Council was responsible to Parliament.

His Excellency wanted to make it clear that any action which he felt called upon to make was not taken by way of protest but solely in the discharge of his duty to Parliament. If, in that capacity, he had to use his right of restoring grants constantly, that would mean, he said, only one thing *viz.*, the existence of a practically unbridgeable cleavage of opinion extending over the whole administrative field between the Governor and the Council.

If such a state of affairs came into existence, His Excellency thought Governor himself would realise that his usefulness either to the Government or to the Province had come to an end, and he would, in such circumstances, be justified in demanding release from responsibilities which he was no longer able satisfactorily to discharge.

His Excellency then referred to various items in the reserved budget in respect of which grants had been refused or reductions made. And in regard to the grant under "Police" he said he would give the Council another opportunity to reconsider it.

The Council met again on the 21st April when Sir Henry Wheeler moved for the supplementary Police Grant of Rs. 22,57,200. In moving the resolution, the speaker gave facts and figures to show that the expenditure on C.I.D. was not increasing but had shown a steady downward tendency. The Investigation Branch had been created in view of the needs of the present situation. After hearing the explanations given by Sir Henry Wheeler the substantive motion for the supplementary Police Grant was passed without a division. The Council was then prorogued.

*The Annual Subscription to the "INDIAN REVIEW" is Rs. 5 (Five). Subscription can commence from any month. Any one who wishes to buy books at the concession rates must remit Rs. 5, (Five) one year's subscription to the REVIEW in advance.*

## The Panjab

The Council passed on the 15th March, a resolution for providing poor houses by local bodies. Mr. Muhaaram Ali moved a resolution that the language of the Council shall be Urdu, but that any member not proficient in it might address the Council in English or in any other recognised vernacular. An amendment making English as the language of the Council and allowing members to address in Urdu or in any other recognised language was accepted, and the resolution as amended was passed.



PANDIT MANOHAR LAL

Member, The Punjab Legislative Council.

On the 17th March, Government accepted a resolution asking for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the canal administration in the province.

Raja Narendra Nath's resolution that the notification in respect of Seditious Meetings Act should be modified so as to exempt meetings held to discuss matters coming up before the Council was defeated by 31 against 10.



### A ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The Punjab Legislative Council passed an interesting resolution on March 19, when Moulvi Muharram Ali Chisti moved :—

That this Council recommends to the Government to arrange a Round Table Conference of Members of the Executive Council, Ministers of Government, selected non-official members of this Council and other influential Hindu, Muhammadan, Sikh and Christian leaders (including recognised leaders of the Non-Co-operation movement in the Punjab, to consider the necessary steps to be taken to reconcile the people and to maintain law and order in the province.

The resolution was well received and strongly supported by several members. Raja Narendra Nath moved the following amendments (1) that the words "to the Government to arrange a Round Table Conference of" be omitted and the words "to His Excellency the Governor-General of India in Council the necessity of appointing an All-India Round Table Conference consisting of leading officials and non-officials of the country to which" be substituted (2) that after the word "Punjab" the words "and elsewhere should be invited" be added. (3) that the words "In the Province" be omitted and the words "and to ascertain how it is possible to secure co-operation" be added.

All the amendments were accepted without a division and the amended resolution was passed unanimously. Sir John Maynard, on behalf of the Government, assured the House that Government did not ignore the gravity of the situation created by the Non-Co-operation movement and that there was no sacrifice of dignity in taking part in such a conference. Fifty one members voted for the resolution while none voted against it.

### THE SIKH SHRINES BILL

On the 5th April, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazal-i-Hussain introduced the Sikh Gurdwaras and Shrines Bill which was referred to a Select Committee.

On the 8th April, the report of the Select Committee on Gurdwaras and Shrines Bill was presented.

The consideration of the Bill as amended by the Select Committee was postponed to the 16th instant, as there were dissenting minutes to the report.

On the 16th instant, the consideration of the Bill was, after some discussion, again postponed till the next session of the Council and the Council was prorogued till the 9th of May.

### Bihar and Orissa

At the meeting of the Council on the 22nd March, a resolution for relaxing prison rules during the 'Ramzan' to enable Muslim prisoners to observe religious duties was accepted, the Hon. Mr. Sahay promising to forward the same to the Government of India for orders. A resolution to direct District Officers to consult local leaders before firearms were used to quell disturbances was also accepted.

Mr. Nurul Huq moved a resolution to reduce the number of executive councillors from three to two, one being Indian and the other European. The mover regretted that the old policy of distrusting Indians was still being followed, and that the arrangement of the Bihar Council was most unsatisfactory and highly disappointing to Indian aspirations. Further it was against the recommendations of the Joint Committee. The motion was unanimously accepted.

Another resolution discussed was for putting a stop to the sale, manufacture, and consumption of liquor within twelve months as far as the Local Government was concerned.

The representatives of Hindu and Moslem and Indian Christian Missions and the representatives of the depressed classes and labour representatives supported the resolution. The Hon. Mr. Le Mesurier pointed out the financial difficulty in giving effect to the resolution. Further discussion on the resolution was continued on 29th March. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Fakhiruddin emphasised the difficulties inherent in the policy of total abolition in the present state of political and social development.

The resolution, together with an amendment for a committee to consider the question was negatived.

On the 30th March, Babu Shyam Narain moved a resolution restricting the exodus to the Governor with the minimum Secretariat staff and limiting the period to three months. Mr. Ganesh Datta moved an amendment for the complete abolition of the exodus. The amendment was lost and the original resolution was carried by 23 against 21 votes.

On the 31st March the Council passed, among others, resolutions for preparing a scheme of vocational teaching, for extending the system of trial by jury to all districts and for providing a room in the Council building for Muhammadan prayers.

Sir Walter Maude then read the Governor's notification proroguing the Council.

### The United Provinces

At the meeting of the Council on the 12th March the resolution on exodus was considered. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, in his resolution, restricted the annual exodus to the Governor, the Members of the Executive Government, Council Secretaries and the necessary staff, and limited the period to three months. Mr. Porter, in reply, said that from next year onwards, the officials mentioned in the resolution only would go to Naini Tal. The motion was withdrawn.

The voting of grants commenced on the 14th March. On the grant for excise, Mr. Chintamani made a statement. He said that a committee would be appointed under the presidency of Mr. Pym, and that the Government would introduce reforms to reduce consumption whether revenue increased or not.

On the 18th and 19th, the Council was engaged on the voting of grants under Education. Mr. Chintamani, Minister, made a statement regarding educational policy.

Three new intermediate colleges would be opened, secondary schools would be established wherever there was need, vocational instruction would be introduced and the question of foreign scholarships would be referred to a committee. A new girls' high school would be opened in July and special efforts would be made to encourage woman education. The question of village libraries was being enquired into.

On the 28th March His Excellency the Governor addressed the Council on the political situation, in the course of which he said that,

with the Non-Co-operators, they could have nothing to do beyond meeting their mischievous activities. Their movement was a revolutionary movement playing on passion and pandering to ignorance. But the mass of the people were loyal and all their interests were bound up with the maintenance of order.

Mr. Chintamani, Minister, while moving for grants under Industries, made a statement of policy with regard to industrial development.

To stimulate purchase of stores in the country the Director of Industries would be made responsible for the purchase; an industrial survey will be started and technical education extended. The monopoly intents had been abolished and jail manufacture would be improved.

On the 4th instant, Mr. Chintamani moved that the Bill for the establishment of a Board of High School and intermediate education be referred to a Select Committee. The motion was accepted.



PANDIT GOKARANATH MISRA

Pandit Gokaranath Misra moved that this Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor-in-Council that the system of trial by jury be extended to all offences which are tried before a Court of Sessions throughout the United Provinces.

On an assurance by the Raja of Muhammada-bad that he was willing to appoint a committee which would go into all the details, the motion was withdrawn.

Mr. Thakur Jagannath Baksh Singh's resolution urging that district boards be permitted to appoint non-official secretaries was also withdrawn after discussion.

On the 6th instant Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru moved a resolution protesting against the large increase in the salaries of Indian Medical Service.

The resolution was carried after Pandit Jagat Narain's assurance that he would forward the proceedings to the Government of India.

Mr. Ghir Chait Behari Kapur's motion that a committee be appointed to work out a detailed scheme for the separation of judicial and executive functions and to prepare an estimate of the cost of the same was, after some discussion, carried.

The Council was then prorogued.



### The Central Provinces

The Central Provinces Legislative Council took up consideration of Government demands for grants on the 17th March. Two events marked the budget session—the magnanimous offer of the President to devote his salary of Rs. 3,000 per month for one year for famine relief and the self-sacrificing offer of the Council Under-Secretaries to work without any remuneration.

Among the important reductions in the budget demands were rupees one-and-a-half lakhs under Forest, the item reduced being a saw-mill to work Allapalu forest, Rs. 63,000 under Irrigation and Rs. 56,000 under Public Health.

### Assam

The Assam Council met on the 9th April when the Budget was scrutinised and some important alterations were effected. The lump reserve of Rs. 8,000 under the head of General Administration was reduced by half. The grant for steam boat establishment was omitted. The provision for recruiting boys for the Assam Rifles was reduced by Rs. 10,000. The provision of Rs. 30,000 for a museum at Gauhati was also omitted. It was decided by 35 votes to two that the new Council Chamber be erected at Shillong.

A retrenchment committee was formed to examine the points raised during the Budget debate. The committee is composed of Mr. J. E. Webster, Commissioner, Surma Valley, Khan Bahadur Muhibuddin Ahmed and Rai Bahadur Promode Chandra Datta. It was decided that action should be gradually taken to give effect to the resolution carried earlier in the session, that the opium traffic in Assam be abolished within ten years.

H. E. the Governor then prorogued the Council.

## The Indian Review

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### Burma

After the adjournment of the second reading of the Burma Reforms Bill in the House of Lords for production of correspondence, Mr. Montagu telegraphed to the Government of India asking if they wished to add to papers "any further expression of opinion in view of the development of Home Rule agitation and the debate in the Local Legislative Council." The Government replied, on the 19th of March, that they still thought that Diarchy was not suited to Burma at present, but

in view of recent developments, it considered that any scheme falling short of that adopted for the Provinces of India, would no longer meet the aspirations of moderate Burmans.

A meeting of the Legislative Council of Burma was held on 12th March when the budget was presented. The net result of the Reforms Scheme is an improvement of eighty lakhs in the finances of Burma in 1921-22. The profits from rice control amount to Rs. 799 lakhs.

The discussion on the budget which took place on 9th April, ranged over the activities of Agricultural and Veterinary Departments, the effects of the University Act, the pay of services and P. W. D. programmes and achievement.

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor in closing the discussion, gave a lengthy review of the leading features of the year and of the general administrative policy which is reflected in the financial statistics of the province.

His Honour appealed for moderation and restraint in all political movements, for the restoration of that friendly co operation which had hitherto existed between the British Government and the people of Burma, and for the cessation of all those tendencies towards the boycott and coercion of people who differed from them, which were threatening to mar the general public tranquillity of the country.

On the 12th instant, the Council again met and passed two bills. The Rural Self Government Bill was referred to a Select Committee, though its introduction was opposed on the ground that it should come before the enlarged Council after the reform scheme. A resolution welcoming Lord Reading and another asking for a Local Administrative Officer to explain the objects and effects of Government measures were passed.

Another resolution that agitators or seditiousists be formally warned before action was taken was lost, the Government opposing it.

The Council was adjourned *sine die*.

## Parties and Policies in India

In the course of a thoughtful article in the February number of the *Contemporary Review*, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, C.I.E., L.C.C., Honorary Secretary of the Indian Reforms Committee in London, discusses the situation in India as affected by the working of the Reform Act.

The position is not free from anxiety, he says, but it is not altogether gloomy. For "while the prophets of disaster and the apostles of anarchy have been proclaiming that the British Raj is at an end, the foundations of responsible government have been quietly and solidly laid.

Mr. Cotton then reviews the results of the recent elections and the new appointments of Ministers and Councillors and the formal opening of the Reformed Legislatures which he calls "the most interesting political experiments of modern times." The Non-Co-operators directed their first offensive against the new Legislatures and a determined effort was made to wreck the elections.

The attack, however, failed. Throughout the eight Provinces 440 constituencies were contested out of a total of 637, and six cases only are said to have occurred in which an election was impossible owing to the absence of a candidate. The percentage of votes polled varied considerably. If the novelty of the experience is borne in mind, and due account taken of the prevailing atmosphere, the result in the bulk is not discouraging. The propaganda of Mr. Gandhi and his friends has succeeded in one respect only. It has forced the "extremist" politician to hold aloof from the councils, and has everywhere placed in power the party which is determined to make a success of the Act.

Mr. Cotton then enumerates the duties devolving on the new ministry which, in the Provinces at any rate, has taken the main direction of the political machine. He then discusses the nature of the "transferred" and "reserved" subjects and dilates on the responsibilities of Ministers and Executive Councillors for their respective portfolios. The bulk of the work has, in the nature of the circumstances, fallen on one party which has supplied most of the *personnel* of the new governments. The Executive Councillors are safe

and well-trying men, he says, and there are men of sturdy independence like Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir Abdur Rahim.

As for the Ministers, there are three in Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, and the Departments assigned to them are Local Government and Sanitation, Agriculture and Public-Works, and Education.

In the five other Provinces two Ministers only have been appointed. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, a former Senior Wrangler, and Principal of the Fergusson College at Poona, should make an ideal Minister of Education in Bombay and Sir Surendranath Banerjee—the "old man eloquent" of Bengal—is admirably suited with the portfolio of Local Government in that Presidency. Office has also been most appropriately found in the United Provinces for Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the editor of the *Allahabad Leader*, who is one of the "Moderate" stalwarts, and whose victory in the Jhansi division was one of the sensations of the general election. In Madras, where feeling has been running high between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans, the three Ministers have been taken from the ranks of the latter, who have obtained a nominal majority at the polls. Rao Bahadur N. K. Kelkar, a disciple of Mr. Gokhale and a leading spirit in the Co-operative Society movement, has been appointed in the Central Provinces, and Mr. M. S. Das, a well-known Indian Christian, in Behar.

Thus the Departments entrusted to Ministers are precisely those which demand constructive capacity and administrative courage.

Closely allied with these is the reorganisation of the whole system of Local Government. And then there are problems of agriculture and commerce. When there is such need for constructive statesmanship in the councils, it is regrettable that "Non-Co-operation" should wean away some of the best men from the path of duty. Says Mr. Cotton rightly:—

Some of the best brains among Indians are undoubtedly lost to the country by its continuance. They are badly wanted inside the Councils, and the emergent problem of the moment is to bring this about. There is still time for the *grand geste* of reconciliation; but it must come from the autocrats of yesterday, who must definitely abandon the idea of being the veiled despots of to-day. The root-cause of much of the trouble which exists in India can be traced without serious difficulty to the Central Government which remains untouched by the reforms, in spite of the increase in the number of Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council from one to three. The same old arguments have been used, the same distrust manifested of Indian capacity. It will be for Lord Reading to shake himself clear of this dead-weight of obscurantism and contempt of public opinion,



## Europe at the Crossroads

Mr. Paul M. Warburg, writing in a recent issue of *The Political Science Quarterly* compares the Europe of the present moment to a big steamer sunk by a torpedo. [The world is divided into four camps of which on the right and on the left we see the extreme and destructive wings of capital and labour. Wedged in between the Bolshevik and the ultra-capitalist and the nationalist are progressive capital and constructive organised labour. In Europe constructive organised labour has shown itself more capable and quicker to recognise its duties and opportunities than unorganised progressive capital; and it is the former that has stemmed the tide of Bolshevism in Europe. Conservative organised labour does not wish to confiscate and destroy, does not want to impose on enemy states contributions in excess of any durable and practicable means of taxation with resultant bankruptcy and violent social upheavals. The British Trades Union Congress held at Portsmouth and the Second International at Geneva have both entered an unqualified protest against the extreme clauses and interpretations of the Versailles Treaty. Progressive capital in the Entente and neutral countries is practically in complete accord with conservative organised labour on these points. British financiers were most outspoken in this respect. At present the Bolsheviks and radical Labour find their strongest moral support in the mistaken deeds past and present, of governments directed or controlled by the will or fear of the bitterenders and of the militarists. The masses should be given a proper voice in the management, an adequate living wage, a share in the profits and some sort of direct influence in the government. Germany is trying such an experiment at the present time. If Germany fails to solve her labour troubles, it will lead either to more Bolshevik experiments or to reaction and civil war.

Europe is at the crossroads of her destiny, and the decision whether she will sink or rise lies largely in the hands of France. In contemplating the present plight of France and Germany, I am led to compare poor France, with her devastated regions, to a man maimed in the war, showing the stuff of a limb shot to pieces in the struggle. Germany, on the other hand, economically ruined, may be likened to a man infected to the core with tuberculosis, hopelessly doomed to death unless the disease is arrested, but, to the casual observer, showing no outward signs of the dread malady. Can the poor French invalid expect to regain his strength by a transfusion of blood from so wretched a body? There are those in France who take the moderate and wise view that if Europe with her present form of social order and civilization is to survive, countries must cease to carry on a war after peace, that they must stand together in removing the wreckage and in trying to salvage what can still be saved. Such men are at one with England and Italy in wishing the indemnity question settled promptly and on a reasonable basis. As against this school of thought, there are the "bitterenders", who—partly from hatred engendered—say that Germany must be so loaded down with debts and deprived of her coal to such a degree that she can never recuperate. This would imply the reduction of a 60,000,000 people to 40,000,000 by "peaceful penetration", which is a polite expression for starvation, the ravages of disease and wholesale emigration. The difficulty of such a course is that a country so completely ruined would be a bad debtor for France to have. Furthermore, social upheavals in Germany might prove contagious. Finally, as soon as the effects of such a course were fully understood, neither Europe nor we, nor the majority of the French people—particularly the working classes—would tolerate it.

## INDIA IN PERIODICALS.

GANDHISM AND AFTER. By Dr. H. S. Gour. ["The Hindustan Review", March 1921.]

THE DISTRIBUTIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA. By H. W. Wolff. ["The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly," March 1921].

INDIA ENMESHED IN IMPERIALISM. By Surendra-nath Carr, M. A. ["The Asian Review," February 1921].

INDIAN POLITY AND MR. GANDHI. By N. A. Khundkar, B. A., L.L.B. (Cantab) Bar-at-law ["Indian Business," March 1921].

HIS EXCELLENCY LORD CHELMSFORD. By Sardar Jogendra Singh ["East and West" April 1921].

THE MUSICAL HERITAGE OF INDIA. By the Rev. H. A. Popley. ["The International Review of Missions," April 1921.]

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE IN INDIA. By W. H. R. Rivers, M.D., D.S.C., LL.D., F.R.S. ["Man in India," March 1921.]

## Co-operation and Politics

Mr. R. B. Ewbank, I.C.S. recommends, in the March number of *The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly*, that co-operative societies should be strictly neutral in politics. It has been recently suggested that the movement should seek direct representation in the Legislative Councils and that special seats should be reserved for co-operative nominees. English societies first burnt their fingers by meddling with politics in the sixties of last century and accepted as an axiom neutrality in politics. In 1897 Sir W. Maxwell advocated the case for political action and the Perth Co-operative Congress adopted the resolution for favouring direct representation. At the Paisley Congress of 1905 the delegates refused to commit themselves to the entire political programme of any party. There arose a movement to persuade the co-operative and trade union organisations to join forces with the Labour Party and share a common political platform. Government showed signs of suspecting and ill-treating the co-operators who show a tendency to work normally with the Labour Party. The movement for taking a political complexion seems to be losing strength now.

The first point in this history of events which may be commended to the notice of Indian co-operators is the persistence with which the policy of neutrality was maintained in spite of the blandishments of both the Liberal and Labour parties throughout two generations and the reluctance with which it was finally deserted. Co-operators in Great Britain have never held that they should not proclaim their views and exert their influence on individual political questions. The Sugar Convention, the land system, the Factory Acts, the fiscal question, and education have frequently been discussed at their conferences with vigour and vehemence. But they have always considered that their movement was eco-

nomic, social and moral, but essentially not political, and that there were large regions of politics, for example, foreign, naval, and military politics, with which they had no direct concern. To attempt to link their organisation to any political party or to adopt a corporate policy regarding the great national issues, in which co-operators as such were not directly interested, seemed to them certain to lead to dissension and to make for the disruption of a movement, which was founded on the principle of common action for specific common objects.

In India the movement embraces different classes, consumers who are mainly the industrial populace and the bourgeoisie, represented by the caste societies and producers who are mainly agriculturists. We do not know what party divisions will manifest themselves in the new Councils, nor will it be possible for the diverse elements which constitute co-operators to work together for a common political programme. The Indian societies are under the special protection of Government and they have much to lose and it behoves them to tread delicately. At the same time, on particular political questions, especially those in which their own interests are directly affected, it seems clear that they have a right to make themselves heard and that their views might be of great value both to Government and the public. It would probably be inadvisable, for the sake of securing their general neutrality on the wider issues of party politics, to debar individual societies or any organization capable of representing the movement as a whole from discussing such questions and placing their considered conclusions before Government, the Legislative councils, or the public.

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## The London Conference

"Realist" insists in *The English Review* for March, that the London Conference should procure unqualified agreement on two points in order to be successful. (1) Germany must assume responsibility for putting her national finances into order and indicate the steps it is proposed to take towards that end. (2) The Reparation Commission must accept sole responsibility for the transfer of value which payment by Germany in the terms of the indemnity requires.

The heart of the problem lies here, and the mutual-ity of interest is clearly revealed. At the current rate of exchange ten marks equal one so-called gold mark, and, therefore, Germany has far more to gain by an improvement in her exchange position than from any discussion aiming at some reduction in the payments to be made. On the other hand, to saddle Germany with political responsibility for overcoming technical difficulties respecting the "transfer of value" of a purely economic kind, which may prove to be, in practice, insurmountable, would be unfair and unintelligent.

The Conference must get to grips with its real problem. Taxation, deflation of the rich, repudiation—these are all relevant to the issue. There are still rich Germans, although the German Government may appear insolvent.

The Reparation Commission must accept sole responsibility for the "transfer of value" which payment by Germany requires. The Allies at Paris agreed to demand from Germany certain annual payments rising from £100 millions to £300 millions over a period of 42 years *plus* an amount to be arrived at by calculating 12 per cent. of the annual value of Germany's exports. The Reparation Commission's participation (this is the correct word) in the German export trade is to be payable, we are told, in *foreign currency*.

The Reparation Commission will discharge a dual responsibility. It will call upon Germany to perform certain acts and it will seek to secure the co operation of neutral countries and the U. S. A. and this co-operation should not be unnecessarily refused.

"There must be agreement as to *method* to be adopted in the days in which we are living. The distant future will take care of itself. How far can Germany effect economies in administration? What additional taxation can be imposed? Must Germany resort in some measure to repudiation? Shall Germany be asked to deflate her rich men? Will the

United States and neutral countries lend their co-operation? These questions cannot be avoided by practical men, by men of average good sense. Will the London Conference answer them? If the Allied representatives at this Conference shirk the real issues and satisfy themselves with the formal assent of Germany, the practical difficulties already indicated will immediately afterwards come to the surface and provide good sport for political Parties and a sensational Press, but a treacherous foundation for trade recovery throughout the world which is so much to be desired."

## Buddhism and the Western World

Mr. Bernard Houghton, writing in the *Positivist Review* for March, says that Buddhism has special features of interest to Positivists. Both Buddhism in its primitive clarity and Positivism lay stress on reasoning, on knowledge and on an appeal to the facts. Both are selfless and impersonal and are based on self-conquest and self-culture.

Comte urged that higher progress and human happiness depended on the substitution of social feeling for self-love. He preached a supreme devotion to Humanity. Buddhism inculcates the same doctrine as to happiness, but it attacks the problem from a different side. Gautama taught that all sorrow is due to *trishna*, the grasping desire for self-gratification, whether in this world or another, and that true happiness, therefore, is only to be won by the extinction of this craving through following the Noble Eightfold Path. "Stateless are desires," he said, "full of suffering, full of despair, altogether wicked." To win this freedom from self *dhyana*, that is, meditation designed for mental discipline, is especially recommended. It is akin to the Hindu *yoga*, but different from it. Thus he used the natural desire for happiness as a weapon to kill selfishness and greed and hatred. *Through self Buddhism destroys self*. This, too, is what Mr. Gandhi means in saying that for the individual *swarajya*, or self-government, is *moksha*, or salvation (rather, emancipation). Certain it is that the Burmese, who follow most closely the teachings of Gautama, are kindly and tolerant to others, and singularly happy in themselves.

Obviously this doctrine of self-conquest and self-culture, when followed, must profoundly affect human nature and through it civilisation. Take, for example, such a vital matter as eating. To one who has lived amongst Buddhists or Hindus, Western society seems given up to gluttony and smitten with diseases, the fruits of gluttony. Large sections seem to live literally to eat, i. e., eating forms their chief pleasure in life. Buddhism cuts at the root of this materialism. It is true that Gautama denounced asceticism, but he was content with one meal a day, which hardly tallies with modern Western ideas. It is difficult to see how gluttony, with its subtle urge to materialism, can be subdued save by some such doctrine as this. So too with drunkenness and sensuality.

## Silver and gold Currency in South India

Mr. H. Dodwell, in the current number of *The Indian Journal of Economics* tries to prove that the former use of a gold currency in South India was more nominal than real and that it required a relatively large import in order to maintain a relatively small volume of gold in circulation. Gold came mainly as payment for the export of piece-goods to Europe and both silver and gold came from Manilla which obtained the first from America and the second from China. Silver also came from Jeddah and the Red Sea. In the 17th century gold was the more regular and constant export from Europe; but silver gradually tended to replace gold as the principal export from Europe to the Coromandel coast. From about 1670 silver rose considerably in value and was imported steadily by the English and the French.

The pagodas coined by the European companies in South India differed but little among themselves. But the Carnatic Nawab's mints began to issue coins of a lower standard than had been customary and in the years 1720-39 the Carnatic pagoda was diminished in value by over 12 per cent. Hence the European pagodas disappeared as fast as they were issued.

The English contrived to establish a standard coin 80 per cent. fine, known as the Star pagoda from the large fine-pointed star stamped on its rounded side. This new coin at once rose to a premium over the country pagoda and established itself as the principal variety of pagoda in circulation.

The common coin of the people was not the pagoda, but a small gold piece of heavily alloyed metal known as the *fanam*. There was also the *rupee* of the Mughal mints found in considerable numbers in the principal Muhammadan centres. The merchants who traded with the Europeans would not readily accept the *rupee*, but demanded payment in gold pagodas. The early attempts of both the English and the French to establish the *rupee* in general circulation failed.

From the English conquest of Bengal, the Company reduced its bullion exports to India and commenced to move gold and silver from Bengal to Madras. Till then the movement was on the other side. The various Madras wars drained away a good deal of the gold currency; and the circulating coin came to consist more and more largely of silver. From 1795 the coins minted at Madras were more rupees than pagodas. In 1806 we are told that though gold constituted the nominal standard at Madras, silver formed the real currency. The local value of silver varied considerably from place to place, low in the coast towns and weaving centres, rarer and dearer in the inland districts. The assumption of the Carnatic in 1802 levelled down the price of silver in South India but also led to a reform of the currency itself—there being after 1806 only 2 standard coins, viz, the Star pagoda and the Arcot *rupee*. The Company shortly afterwards declared for a uniform *rupee* throughout the country, gold coin being received at its bullion value thus adopting monometallism then becoming prevalent in England.

## The Labour Problem

Rev. A. Gille, S. J. contributes a lengthy article to *Business* on the Labour Problem and offers what he calls a "Catholic solution." He traces the history of the relations between Capital and Labour in the west and the methods employed by Mediaeval Churches in dealing with industrial problems by means of their guilds. He then reviews modern efforts for readjustment of constant frictions between Labour and Capital and concludes:—

"The fundamental remedy is industrial co-operation, as it will put Labour in such a position that it will participate in the benefits of ownership, and compel both Labour and Capital to ignore their differences and place greater stress on their common interests."



### A Plea for Religious Liberty

In an article in the April number of the *Young Men of India*, Mr. R. C. Das of the St. John's College, Agra, discusses about compulsory Bible teaching in Mission Schools and the methods of solving this vexed question satisfactorily. It may be granted, says Mr. Das, that a mission is technically right in enforcing compulsion as regards Bible instruction under a Government that professes neutrality in religious matters and when it is open for non-Christians *not* to join a Christian institution; but it is one thing to be able to claim a legal or formal right and quite another to be able "to win the hearts of men for the Kingdom of God."

With the present missionary methods, particularly those adopted in schools and colleges, Christianity appears not as a Gospel freely proclaimed and freely responded to, but as an aggressive propaganda of dogma and European culture. It has, says the writer, unnecessarily created a prejudice in the mind of the educated Indian which may or may not end in practical trouble. Moreover

"We must take note of the intense political sensitiveness of educated Indians. They are feeling the subjection by a dominant race. With this every missionary should sympathise and he should help in bringing about an order in which they will see the brotherhood of man manifest in mutual relationships."

This matter of compulsory Bible instruction has been recently considered by the National Missionary Council of India and by the Conference of the Principals of Mission Colleges; but the ultimate decision on this question will have to be settled by the whole missionary organisation and there is also the veto of the Home Boards. If unqualified compulsion is insisted on, the result will be, says Mr. Das, disastrous, not probably visibly so much as morally and spiritually.

"I believe we could make a much stronger and nobler case for missionary education on the basis of voluntary religious instruction. The spirit of religious inquiry is too deep in India. We shall never lack students of the Bible. With prejudice and sullen reluctance in your audience it is futile to put the

Christian Gospel before them. It is better to have one-fourth of the class coming voluntarily than to compel an unwilling whole class. This hostility is bound to increase with the growth of political self-respect."

The writer fears that the insistence on, and retention of, the present policy of compulsion may lead to the closing down of certain institutions in which case all parties—non-Christians, Indian Christians and Western Churches—would be losers.

As regards the possibility or desirability of a *via media* between the policy of pure compulsion in favour of exclusive Bible teaching and that of making exclusive Christian instruction entirely voluntary, he says a compromise, at least of a temporary and tentative nature, is possible. In view of the present state of unrest and of imminent changes in educational policies, he invites a dispassionate consideration of the subject by both missionaries and Indian Christians.

### Heredity.

"The Place of the Peshwas in Maratha History" is the subject of a critical study of the Maratha polity in the *Modern Review* for April. Mr. Govind Sakharam Sardesai shows how the principle of heredity came into vogue in Maratha history and how the Peshwas even like kings, secured the office in a family. After narrating the story of successive Peshwas the writer points out a moral.

The principle of hereditary holdings, however queer it may appear to us in this twentieth century, was formerly a part and parcel of the whole system, not only of Governments, but of private houses as well. The whole governmental service, civil as well as military, from the lowest peon to the highest official was staffed on this principle. It had its advantages and weakness. The Chitnis, the Fadnis, the Potnis, the Karkhannis and other offices were, throughout the kingdom, recruited on this hereditary principle, so much so, that all the Chitnises, for instance, were supplied for all the ministers and sardars by the principal Chitnis family of the Chhatrapatis and so on. Without such allurement, recruiting for any service or craft would have become impossible in these rough days, when want of communication had kept people woefully separated for any kind of combination. Every village had its own hereditary crafts, in order to have its needs supplied within its own boundaries, a state of things, which has given us so many evil castes and groups, which hamper our social progress today.

## Industrial Education

Mr. W. Fyfe, Inspector of Industrial Schools, Madras, writing in the *Journal of Indian Industries and Labour* says that taking mechanical engineering as representative of industry in general, there are wanted (1) a better educated, more intelligent type of artisan, first and foremost, (2) a better educated and better trained type of chargemen and overseer, and (3) a locally trained type of foreman who can compare favourably with the imported European product. Few employers express any desire for a supply of trained engineers of college rank.

To start then with the employers' first requirement, a better type of artisan, how is he to be produced? If we examine the shortcomings of the present type of artisan in order, we discover firstly that he is almost invariably, nearly, if not quite illiterate, and secondly that he has served no proper apprenticeship, and it has been nobody's business to teach him anything.

Recruits for most trades should have a general education up to the primary school standard with the 3 R's being regarded as compulsory, the other subjects being optional and varying with the needs of the locality. Recruits for specially skilled trades should have a general education up to at least the Lower Secondary standard.

There is in this Presidency an unfortunate tendency to imagine that foremen can be turned out from technical institutions after a three year's course, mostly theoretical, fit and able to take charge of work and direct workmen. This idea has led to much disappointment on the part of passed students and much annoyance on the part of employers. If the young men studying in such institutions would regard their course as purely preparatory, and be prepared to serve an ordinary apprenticeship afterwards they would be on the right lines, and after completing their apprenticeship, would be useful men and well worth employing. In industry there are no short cuts to practical knowledge; a man must practise tool manipulation for a considerable time before he gains that degree of manual dexterity necessary in every skilled worker; and unless a man can do a job himself dexterously, properly and efficiently, he is unfit for foremen or chargemen rank.

The prospective Indian foreman should follow in the footsteps of his European colleague; he must start with a good sound education, with a grounding in mathematics and go through the mill of ordinary apprenticeship and journeyman rank until he is fit to be promoted.

Reviewing industrial education as existing at present, the writer summarises the work to be done as follows:—

(a) More care in selecting recruits and more provision for elementary education.

(b) More provision for manual training and other forms of practical education in the middle or lower secondary school.

(c) Provision of preparatory trade schools in large industrial centres.

(d) Provision of work's schools of all grades from very elementary general education to advanced engineering classes, the classes being held in the works and in working hours; or by the provision of central trade's schools to provide the same facilities when groups of works are sufficiently close together to make such a system possible.

(e) Developing and improving existing assisted industrial schools and Government institutions with a view to turning out all round mechanics for small power plants, and better trained cottage workers.

## The Future of Man

Mr. R. L. Garner writing of "Man as he Will Be" says in *The Forum*;—

"One lesson that evolution teaches, is that progress, onward and upward, is the fundamental law of nature. Every fact we know justifies the assumption that such will continue to be the case as long as organic life exists.

"Therefore, the questions arise: To what physical, social and psychic levels will man yet attain as a living entity? To what moral, ethical and intellectual horizons will he ultimately attain? In what direction and to what extent will the animal faculties and functions of man be modified in the course of his future evolution? To what extent may we forecast his future development from a study of his life history?

"It is not a mere guess to predict that the time will come when human beings will be as far advanced above the level they now occupy as they are at present above any former level in the scale of nature from which they have already risen. In other words, the human race will continue to develop along certain lines of refinement, which are merely the lines hitherto followed, but projected into the future."



### The Value of Music in Education

Mrs. Cousins contributes an interesting article on the above subject to the new monthly *To-morrow*. She condemns the tendency of the Indian educational authorities to exclude music altogether from the curricula of High Schools and Boys' Schools generally. The ancient Greeks considered music to be fundamentally valuable to the nation as infusing a natural harmony into mind and literature and as closely allied to the sister art of gymnastics which is occupied with the body. Confucius has also said that music would furnish the answer to the question whether a kingdom is well-governed and its morals are good or bad.

The art of music in the past was taught in India only individually and not to classes. Indian teachers of the past did not realise that by the aid of the eye they could extend enormously their power of teaching simultaneously large numbers how to sing. The use of notation is the instrument for a more widely spread knowledge of how to sing and is the handmaid of the new type of music teacher.

The mass of folk-song has been usually sung in concert during agricultural or manual processes. There is also an amount of concerted singing in *bhajana* parties and in *kolattam*. The lack of scientific training has brought about a degeneration, many *ragams* being used in a slipshod inaccurate manner and allowing false intonation and foreign influence. The teaching of singing to large classes trains the students in co-operation, increases and develops national pride, inculcates discipline and refines nature and adds happiness to the whole of human life. There is no quicker means of obtaining order and unity than by a music-class. Music is very cheap to possess and cultivate and gives a very good training of the emotions. On all sides of the emotional school-life music may be used to purify, harmonise and uplift.

### Geography in History

Mark Starr, in the *Socialist Review* (January—March), tries to interest Labour in the study of Geography, economic and political, in the light of the influence exerted by geographical conditions on modern imperialistic politics. China gives a very good example of a country and civilisation fully controlled by its geographical environment.

Any orographical map will show a black patch to the west of China, the Tibetan plateau—"the roof of the world"—which flanks, by the aid of the Gobi Desert, the whole of the western side of China. The Great Wall of the North (214 B.C.) was not needed on the western side. Not only did the plateau protect, but it tapped and still taps the rain-bearing winds, and thus is the watershed to the rivers on which Chinese civilisation is based. The traditional isolation of China, her self-centred literature, and her past opposition to all outside influence is derived from the isolating barriers which gave to the first Chinese the protected chance to dig and ditch, and use the early plough in their great and exceedingly fertile plain.

This oneness of society was proof against the many invasions of the invaders from the steppes, who were again and again absorbed, because not only was this alluvial plain fertile, but extensive. Pressure was dissipated before the seaboard was reached, and the conquered people forced out to become subject to new geographic controls. From this arose the predominant peaceful character of the Chinese and the absence of continued war and slavery. Government remained a patriarchal despotism with agriculture, carried by small holdings in the rich loess, as the chief industry.

China was static so long as she remained subject to the unchanging geographic controls. Her powers of absorption and the reasons behind her isolation can now be easily understood. But now the new technique in transport, the economic needs of our modern social system and its 'Powers' are threatening to revolutionise China and her ways. The incalculable riches of her bituminous and anthracite coal, ironstone and other metals, combined with a huge supply of cheap labour power of a to-be-appropriated peasant class—these are the attractions which will cause the 'Powers' to remove for ever the isolation of China.

# QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

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## Indian Students in England

Sir William Meyer has appointed Dr. Thomas



SIR WILLIAM MEYER

Quayle, (Director of Education to the Borough of Sutton Coalfield), Joint Secretary for Indian

students in association with Mr. N. C. Sen. In connection with the transfer of the Indian students' Department to the High Commissioner for India, the Secretary of State for India has also appointed a Committee under the presidency of Lord Lytton to consider important matters relating to Indian students in the United Kingdom and to enquire into the working of the Indian Students' Department. Two members of the Council of India,



DEWAN BAHADUR M. RAMACHANDRA ROW one of whom will be a Mahomedan and three representatives from India will serve on the Committee. Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao of Madras and Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary of Bengal are the representatives from India who are leaving for England by the s. s. *Sicilia* on the 30th instant. The Committee is expected to begin work in the third week of May,



SIR D. P. SARBADHIKARI



## UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

### Sir H. A. Wadia on Swaraj

Presiding on the occasion of the Deccan Sabha's dinner in honour of the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri on the eve of his departure to England to represent India at the Imperial Conference, Sir Hormusji Wadia replied to Mr.



SIR HORMUSJI WADIA

Lajpat Rai's attacks on the Moderates and declared that the banner of Swaraj unfurled by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji at Calcutta, 'which ought to have been held aloft in the hands of a united people untarnished and unsoiled' was 'now drooping over our bowed heads through disunion and turmoil in the hands of a faction which has snatched it to misappropriate it to purposes from which the friends and followers of Dadabhai Naoroji feel it their bounden duty to stand aloof.'

### Mr. Gandhi on the Non-Brahmin Problem

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, in his public speech in Madras on the 8th instant said :—I have not a shadow of doubt that Hinduism owes its all to the great traditions that the Brahmins have left for Hinduism. They have left a legacy for India, for which every Indian, no matter to what Varna he may belong, owes a deep debt of gratitude. Having studied the history of almost every

religion in the world, it is my settled conviction that there is no class in the world that has accepted poverty and self-effacement as its lot. I would therefore urge—a non-Brahmin myself—I would urge all non-Brahmins who may compose the audience and all non-Brahmins to whom my voice may reach that they will make a fundamental error if they believe that they can better their position by decrying Brahminism. Even in this black age, travelling throughout the length and breadth of India, I notice that the Brahmins take the first place in self-sacrifice and self-effacement. It is the Brahmins all over India who silently but surely are showing to every class in India their rights and privileges. But having said so much, I wish to confess too that the Brahmins together with the rest of us have suffered of all. They have set before India voluntarily and deliberately, the highest standard that human mind is capable of conceiving : and they must not be surprised if the Indian world exacts that standard from them. The Brahmins have declared themselves, and they ought to remain, custodians of the purity of our life. I am aware that the non-Brahmins of Madras have many things to say against Brahmins, for which there is some cause. But let non Brahmins realise that by quarrelling with Brahmins, by being jealous of them and by mud-slinging, they will not better their lot, but will degrade Hinduism itself. I hold that it behoves non-Brahmins, shrewd as they are, to understand the beauty and secret of this movement. This movement is specially designed to dethrone insolence of office. He who has eyes may see what is happening in India to-day is a process not of levelling down, but of levelling up. Let non-Brahmins beware of attempting to rise upon the ashes of Brahminism. And, therefore, I would urge non-Brahmins, if they cannot throw themselves heart and soul into this movement, at least refrain from interfering with this movement by intriguing with the Government,

## Chamber of Princes

A Press communique dated the 5th April says: The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes has recently been in session at Delhi to consider questions regarding the representation of the States under the minority administration in the Chamber of Princes. The agenda for the next meeting of the Chamber of Princes contains matters connected with the codification of political practice.

Their Highnesses the Maharajahs of Bikanir, Gwalior and Navanagar, the Maharajah Rana of Jhalawar and the Nawab of Palanpur came to Delhi for the meetings, which were also attended by the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Hon'ble Sir John Wood and the Hon'ble Mr. A. C. Chatterjee. Mr. H. N. Hutchinson, M. G. L. Corbeet and Colonel W. D. Waghorn were also present at some of the meetings and supplied the Committee with information in regard to the various subjects which came under discussion.

## Mysore Census

According to the recent Census taken on the night of the 18th March 1921, the total population of the Mysore State inclusive of the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore is 59,76,660 of whom 30,45,999 are males and 29,30,661 are females. Compared with figures of 1911, there has been an increase in the total population by 1,70,437 or 2.93 per cent. All the districts except Shimoga and Kadur (in which there has been a decline of 24,287 and 4,432 respectively) have contributed to the increase.

## The Nizam's Position

The "Pall Mall Gazette" advocates the creation of the Nizam of Hyderabad as king. That paper asks "is it not at least partially Britain's own fault that Muslims within the Empire should have their eyes turned without the Empire because nothing has been done to give them a centre within the Empire?" The paper says that

the prestige conferred on the Amir of Afghanistan by the conferment of the title of His Majesty was recently exploited by Britain's enemies who sought to direct Indian Muslim emigration towards Afghanistan. That fact shows Indian Muslims' hunger for a king of their own. No Muslim ruler in the world has more subject than the Nizam who, since the East India Company's time, has been acknowledged Britain's faithful ally and who, during the war, proved the Empire's tower of strength" It also asks, "what is there to prevent Britain from making the Nizam, king and turning the eyes of Indian Muslims towards him?"

The paper suggests conferment of the title of Exalted Highness upon the Maharajahs of Baroda, Mysore and one or two other Indian Princes.

## Non-Co-operation and Indian States

Rulers of Indian States, says the *Indian Social Reformer*, have taken alarm at the progress of the Non-Co-operation movement in British India. Pandit Motilal Nehru, who may be described as Mahatma Gandhi's most convinced supporter at present, took occasion, in his address to the Rajputana, Central India and Ajmere-Merwara Political Conference over which he presided, to put Indian rulers at their ease. The passage in his address relating to this topic runs as follows:—

Let me take this opportunity of assuring all Indian Ruling Chiefs that there is no reason for them to be alarmed at the Non-Co-operation movement, which is directed against the British Government only, and not against them. I cannot too strongly impress upon those delegates who come from these States that the true happiness of both the rulers and the ruled lies in a hearty co-operation between them, and that nothing can lead to more disastrous results than the application of our programme of Non-Co-operation to the Indian States.



# INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

## Indians in Fiji

"So the Fiji Government is pursuing without let or hindrance its policy of hounding out Indians as undesirable aliens. Mr. D. M. Manilal has



MANILAL M. DOCTOR, B.A., LL.B.

already been turned out bag and baggage. And now it is the turn of an inoffensive *Sadhu* to incur the displeasure of the colonials. There is no charge against him of inciting his countrymen to violence. In fact, on their own admission, the authorities have given the world to understand that the strike has been conducted by the Indian community in an unexceptionable manner. Why, then, should the *Sadhu* be expelled from the colony in this unceremonious fashion? Because the colonials have taken it into their head that he is a source of strength to the Indian labourers who must go to the wall. After all this, are we still to be lulled into the belief that we are sons

of the Empire," asks the *Bengalee*. "Will Lord Reading see that Indians are not made the victims of the gravest injustice in Fiji by having the order of expulsion like "Damocles' sword" over their head? The treatment accorded to Indians in Fiji and elsewhere has become a perfect scandal. But the Colonial Office silently looks on and the white settlers in the Colonies snap their fingers contemptuously at law, justice and equity. How long, we ask, will such a state of things continue?"

## To Help the Emigrants

A Voluntary Committee has been formed in Calcutta with Mr. W. R. Gourlay as the Chairman and Sir Ashutosh Chowdhuri, Messrs. C. F. Andrews, N. Surawardy and Pandit Banarsi Das, Dr. Crake, Health Officer, and Lt. Col. Moses, I.M.S., the Protector of the Emigrants, as members, to render friendly service to Indian emigrants on their return from the Colonies and to a number of returned emigrants who have collected in Calcutta and who desire to go back to their Colonial homes.

## Indians in East Africa

Sir Dinshaw Maneckji Petit, Baronet, President of the Bombay Presidency Association, has telegraphed to the Prime Minister soliciting his personal attention to Indian grievances in East Africa and laying special emphasis upon the necessity of early appointment of a Royal Commission on which Indian representatives of India and East Africa should be nominated. Sir Dinshaw has also telegraphed to the Government of India strongly protesting against the campaign of repression started by some of the Provincial Governments against political workers and strongly disapproving of the manner in which district and other magistrates had been recently using provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code in such a manner as to interfere with the legitimate rights of public workers to educate public opinion in the country.

### India's Trade

A London Bureau has been organised by the India Office for the purpose of disseminating information regarding India.

It is understood that Lord Lytton will be in charge.

A scheme is already being planned to circulate information on India's commercial resources in North and South America. At the outset, however, the Bureau will confine itself to distributing official telegraphic news from India.

### The Sugar Industry of Ceylon

The "*Indian Industries and Power*" has an interesting article on the above subject in its January number.

Ceylon's annual consumption of sugar is about 400,000 cwts.

At the moment the island is depending on Java, Hongkong, Australia, India, and the Straits Settlements for its sugar supply. This means the neglect of other pre-war sugar sources, namely, the United Kingdom, British Guiana, Mauritius, China, Egypt, Germany and Japan. The principal losers are Egypt, China and Japan.

A Belgian manufacturer, it is stated, is trying to put beet sugar on the local Market through a Colombo firm.

A fair quality of Muscarado sugar is turned out by bullock mills at Nagoda in the Southern Province and at Ganawatte, Mr. A. W. Winter manufactures black sugar. These find ready sale at the bazaars at fairly remunerative prices.

Recently the price of sugar went up high owing to the war and the consequent transport difficulties.

The kital palm yields an excellent toddy for sugar making. In the Jaffna District there are nearly 7 million palmyra trees most suitable for tapping.

Good centrifugalised sugar was made by steam at Baddagama in the Southern Province by Mr. A. W. Winter and at Nagoda by Mudaliar D. E. H. Jayasinghe. The Mudaliyar made a fortune out of the venture.

At the present cost of labour, with modern machinery fed with alcohol made of molasses for the cultivation of the land, etc. and efficient supervision, an acre of good sugar land will yield from 30 to 50 cwts. of sugar. Manufacture would cost between Rs. 40 and Rs 50 per ton. With sugar at even Rs. 15 per cwt. a fair profit could be made.

With the opening of new Railway lines, with the expensive irrigation scheme now taken in hand, with the facilities of motor transport and above all with the sympathy of the Government, the prospects of the sugar industry in Ceylon look brighter.

### Travancore Timber Trust

A new company, styled the Travancore Timber Trust, Limited, has been floated at Kottayam in Travancore, with an authorised capital of rupees seven lakhs divided into fifteen thousand nine per cent. cumulative participating preference shares of Rs. 25 each and twelve thousand ordinary shares of Rs. 25 each. Four thousand ordinary shares and four thousand nine per cent. cumulative participating preference shares have already been subscribed for by the directors and their friends, while eight thousand shares have been underwritten by bankers for a commission of one per cent. The object of the company primarily is to develop and exploit the practically inexhaustible forest wealth of Travancore and the West Coast and to establish and conduct allied industries; and as a first step thereto, to acquire the extensive interests in timber in pursuance of executory agreements entered into by the company with some of the biggest timber merchants of the district. The directors, says the *Commerce*, are all businessmen.



## AGRICULTURAL SECTION

### Farming as a Profession in India

The principal difficulties in the way of Indian young men adopting farming as a profession are, says Mr. G. P. Forrester, writing in *Business*, (1) lack of scientific knowledge, (2) lack of employers, (3) lack of capital. "Firstly, we have the problem of want of scientific knowledge; this is a serious and in a country like India an unpardonable sin and it must be eradicated. Scientific knowledge is essential if scientific development is to be taken in hand and scientific knowledge can only come through systematic propagation of it by recognised academies. Conditions being what they are in India, State enterprise is absolutely necessary: if the people are to follow, the State must lead. Only in very recent years have the Government become alive to the importance of agricultural education."

Lack of employment is not really so bad as it appears at first sight.

"The Talukdars of Oudh, the Sirdars of the Deccan, the Zemindars of Bengal and Madras and the Talukdars and Malguzars of the Central Provinces should take a keener and livelier interest in the development of the priceless legacy handed down to them by their ancestors by freely availing themselves of modern experience. When once it is known that these gentlemen are willing to offer suitably-paid posts to trained young men, we will find an ever-increasing number of students turning their thoughts to the agricultural colleges. Furthermore, Native States such as Mysore, Hyderabad, Travancore and Baroda, should offer liberal inducement and facilities to their young subjects to train themselves in agricultural colleges. Thousands of square miles are lying withered and parched, crying for the plough and good seed."

Lack of capital, the third great defect can be remedied, says Mr. Forrester especially in the case of young men desirous of having farms of their own, by cooperative and agricultural organisations.

### The Mango Hopper

One of the worst enemies of the Mango tree is the insect called "The Mango hopper" which causes considerable damage to the crop in certain years especially in Chittoor and Salem. Sometimes the trees in the gardens blossom in profusion during the cold weather, and great hopes are entertained of a good crop in the coming season. But within a week or two after blossoming, the flower buds and blossoms turn brownish and gradually wither away. The few first formed fruits drop and the leaves of the mango become covered with a sticky juice which gives them a dark sickly appearance. The cause of the trouble is the mango hopper.

### New Way of Growing Potatoes

An American way of growing potatoes may be worth trying in this country, says the *Wealth of India*. The "seed" is not planted in soil at all. The ground is dug lightly, and it is then covered with several inches of straw, or any fairly dry litter. The "seed" is placed in the straw and covered with a further layer. The straw is kept just a little moist with water, and the planted potatoes soon start to grow. The roots travel rapidly downwards through the straw to the soil, but the production of tubers goes on exclusively in the straw, and those produced are exceptionally large; moreover they are three weeks or a month ahead of those grown in the usual way. Potatoes thus grown may be easily gathered without disturbing the plant as a whole. The hand is thrust down into the straw and the largest potatoes that can be found are allowed to remain until they grow on to a good size. It is claimed that by this method the yield is almost doubled.

### Prickly Pear Fodder

Experiments carried on over many years have proved that Bombay prickly pear is a valuable cattle food, which can be produced at five annas for 100 pounds costing 2 annas per day per animal.

# NOTICES OF BOOKS

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SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.

**The Message of Christ.** By A. S. Wadia : J. M. Dent and Sons, Limited, London and Toronto.

This is an earnest study of the Christian creed and ideas, apart altogether from the conventional presentations and dogmas of Christianity. The book is a marvellous revelation of the workings of a subtle, earnest and intensely imaginative eastern mind, saturated with the philosophical speculations underlying the common ground of all religions, and quite at home in the deepest current of modern thought. The author's treatment and presentation of the various topics of the Christian tenets, such as God-head, evil, worldliness, eternity, salvation, atonement, faith, love and immortality show his marvellous intuition and deep sympathy with the soul-stirring problem of the destiny of humanity, which has engaged the inspired master-minds of all ages. The interpretation of Christ's ideals and teaching, which the author with characteristic originality and brilliance has given, may not indeed find favour with the bigots, but it will be heartily welcomed by all reverential seekers after truth, and find a responsive echo in the breasts of all earnest students of the religion of humanity. One need not indeed agree with the author that Christianity, viewed from the higher standpoint visualised by him, is something radically different from all other philosophies and moralities, creeds and religions of the world, to which indeed it forms a complement or supplement completing every one of them. On the other hand, it may perhaps be urged with greater truth, on a proper synthetic understanding of world-religion, that Christianity is but a phase, a side-light, an undeveloped yearning of the spirit, though a very moving one in the world manifestation of religion. But the author's contention that, in essence, the spirit of Christianity is not at rivalry with any other religion, is a fact which few will be disposed to question.

**Spears of Deliverance.** By Eric Reid, London. Stanley Paul and Co., Essex Street, Strand.

This is "a tale of white men and brown women in Siam." We must say that we utterly fail to see if any artistic or any other conceivable purpose is served by depicting fifth-rate sketches—mostly unreliable from the stand-point of truth even at that—of the undesirable and altogether discreditable temporary relationships formed by the white man in the remote corners of the coloured lands with the scum of the indigenous female dregs of the locality. Our experience of similar sketches of Anglo-India and Anglo-Burma bids us beware of the present excursion of the white fancy into Anglo-Siam, and for aught we know the delectable sketches in the book before us of the white man's life in Siam are likely to be as utterly untrue to life as the similar caricatures which the world has been favoured with as the life in India and Burma of the average white man, who has sweated under his burden in those sun-dried latitudes. That the white man's conception of humanity does not favour the color-scheme is too well-known to need any fresh reiteration in the shape of tasteless, if not venomous, literature designed to show the superiority of even the white man's vices in the social sphere. It is to be hoped that this kind of literature, which is nothing, if not a festering sore of irritation, has not come to stay, and may, once for all, be buried 'in the vile earth from which it sprung, unwept, unhonoured and unsung.'

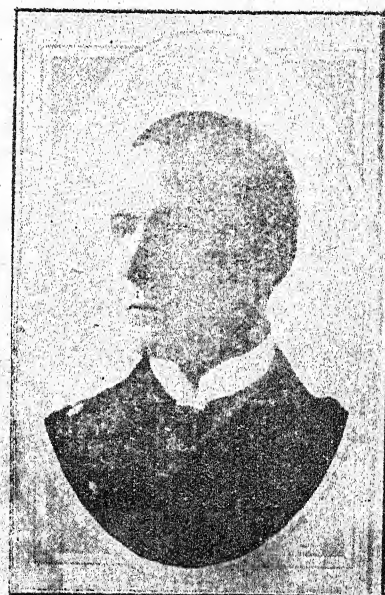
## New Journals

We have received copies of three new weeklies published in Madras. Humorous journals are so few in India that we welcome *Mr. Doodle's Weekly* which we have perused with interest. *The Publicity* is an illustrated weekly published by the Kanara Press; while *Svadhurma* is a Sunday paper devoted to the labour movement.



# DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Mar. 5. The Externment Order issued on 1st March on Mr. C. R. Das has been cancelled by the District Magistrate.
- Mar. 6. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was served with an order under Section 144 C. Pr. C. at Sultanpur.
- Mar. 7. Allied military movements to enforce Reparations from Germany have begun.
- Mar. 8. The Prince of Wales to-day received the Freedom of the City of Glasgow.
- Mar. 9. Lord Ronaldshay has instituted a committee of enquiry into the Tramwaymen's grievances.
- Mar. 10. Sir Syed Ali Imam gave a dinner to Lord Reading to-day.
- Mar. 11. The Governor of Bengal has appointed a committee to enquire into the recent strikes in Bengal.
- Mar. 12. Maulana Muhammad Ali and Mr. Sherwani have been prohibited from making public speeches in the Aligarh District.
- Mar. 13. H. E. the Viceroy to-day inaugurated the Chelmsford Reform Club at Delhi.
- March 13. H. H. the Aga Khan lunched with their Majesties the King and Queen.
- March 14. Mr. Montagu gave a dinner to Lord Reading at the India Office.
- March 15. The Gujranwala Municipality resolved to remove the portraits of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Col. O'Brien from the Municipal Hall.
- March 16. The Anglo-Russian Trade agreement was signed to day.
- March 17. Mr. Binar Law has resigned on grounds of ill-health.
- March 18. Lord Islington was elected Chairman of the Joint Committee on Indian affairs.
- March 19. The Governor of the United Provinces to-day laid the foundation stone of the Lucknow University at Lucknow.
- March 20. The International Chamber of Commerce met at Paris.
- March 21. Mr. Chamberlain has been elected leader of the Unionist Party in the House of Commons.
- March 22. H. M. the King received Lord Cromer in connection with the Duke of Connaught's visit to India.
- March 23. Mr. Montagu received a deputation of the Lancashire Cotton interests.
- March 24. The Calcutta University Convocation was held to-day.
- March 25. The Bengal Provincial Conference met at Barisal to-day.
- March 26. The All-India Lawyers Conference met to-day at Allahabad.
- March 27. The Government of India have agreed to an extension of the Seditious Meetings Act to certain districts of U. P.
- March 28. Dr. Gour and Mr. Chaudury gave a dinner at Delhi to leading officials and members of the Central Legislatures.



CAPT. VON MULLER

Capt. Von Muller of the notorious German Cruiser *Emden* who was reported to have been shot is now lecturing at Berlin on his war experiences.

## Literary

### Shakespeare Day

Saturday, April 23, is Shakespeare Day, the anniversary both of the birth and of the death of the Great Poet. In many countries, British, as well as foreign, this day is now set aside to the memory of Shakespeare, and celebrated in the schools and colleges. India has not yet fallen into line,



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

common bond of union; and in the course of time, since similar Associations are working for the same end in other parts of the world, to help in the achievement of a brotherhood of nations.

says the Hon. Secretary of the Shakespeare Association in India, who writes to the press urging the formation of such a body for the promotion of Shakesperian scholarship and research in this country.

Other aims of the Association are :—

(1) To promote the study, interpretation and appreciation of Shakespeare.

(2) To advance Shakesperian research and to help forward investigations in the various branches of learning bearing on the Poet and his work.

(3) To hold meetings for the reading of papers and monographs on Shakesperian subjects.

(4) To stage the plays of Shakespeare or represent scenes from the plays of Shakespeare.

(5) To record the progress of studies and activities relating to Shakespeare.

But there is a further end for which the Association is striving. It hopes by uniting the peoples of this country in tribute to the Great Poet to give them a still further

### The Calcutta Review

*The Calcutta Review* has passed into the hands of the Syndicate of the Calcutta University, from Mr. D. L. Munro.



## Educational

### Scientific and Vocational Education

The Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the Calcutta University have invited the headmasters of over 900 recognised schools to an informal conference to be held at the Senate House on the 7th May to consider what steps might be taken by the University to facilitate the introduction of scientific and vocational education in their schools.

### The Sydenham College

The *Bombay Government Gazette* announces that Mr. M. L. Tannan, Senior Professor in the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, Bombay, has been appointed Principal of the College with effect from November last *vice* Mr. P. L. Anstey deceased. Mr. Tannan has been a professor of the College for the past six years. He hails from the Punjab and is a graduate of the Birmingham University.

The Sydenham College came into being in October, 1913. It was founded on the model of institutions in England and America, such as the London School of Economics, in order to furnish young men embarking on a business life with an education of University standard in subjects of importance to them in their careers. As a college of commerce it aims at training young Indian businessmen to fit them, after practical experience, for holding positions of high responsibility, and, as a college of economics, it provides a liberal education in social science.

### Advantages of Education

Says the *Times* Educational Supplement: "Various signs point to the fact that the educated worker, even in very humble spheres, is preferred to the uneducated by some of the greatest employers. The reasons given for this preference are that the educated man is more reliable, steadier, and capable of more rapid adjustment to changing conditions."

### A View of Education

Education is a vital service, observes the *Challenge*. "Air and water, gas and electricity and transport are not the only conditions of a civilized community. We must explore the mind and train the taste of each boy and girl that claims our citizenship. This is an ideal so near the secret of our common life that any step we take towards it is a practical necessity. If we pray for a better England, for a happier people, for the coming Kingdom, we may not also grumble because the expense of education is approaching the cost of battleships and bombs."

### N.-C.-O. Movement in Schools

In connection with the Non-Co-operation movement in schools in the United Provinces, a press communique says: Generally, it must be acknowledged that the effects of agitation are to be seen throughout the Provinces. Work has been interfered with and the minds of boys have been unsettled, but the prospect is now quite hopeful. The effects are very trifling, except in some of the larger institutions in towns, and even there boys are constantly returning or wishing to return, and there is no indication that rival institutions are making any progress or winning the confidence of the people at large.

### The Universities

University changes and developments are significant of the day, says the *Journal of Education*. Japan is now a centre of interest, and at the University of Paris there has been founded a Chair of Japanese Civilization. France, eager to diffuse French culture, recognizes English culture as worth good attention; hence at Lille the Chair of Ancient History and Papyrology has been transformed into a chair of the English Language and Civilization. From Strasbourg, if Germany was ejected, she is not to be excluded and the University there has converted the Chair of Mediæval History into a Chair of "German History and Civilization."

## Legal

### All-India Vakils' Conference

The All-India Vakils' Conference met at Allahabad on March 26. Delegates from different parts of India attended.

Mr. Durgacharan Banerjee Chairman of the Reception Committee in welcoming the delegates on behalf of the Vakils' Association of Allahabad said that the object which had brought them together was to promote and improve the status and dignity of the Vakil bar. The main questions to be considered by the Conference was the creation of an independent Indian bar and the removal of such distinctions as existed between barristers and vakils. He said that the fusion of the two branches of the profession into one organised body would tend to improve the tone and usefulness of the profession.

Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the President said :

The trend of legal thought throughout the world is in favour bringing the various members of district or local Bar Associations under one central committee, and is clear that the whole body instead of being under the supervision of Courts, should be brought under the control of domestic tribunals. This procedure will alone bring about the spirit of solidarity and "esprit de corps." Such a body will also be competent to supervise legal education and lay down rules not only for the study of the law at the University, but for subsequent apprenticeship in the chambers of a practising lawyer by way of a preliminary training in actual work.

The real remedy for the avoidance of touting and other malpractices and for the correction of errors of the profession is to entrust the profession itself with the duty of eradicating these diseases in its own body, and of investing tribunals constituted of members of the Bar with the necessary powers for the purpose. As a part of the statute already contemplated, provision will have to be made for the formation of Pleaders' Associations in the districts, investing them with power to make enquiries in regard to the conduct of pleaders, and to investigate complaints which may be initiated by them or referred to them by the Courts. Such Associations will, acting in conjunction with one another and under the stimulus of Provincial and of All-India Committees, serve to exalt the tone of the profession, and also fulfil the objects now undertaken by the Committee of Enquiry of the Incorporated Law Society of England.

The conference passed resolutions on all the subjects referred to in the address,

### The Indian Police

The entire police force of the country consists of rather over 200,000 men provided at a cost of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions sterling says the *Statesman*. The famous Metropolitan police in London—itsself, like India's force, a State and not a municipal, police—consists of only 22,000 men but it costs  $6\frac{1}{2}$  millions sterling. Its cost during the past twenty years, has increased fourfold—a proportion which should commend itself to those who complain of the far less considerable increase in the cost of maintaining the police force in Bengal. In London and Paris the ratio (of the police to the population) is one policeman to every 350 of the population and in Great Britain as a whole there is one policeman to every 800 inhabitants. Only in the North West Frontier Province, where the force is one in 500 of the population of a specially turbulent province, does the burden imposed by police provision in India compare with the burden sustained by European populations.



SIR JOHN WALLIS

The Retiring Chief Justice of Madras who has done good work as Vice Chancellor of the Madras University.



## Medical

### Plastic Surgery

Some wonderful results have been achieved by surgeons in restoring the features of soldiers who received disfiguring face wounds. By plastic surgery, which consists in replacing lost parts in the cheeks, lips, nose, etc., by skin, fat, muscles, etc., from other parts of the body, the most terrible disfigurement can be restored to an almost natural condition.

### Powered Fruit Juice

One of the newest fruit products is powdered lemon juice. It is pure juice reduced to a perfectly soluble powder. The process of manufacture is an adaptation of the well-known spray method of reducing milk to powdered form. Indeed, the originators of the product are powdered milk manufacturers, the largest in the world.

### Hindu Medicine

The first five hospitals of the world were built in Hindustan. \* \* \*

It is admitted that Hippocrates, the "Father of Medicine," borrowed "his materia medica from the Hindus." \* \* \*

"We owe our first medicine to the Hindus," so says Dr. Royle of the King's College, London. \* \* \*

The exact anatomy of the human body was known to the Hindus so far back as the 6th century B. C. \* \* \*

Surgery was an applied science in India before the Christian era. \* \* \*

Alexander the Great had Hindu physicians in his court for the treatment of the diseases which the Greeks could not.—*Bombay Chronicle*.

### Diseases from Paper Money

That paper money is a potential armoury of disease deadlier than batteries and machine-guns is the considered verdict of eminent bacteriologists, says the *Times'* Paris correspondent. They have carefully analysed a number of French notes. On a half-franc-note ninety million bacilli were discovered. A franc-note harboured 236 millions. Among the active colonies revealed were colibacilli, (pneumococci) enterococci, staphy, and glo-cocci. It is expected that further examinations will disclose tuberculosis.

### Tuberculosis Cure

Lecturing to the Royal Society of Medicine, Lieut-Colonel Nathan Raw claimed to have proved that there were two distinct forms of tuberculosis and that it was possible to secure immunity from either by vaccine prepared from the bacillus of the other.

### Death Ages and Causes

The 1918 statistics for the registration area of the United States, embracing 77.8 per cent. of the estimated population, show a total of 1,471,367 deaths. The mortality rate was 18 per 1,000 population, but the increase from 14.2 in 1917 is accounted for by the influenza pandemic. The deaths were most numerous among children under five, the total being 306,143. The five year age-period of the next greatest mortality was that of 25 to 29 years inclusive; and the third most fatal period was 30 to 34 years inclusive. The average age at death was 34 to 35 years. About 5.7 per cent. of the deaths, however, occurred at the age of 75 or over; and there were 733 deaths at 100 years or over. The total of deaths from influenza was 234,290; the various forms of pneumonia, 222,400; organic diseases of the heart, 124,514; tuberculosis, 107,602; acute nephritis and Bright's disease, 79,192; cancer, 65,282.

## Science

### The Everest Expedition

Colonel Howard Bury has started for India in connection with the Mount Everest expedition.

The Royal Geographical Society awarded the Cuthbert Peek grant to Captain J. B. L. Noel for reconnaissance of the eastern approaches of Mount Everest.

At a meeting of the Geographical Society, Sir Francis Younghusband stated that the Prince of Wales had received Colonel Howard Bury and that the Prince of Wales and Duke of York spent an hour looking at the Survey Party's maps and plans. The Prince of Wales has contributed £50 to the funds, wishing the expedition all success.

### Wireless Telephony

The principles underlying wireless telephony are enunciated in the following extract:—

"Wireless telephony has been obtained by setting up in the æther surrounding a wireless station, a succession of very short waves, shorter than those of light, and superposing upon them the larger waves set up in the æther, by the variation in the current produced by the voice impinging upon the diaphragm of an ordinary Microphone transmitter. The apparatus employed is simplicity itself for sending. It consists of an aerial wave which is connected to a source of very high periodicity electric currents, and which sends out very high frequency waves of very short wave length; a microphone set is also connected to the aerial. At the receiving end there is another aerial with a receiving set, including a pair of telephones, connected between it and the earth. The pulses set up by the sound waves from the human foile through the microphone are reproduced in the telephone at the receiving station, just as with an ordinary receiver and transmitter connected by a wire.

### Passenger Air-ship

The latest invention of the famous Italian designer, Signor Caproni, is a passenger air-ship, 66 feet long, carrying 190 persons. Three sets of triplanes with a carrying surface of 7,150 sq. feet are attached. The eight engines of the machine are capable of developing a total of 3,200 horse power.

### Artificial Diamonds

Diamonds have, of course, been produced artificially before now, but only in such unprofitably minute crystals that the process could not be termed definite or even successful.

It is now stated that a dynamite company formerly Alfred Nobel, of Hamburg, have produced by a new process diamonds of good size the cost of production is such that it will be possible to make them very profitably.

In quality, too, the artificial stones are said to be equal to any which come from the mines.

The cost of production, of course, is considerable but still very much lower than the ruling market price. In the diamond market, it is believed that the price will be as much as 40 per cent. lower.

### Dr. Bannerji on the Seismograph

Dr. S. K. Bannerji, Professor of Applied Mathematics at Calcutta University, recently said that very valuable conclusions had been arrived at by the help of the Seismograph, one being that at the depth of half the radius of the world, the earth-began to be molten. This co-ordinated with Jeffery's theory of "firmo-viscosity."

### Why Glass is Brittle

The brittleness of glass is due to the quick cooling of the hot substance. It is known that constant motion tends to rearrange the molecules in any substance, and similar effect is observed when glass is boiled in a weak solution of salt in water and allowed to cool gradually. The toughness of the glass is increased very much, and the effect of quick heating is less disastrous to it,



## Personal

### Mr. Montagu's Declaration

In connection with a rumour that Mr. Montagu will succeed Mr. Chamberlain as Chancellor of the Exchequer, the *Observer* believes that Mr. Montagu has made it clear that he means to devote the rest of his life to India. If he left the India Office, he would retire for a prolonged period, during which, he would travel and study.

### The Aga Khan's Influence

The *Daily Telegraph*, in the course of a leading article, says that the generous concessions which the conference has offered to the Turks are due less to the latter's own merits than to the force of circumstances, reinforced in Britain by the feeling powerfully expressed by the Aga Khan namely, that the generous revision of the Treaty of Sevres may have a favourable influence on events in India.

### Dr. Sun Yat Sen

Of China's new President, Sun Yat Sen, one who knows him well, writes:—"Probe his thoughts as we might there was never any semblance of self-seeking. The fact that the destinies of China were in his keeping never seemed to quicken the pulse of his thoughts or disturb his equanimity. The benefit of his country was his only consideration; nothing else mattered. Neither honours, place, position, nor reward were dreamed of, far less considered. The presidency might come or go, he cared not; his country's regeneration was before all. Not that the principle he held sacred ever found expression in words! The common place florid oratory of the demagogue acclaiming the people's rights had no place in Sun's speeches or letters. Confidence of success, belief in the capabilities of the men he had selected to fill the important offices of state, complete reliance upon the character of the Chinese people to work out their own salvation were the keynotes of Sun's endeavour."

### Mr. Syed Hasan Imam

Mr. Hasan Imam, in the course of an interview, with the representative of the Associated Press of India, said:—"My attention has been drawn to a press message published in the papers in which I am reported to have said at Bombay that "so far the temper and attitude of the British Premier does not warrant any hope of the Moslem demands being conceded in full." I made no such statement, for in my conversations with



the Prime Minister there was neither temper nor attitude. The Premier viewed the Moslem representation with sympathy, and if he is unable to fulfil the hopes of Indian Moslems it will be not for want of inclination, though it may be by reason of his limitations. In Bombay I was asked to address a public meeting, but I declined to do so, because I yet regard the Moslem representation before the Prime Minister as lying within the circle of negotiation.

## Political

### The Bengal Reforms Conference

The Reforms Provincial Conference met in the Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta, on April 9. The attendance included the most prominent Liberals in Bengal. Mr. Provash Chandar Mitter, Minister for Education, who presided, said in the course of his address that they were agreed that their goal was liberty, which, as he understood it, meant representative democracy in which the interests of all races, communities and classes will be represented. He thought that the three problems which early practical solution would have to be found were poverty, ignorance and physical weakness of the people.



SIR BENODE MITTER

Who has been elected a Member of the Council of State in the place of the late Sir Rash Behari Ghose.

### "Sneaking Politicians"

*Liberty*, the new Non-Co-operation daily of Calcutta, has some harsh words to say of "Sneaking Politicians of the type that is growing so common in Bengal (and of which the latest illustrations are furnished by Mr. I. B. Sen and the *A. B. Patrika*)." This must be painfully surprising to many men and journals who sit on the fence with a lively sense of self-complacency.

"We say, Come forth; do not hide your lights under a bushel. If you really think that Non-Co-operation is injurious to the best interests of the country, say so openly as the Moderates are doing; and though we shall differ fundamentally from your view-point, we shall recognise and appreciate your courage of conviction. But this plotting and manœuvring for position, this dark and subterranean activity, this attitude as of one 'willing to wound and yet afraid to strike'—all this is unmanly, disingenuous and despicable. The political atmosphere will be clear, the tone of public morality will improve, if you come down from the fence and range yourselves definitely on the side of the Anti-Non-Co-operationists."

### U. P. Government on N. C. O.

The United Provinces Government has addressed a circular to the Commissioners dealing with the Non-Co-operation movement, which says the Government officials should now be encouraged to declare themselves with full approval of the Government against this revolutionary movement. They may be authorised to oppose it openly and by every legitimate means in their power. The Moderate element in the country may be organised and led with the express object of defeating it.

### Arrest of a Congressman in Burma

A well-known Burmese, Hpoongyi U. Ottama was arrested at Kyaungan, Bassein District, on March 11. The charges are believed to be under sections 124 (a) and 153A. The news of his arrest has aroused much interest, and some shops were closed in Kyaungan.



## General

### The Coal Strike: Triple Alliance

The news of the breakdown of the Triple Alliance was received with a profound sigh of relief. For it was rightly feared that such a menace, if carried out, would have thrown England into a desperate struggle for life. The cause of the strike must be pretty familiar. It is alleged that the miners demand a wage, which under present circumstances, is impossible of fulfilment and should have to be met from the General Exchequer. Till almost the eleventh hour the miners had been supported by the Railwaymen and the Transport workers whose combination would have completely paralysed all normal life despite the preparedness of the Government. The alliance however broke through and the country was saved an unprecedented calamity.

The Triple Alliance, consisting of three great unions—the Miners' Federation, the National Union of Railwaymen and the National Transport Workers' Federation—was formed in 1917, the constitution of the Alliance being formally ratified in June of that year at a conference of 280 delegates, representing 1,286,000 trade unionists. It was formed because, in the words of Mr. J. H. Thomas, "the workers concerned saw that sectional unionism had become obsolete, and that even occupational unionism would have to be put into the melting-pot and recast. Not only must future organisation be on industrial lines and its marking of the units of industry pay some regard to the employer, but there must be co-operation between the various industrial unions."

The mere enumeration of the trades or businesses that the Triple Alliance covers and controls, says a Contemporary, is sufficient to show the menace to the nation of a joint and synchronized strike. "The Miners' Federation has a membership of some 964,000,

but the number of persons employed in the industry totals about 1,020,000 the odd 56,000 being victims of the action of the Federation although themselves not members. The National Union of Railwaymen has a membership of about 530,000, including the great majority of those employed on British railways in all capacities, but not including the managerial or clerical staffs. The National Transport Workers' Federation has a membership of about 350,000, of whom 300,000 are dockers, the remainder being chiefly seamen, stevedores, carters and porters."

### Population of India.

The population of India (British India and Indian States) as ascertained on the 18th March, 1921, was slightly over 319 millions as against a population of 315.15 millions in 1911. The principal increases have taken place in Madras, Bengal, Punjab, Burma, Assam and North-West Frontier Province. The population of the Central Provinces and Berar is practically stationary, Bombay shows a decrease of 1.8 per cent., United Provinces 2.6 per cent., Bihar and Orissa 1.4 per cent.

Among Indian States substantial increase is recorded in Baroda, Mysore, Kashmir, the Madras, Bengal and Punjab States.



MR. H. W. NEVINSON

Whose recent book of poems entitled *Lines of Life* is reviewed in another page.

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## AMERICA AND INDIA

BY

DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

AMERICA and India—to look at these two different worlds is to envisage the two fundamental possibilities of human association in their widest possible divergence.

Indian civilisation, of which the material outlines can still be distinguished, is the life of a body corporate, characterised by order and sanity. Here everything possesses style and form. Nothing is created by the individual himself, or for himself alone, but every activity, from that of the philosopher to that of the scavenger, is redeemed and infused by the genius of the race, with the consequence that no material result of this activity is ever mediocre. One and the same genius worked in every craftsman; we may call these craftsmen artists, or say that India knew no artists, but only craftsmen, according to our choice of language. More precisely, the amateur did not exist in Indian culture, where all activities were vocational.

Here the virtue of every man lay in the observance of a traditional morality, the creation of the race, and unquestioningly accepted: the map of life was clearly charted. The folk included every class of men, and all that was essential to the common structure inhered in every part of it, so that from any individual activity, whether the edict of a king or the gesture of a dancer, the whole consistent tissue could have been deduced. For the same reason, even at the present day, one may deduce the whole from its surviving fragments.

The only provision for individual freedom, the only possible form of singular genius, recognized in this community was that of the *Jivan muktā* "who is redeemed (or liberated) in this life:" such an one owed no obedience to conventional morality, he himself was his own law, his conduct could not be criticised. It is a remarkable evidence of the Indian genius that such a type as this could be recognized at all in a society where the whole virtue of the individual appeared to consist in strict obedience to the law of the race.

The ideal inspiration of Western civilisation is totally different: here society exists alone for the sake of the individual, and that community is nearest to civilisation in which the maximum of intellectual, moral and physical freedom is best secured to the individual. Here the burden of genius rests no longer upon the race, but upon every individual separately, and he who is not inspired, is lost. Genius is no longer part and parcel of the corporate life, but isolated and peculiar: the remainder of the people constitute, no longer a folk, but a mob or aggregate of units having nothing in common but elementary desires for comfort and pleasure. Hence the social order—or disorder—takes upon itself a purely material aspect, and the very picture of a Kali Yuga is realised, where popular morality is in the grasp "of greed and of desire and the world is deluded by envy and resentment and by good and evil fortune": while those whose freedom represents the form to which the new society ideally



tends, are lost to sight amongst the many who have received a liberty they cannot use. Such units cannot share a racial inspiration, being without a background and without tradition or relation: and the *Jivan-mukta* is beyond their comprehension or recognition. In relation to individual genius and true spiritual freedom, indeed, the instinct of such a mob is first to crucify: afterwards the saint or artist is canonised, imitated, and with every good intention, caricatured. The history of Jesus is repeated every day on a smaller scale in America and Europe: the history of Buddha cannot be repeated, because the individual genius is a thing so entirely apart from the life of the mob, that no connection can be found, and no absorption or permeation can result. In democracies and "lands of freedom", the mass of the people is doomed inevitably to mediocrity, alike of experience, activity and of environment: nor can this condition be remedied by education. This is a condition totally different from that of aristocratic and theocratic societies, where the grace of genius permeates the work of all: it is only in such societies that magnificent architecture, or a living theatre, can be created by and belong to the people, only where all activities are vocational that nothing like bad art can be found.

European civilisation, withal, is still adolescent—tentative, enquiring, introspective, full of enthusiasms and fears, the seat of a perpetual warfare of ideas and interests. It is far from attaining its regimen. Changes are very rapid, and each succeeding generation is an insoluble problem to the last. Existing political institutions and codified laws are always out of date. No sort of orthodoxy, religious or moral or aesthetic, retains its prestige. There is an abundance of reformers and experimenters, and few statesmen. There are too many would-be artists, and no craftsmen. The ideal of full self-government by every individual is hardly to be realised even in the most restricted groups, and can never be realised in the

mass: every increase of liberty increases the confusion by increasing the power of the Devourers and reducing the power of the Prolific.

All these changes, however, are taking place by a natural development, and Western civilisation, although so youthful and inchoate, is moving assuredly towards some unseen goal determined by its own necessities and by the faculties of European races. It is idle to criticise so great a movement or life, or to contrast it unfavourably with the magnificent and ordered structure of Indian civilisation, for two such opposite conditions are entirely incommensurable.

The state of modern India, typical of modern Asia, is doubly perilous, because the same development is taking place more suddenly, and here the past is still existing and powerful side by side with the present, in a total opposition more intense than any to be observed in Europe. It is true that the Asiatic past is older in experience and wisdom than any existing culture—the very children of the East are spiritually older than the thinkers of the West: but the ancient East is already senescent, and if modern Europe is adolescent, modern India is infantile. The state of modern Asia is that of one who inherits infinite resources, without the inspiration that created them, or the consciousness that understood them. Nothing that survives of Asiatic culture has been earned by the present or by recent generations; its perpetuation is proportionately precarious, and indeed, the Asiatic divorced from his past exceeds the European in his folly and ignorance.

The modern Asiatic stands on the brink of the European chaos, without guidance, and taking a leap in the dark: it is little wonder if he hesitate! He is wrapped in a cloak of magnificent—almost unbelievably splendid—traditions and conventions, of which the evidences still survive in religion, art, and social organisation, wherever European influence has been least felt: but, as he dimly, and rightly, feels, this garment of tradition has

become a hindrance more than a help to him. The time has come to face his actual nakedness : the only garment, indeed, in which he finds himself at home, consists of a few rags and trappings borrowed from the West.

To cling to the past is sentimentality, to copy Europe *snobisme*. The modern Asiatic must proceed, undaunted albeit knowing that every forward step he takes reduces his magnificence, knowing that "education" and political freedom, and every kind of "emancipation" will increase his poverty. He must accustom himself to the rejection of all

that he has held most sacred : realise that Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam as organised religions as racial inspirations, are as dead as organised Christianity, that the figures of all former gods shall come to be considered as works of art, and no longer as objects of devotion : that the very institutions of marriage and family life shall be remodelled beyond all recognition : and that the majority, impelled by personal taste and by caprice, must create a veritable chaos in the place of order. Despite all this, he shall not be daunted ; he is moving from the cradle towards life.

## INDIA AND LANCASHIRE

BY

MR. SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

Now that the smoke of the pitched battle that Lancashire in the last week of March in the Council Chamber of the India Office has dispersed, it is possible to assess the value of the gains made by India and to visualise the constitutional position in regard to India's fiscal autonomy.

The main contentions made by the spokesmen for Lancashire were :—

1. That the new cotton duties were protective in character ;
2. That they were imposed in contravention of the pledges given in 1917, that no change would be made in the Indian tariff until after the war and the entire fiscal policy of India was reviewed and settled ;
3. That Lancashire should have been consulted before any change was made in the arrangements made in 1917, which arrangements were of a temporary nature ; and
4. Under the reformed constitution, the Secretary of State possesses power sufficient to enable him to intervene on behalf of the cotton and allied industries and compel the Government of India (a) either to lower the cotton duties to the 1917 level or (b) if on account of financial reasons, that cannot be done, the excise on cotton production in India should also be raised.

The last demand was so cleverly worded that it is impossible to say whether Lancashire demands

the excise and cotton duties to be now placed on exactly the same level, or whether the difference of 4% between the two, which has existed since 1917 should be maintained. That point needs especially to be noted, because it shows the political shrewdness of the organisations which are handling this issue for Lancashire and adjoining counties.

Whether, at the present juncture, Lancashire presses for the wiping out of the difference between the cotton duties and the cotton excise, is more or less immaterial, because it insists upon bringing that about as soon as possible. It is using all the forces at its command in order to make India go back to the position as it existed before the Budget proposals went into effect in 1917. That is the ultimate and the real aim, though I fully believe that the Lancashire man being hard-headed, will take what he can get in the way of a handicap upon the Indian cotton industry.

In meeting the Lancashire case, Mr. Montagu sought to show that no change was being made in



the fiscal policy, but that the new duties levied were dictated entirely by financial considerations even though he could not deny that they, in their effect were protective. India's fiscal policy, as such, had not been altered, and the pledges made in 1917 had not been broken. Had he contented himself with that argument he still would have deserved the gratitude of the Indian people for he would have withstood the attack made by powerful industrial counties in Britain upon such powers as India possess to settle her own destiny.

The Secretary of State, on the contrary, went on to show that, since the pledges, were given in 1917, an entirely new situation had been created by the passage of the reform legislation. It is necessary to follow him as closely as possible in his constitutional argument in order to appreciate what India's constitutional position is in regard to fiscal autonomy.

The Secretary of State admitted that, even under the new Act, it would have been possible for him, acting with his colleagues in the India Council, to have forbidden the introduction of the Budget proposals against which Lancashire was now protesting. He even admitted that he could have vetoed the measure containing those duties even after it had been passed by the Legislature in India and sent here for sanction.

That was, however, the legal position—the theoretical position. In actual practice it would be impossible for the Secretary of State to take any such action.

In the first place, declared Mr. Montagu, he could not veto part of a Bill. He must veto the whole Bill. Should he, however, exercise his veto, he would leave the Government of India with absolutely none of the increased revenue with which to meet the increased charges.

Suppose, however, that when the proposals contained in the Budget were submitted to Mr. Montagu in the first instance for his sanction,

he had refused leave to introduce them, what would have happened? The Government of India would have been compelled to ask the Legislative Assembly to raise the excise to correspond with the increase in the cotton duties. Since the Legislative Assembly contains an overwhelming majority of elected Members who have recently been returned by their constituencies, not one of them would have hesitated to vote against the excise duty, and in consequence the Bill would have been defeated in the Assembly.

Mr. Montagu admitted that there was a provision in the Statute which enabled the Governor-General to insist upon a tax denied him by the Legislative Assembly, but explained that he could only resort to such power if he could certify that such taxation was "essential for the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India." The Governor-General would have had to strain and a very real power if he had been asked "to certify that the passage of an excise duty on cotton was "essential for the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India." For that reason, even if (knowing that public opinion in India was against excise) he had insisted upon it, his insistence would not have been effective.

The Secretary of State did not let the case rest even at that, but after indicating the answer which certain European non-official Members from Bombay had sought to give to Manchester agitation by raising the cotton duties to  $12\frac{1}{2}\%$  (as against the Government proposal for  $11\%$ ) he took the deputation into his confidence and related what happened in the Joint Select Committee of Parliament which dealt with the Government of India Bill. At one of the Sessions, he declared, a Member of the Committee moved an amendment to the Bill that there should be no interference with any fiscal measure proposed by the Government of India. That amendment was rejected because it was constitutionally impossible (inasmuch as it would have impaired the Crown's

power of veto, and for that reason had not found place in any of the Dominion Acts.)

The Committee, however, devised a convention of non-intervention through which India would be able to enjoy fiscal autonomy on par with Great Britain and the self-determining Dominions. The Secretary of State for India was to avoid, as far as possible, interference with regard to any fiscal proposal "when the Government of India and its Legislature are in agreement," and when he does intervene, his intervention "should be limited to safeguarding the international obligation of the Empire or any fiscal arrangement within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party." In view of that doctrine, accepted by the House of Commons almost without challenge and supported in the House of Lords by Lord Curzon speaking on behalf of His Majesty's Government, it was absolutely impossible for Mr. Montagu

"to interfere with the right which I believe was wisely given and which I am determined to maintain—to give to the Government of India the right to consider the interests of India first, just as we, without any complaint from any other parts of the Empire, and the other parts of the Empire without any complaint from us, have always chosen the tariff arrangements which they think best fitted for their needs, thinking of their own citizens first. Nothing could be worse for what I have set my heart upon—India as a willing, contented partner in the British Empire—nothing could be worse from that point of view than to promise her through the mouth of Parliament these rights and liberties and then, when they are only accidentally applied, because of the sudden need for revenue which was never foreseen before the fall in the exchange took place, suddenly to say: 'We made a mistake in giving you this right; we are now going to do the very thing that we said we would not do—interfere with your fiscal arrangements for the benefit of British trade.'"

After reproving Labour for conceding self-determination to India with one hand and with the other seeking to upset arrangements devised under the very partial self-determination given to her, Mr. Montagu went on to say that he was "perfectly convinced that British trade could not prosper in India except by the good-will of India," and "that we (the British) should stand by our word and let India have her own fiscal way, be-

cause of the well-being that it would promote between India and the Home country which will result in a greater trade between the countries and not in a lesser trade."

The fiscal system which India is to adopt ultimately, declared Mr. Montagu, is to be based upon the recommendations to be made by a Tariff Commission, shortly to be appointed. He frankly admitted that the Commission was likely to recommend protection because "India, official and non-official, Indian and non-Indian, is nearly wholly in favour of protection," but he hoped:

".....that in the fiscal system ultimately adopted, India will, of her own free-will, (after carefully exploring how it can best be done), given to the British Empire a preference in her markets. I hope for that, not because I am a believer in the material advantage of "Imperial Preference so much as because I should like India to demonstrate to the world her solidarity within the British Empire. I should like to see her of her own free-will use the fiscal liberty that we have given her to take her stand in the system that has been adopted by Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, and, in the last few years, by Great Britain, and also incidentally because a preference will lower the taxation upon the consumer. But, gentlemen, it would be one of the most profound mistakes of Imperial statesmanship to my mind, to use your statutory powers to force an Imperial Preference upon India."

So far I have followed Mr. Montagu's own statement very closely, because I regard it as the most important statement on India that has fallen from the lips of any British statesman, possibly with the exception of the pronouncement of August, 1917. It recognises, in clear terms, India's right to consider, in fiscal as in other matters, her own interests first. It not only enunciates that political principle but points out the inexpediency of meddling with any decision taken in India in the exercise of that right, and even does not hesitate to show how the machinery designed by the Act of the Secretary of State is helpless in regard to such intervention. I hope that the honesty, courage, and statesmanship of this pronouncement will be duly acknowledged by my countrymen.





his Republic is an easy matter but the solution for re-marriage would appear to be of sufficient complication to involve some considerable delay. The quaint Chancellor does not overlook the probability of crime entering his visual domains. Offences of a criminal nature, in fact, are largely dealt with by means of a ticket-of-leave system and by reason of a gradual scale of ascension whereby the recreant may rise and emancipate himself from his self-imposed slavery.

Centuries separate the poet Dante, who visualised a state of things very largely on the lines of the Pax Romana, from Kant. Nevertheless, though the former favoured a terrestrial Empire and the latter advocated a Federation of Free Republics, the attitude of both was not dissimilar.

In these days when we hear on all hands such phrases as "Brotherhood of Man", "League of Nations", "Workers of the World, unite" it is strange that the advocates of these ideals often forget "the first step" the removal of the lingual barrier which largely prevents their realisation. That was, in short, the dream of Zamenhof, and a common tongue for all nations is now an obvious necessity; otherwise every one is internationally dumb. In Esperanto, the language of hope, inspiring in those who know it the hope of a language which will some day make universal understanding among all the people of the earth is to be found a long-dreamed of ideal. Taught at home that all men were brethren, Zamenhof found around him the denial of this teaching, and even as a child came to the conclusion that the races hated, because they would not understand each other. He says even in childhood he was "tormented in his soul" by what he terms "compassion for the world" seeing that diversity of languages had but one ultimate effect, the estrangement of persons and communities, the members of which could not get the exact ideas of those with whom they came into contact. His watchword seems to have been "Unity of langu-

age will make unity of ideas, hopes, sympathies, aims" and it was with the purpose of giving to all a medium which, in addition to the mother tongue, would enable them to express with the greatest exactitude the sentiments and desires of their hearts that Esperanto was created and it is these principles which are still the mainspring of the devotion of its disciples at the present time.

Although there scarcely lives a man or woman "with soul so dead" as to be immune from the contagion inspired by the newer sentiments which now prevail in regard to international relationship, there never was a time when effort was so much needed for the common welfare of humanity at large. Internationalism stands as the foundation stone of future statecraft, and the Architect of the Universe has indeed committed to us a proud though solemn privilege in thus allowing this generation to lead the world along the path of human destiny. Let us not fear the age-old forces of greed, national ambition and jealousy with which we shall undoubtedly still have to deal. An ideal such as the Brotherhood of Man is a premonition of power. There is nothing, in fact, so dangerous to the spiritual life as to conceive so noble an ideal, to undertake a pilgrimage for it, and then turn back. In other words, unused ideals are the ideals which cripple.

Moved, sustained and vivified by the progressive elements which are now at work amongst us, there is every reason to hope for the betterment of the human race. Now in fact, is the time to combine forces, to treat each other as fellow-men on a plane of intellectual equality. For the world is at present linked together in a common life and interest such as humanity has never seen before. It is realised, on all hands, that no nation has a monopoly of virtue, and that it is possible in every land to discern something which is good. There is a universal desire, too, that the good which each land possesses should remain no longer hidden.



Inspired with the message of Internationalism we must needs go forward with the Gospel of World-wide Fraternity. Its spirit appeals to the human heart, raises the spiritual life, enlarges the sympathies, awakens in us the love of our fellow-men and compels us to labour for the welfare of

the human race. If the true evangel, indeed, is vibrating within the hearts of men, the world cannot again be transformed into a vast battlefield; if the message of all creeds and all philosophies is sent from heart-to-heart the conception of a world-wide brotherhood will at once materialise.

## IMAGINATION AND LABOUR

BY MR. HENRY DODWELL, M.A.

THE author of this interesting and thoughtful work\* was a Swedish journalist, who, after a life devoted to the study of economic problems, especially from their social side, died in 1917. The volume now before us consists of an attempt to formulate the results of his work. It includes a brief resumé of the economic history of the world, a discussion of the various theories of economic teachers, especially as regards the position and rewards of labour, and a discussion, which really forms the most valuable part of the book, of the economic future. The solution which Mr. Sundt favoured was not that of the Socialists. He was peculiarly struck by the great results which had been achieved by the improvements in the organisation of production; and by the great possibilities which an extension of the same principle might achieve in the future. For illustration he takes such a case as the remarkable work accomplished by Colonel Goethals when in charge of the work on the Panama Canal, and the enquiries set on foot and carried to remarkably successful lengths by Mr. Taylor, the author of the well-known "Scientific Management of Labour". It is certainly indisputable that it would be possible to augment enormously the actual out-put of the world without in the least increasing the efforts needed to produce that out-put. A remarkable example is afforded by the case of the Bethlehem Steel Works in the United States, where the rate of loading steel bars on trucks was increased from 12½ tons per day to

47½ tons per day, by every labourer employed. This extraordinary result was achieved, not by working the labourers harder, but by breaking up their work by numerous short periods of rest, so as to reduce the strain of their labour to the minimum.

It would be too much to expect that, on an average, the total output of the world could be increased by anything like that proportion, even with the best organisation possible. But, in these days, when the problem of increased production is among the most pressing in the economic world, the possibility of finding a solution along the lines of improved organisation merits the closest attention. Wages cannot be put up indefinitely, either in Europe or in India, unless some compensating advantage can be secured from which the increase can be paid. Consequently it appears that the real future of the labourer depends on the possibility of introducing such improvements of organisation as will permit his receiving higher real wages, and improving his position. The alternative to this is some method of Socialism or Communism. These latter methods are widely held in Europe to be the true policy of labour. The advocates of these theories base their ideas upon the teaching of Karl Marx. Perhaps the most interesting chapter in Mr. Sundt's book is that in which he analyses the wages-doctrines of Stuart Mill and of Marx, and shows that the "classical" theory of the wages-fund is no more abstract and unreal than the alternative views propounded by Marx in his "Capital."

\* *Imagination, Labour, Civilisation* by Einar Sundt, Heinemann.

# THE WORLD'S UNREST

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MR. V. B. METTA.

**D**URING the last war, we were all looking forward to living in a world where men were generous, peace-loving and co-operative in their actions. But what do we actually find two years after the armistice is concluded? The world is a vast storehouse of gunpowder now, which might explode at any moment. The nations of the world are divided into two groups—of the satisfied ones and of the dissatisfied ones. In the former group are England, France and a few other small, unimportant countries. The latter group is much larger. Germany is in it, because she feels that she has been treated in a most cruel way; and she will try her utmost to become a Great Power again. Then there is Russia. She was on the side of the Allies during most of the war, but immediately her masses broke the age-old chains of Czardom, they began to be treated at first with distrust, and then with open enmity by the democratic Allies. She has been blockaded, starved and attacked from within and without. What wonder then if she is dissatisfied with the Allies, who only pretend to let every nation mind its own internal matters in any way she likes. Then there is the United States. By a strange irony of fate, this United States by whose entry into the war the scales were turned in the Allies' favour, is now a dissatisfied nation! How did this happen? After the Armistice, President Wilson went to Europe. He received an ovation there which any Emperor at any period in history would have envied. He had his own ideals of the governance of the world and the best way of securing permanent peace between nations. But he could not materialize any of them. When dealing with practical men, the idealist always loses in the commonplace affairs of life. President Wilson, the dreamer of dreams, was hoodwinked by Monsieur Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd George, both shrewd, practical, remorseless men. He then lost his temporary reputation for greatness both in Europe as well as in his own country,

The life of President Wilson is one of the greatest tragedies in history. He rose in the sky like a rocket and fell down with the rapidity of a rocket also. And his country which strove for peace and gave the League of Nations idea to the world, is now working hard to become the greatest naval power in the world! After her comes Japan, another Power, who was on the side of the Allies throughout the war. But now she too has joined the Brotherhood of the Discontented Nations! Why? Because during the war, the Allies were talking continuously about the equality of all men and nations, but now they refuse to treat Japan as their equal in several matters! Despicably small and weak countries like Australia and Canada refuse to allow the Japanese to settle down in their country. This is an insult to the high self-respect of Japan. She is therefore waiting to strike at one or the other of the western countries.

Besides the countries mentioned above, there are many others which are smouldering with discontent also. There is Austria starved and debarred from joining Germany for no good reason. Then there is Italy seething with political and economic discontent. There is Montenegro disgusted, because she will be soon swallowed up by Serbia. Then there is Greece nursing revenge against the Allies for their bad treatment of their king and their encouragement of Venezelos.

So far Europe. But many Asiatic countries, besides Japan, are also seething with discontent. There is Turkey shorn of almost all her possessions in a most cruel manner by the Allies. Then there is Persia hating both the British as well as the Russians, but incapable of doing anything to them on account of her helplessness. Then there are Afghanistan, Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia all anxious to shake off the European and be left unmolested.

Before the war, the enmities of nations were more or less hidden under the surface. But now



they have come up to the surface. In re-making the map of the world according to their own interests, the Allies have sown the seeds of either one monumental war which will devastate the world more thoroughly than the last war did or of a series of wars between various nations extending over a number of years. The Allies by their short-sightedness and folly have arrayed against them the forces of Pan-Teutonism, Pan-Slavism, Pan-Mongolianism and Pan-Islamism. Though not appearing very strong at present, let them realize that really they are very powerful forces. Pan-Anglo-Saxonism is not probable, but if it were ever to become a fact, it would not be able to stand against them. Pan-Latinism, if it ever becomes a *fait accompli* in the future would be broken like a reed by its opponents. For the Latin races are now decadent. They do not possess that ardour, that perseverance, that thoroughness that the Teuton or the Mongolian possess. If the German and the Japanese had combined their forces together from the beginning during the great war instead of being pitted against each other, it is almost certain that the Allies would have lost the war. The Russian and the Mahomedan are born soldiers as they have shown again and again in history. What hope is there then for England and France and the other contented Powers to fight successfully against their enemies?

The peace of the world is not possible unless the present order of life is destroyed altogether. You cannot expect capitalism and peace to exist side by side. Capitalism means exploitation of other peoples. It manufactures too much and when it cannot sell off what it has produced in its own country, it forces weaker peoples to buy it at the point of the bayonet. Therefore, unless nations take to manufacturing goods sufficient for their own needs only, there will be constant wars. Militarism of the modern type is only an ally of industrialism. So unless industrialism disappears, militarism will not disappear. It is also absurd to talk of the Golden Age if Labour comes into power. Labour is the product of industrialism. Without industrialism, it cannot exist. Therefore, to expect Labour to kill Industrialism is ridiculous, because it would mean its suicide. Labour pretends at present to be 'international,' but at heart it is strongly national. It talks of high things, because it has no power to-day. But will it do so if it comes into power? If by means of hand-looms or by the increase of cotton mills in India, we become self-sufficient, will Lancashire labourers like it? Will it not deprive them of their means of livelihood? And with starvation staring them in the face, do you expect them to continue to preach the doctrine of self-government for all?

## The Present Position of Indian Exchange

BY MR. CHIRANJIVA LAL AGGARWALA.

The present condition of Indian Currency and Exchange can be briefly summed up in one sentence. The legal value of the sovereign is Rs. 10-0-0, the market value in India perhaps more than Rs. 17 and the value in Foreign Exchanges about Rs. 16. In other words the Rupee, the standard of value in India, has three different values for three different purposes. What an anomalous situation!

The value and usefulness of any currency system lies in its stability. Continued and frequent changes in the standard of value whether natural or artificial, not only disturb the trade and commerce of a country, but also may work injustice in mutual obligation of different individuals as well as of different countries.

The Gold Exchange Standard in India before the war was based on the Government's obligation

to maintain the fixed ratio of 1s. 4 d. to the Rupee between the British and Indian Currencies by the unlimited offer of Rupees for gold on one side at the statutory ratio and the sale of Reverse Councils at not below 1s. 3  $\frac{3}{4}$  d. on the other. This the Government succeeded in doing except for a slight break in 1907-8 until 1914. But the exceptional conditions created by the war have given such a blow to this 'managed system' and the failure of attempts at management have so proved its inadequacy that a speedy and drastic solution of the Indian Exchange problems and the rehabilitation of the Indian currency on a sound and natural basis has become an urgent necessity.

For the first few months of the war the balance of trade was turned against us and the situation was saved by the sale of Reverse Councils. For a breakdown in this direction the Government was prepared, but nobody had ever foreseen the possibility of its breakdown on the other. Soon the diminution of imports due to the war and the excess of our exports to the allies turned the balance of trade way beyond in our favour and the huge and unexpected rise of the price of silver in gradual stages from 27  $\frac{1}{2}$  d an oz. to 96 d an oz. due to internal troubles in Mexico began to raise the exchange. There was no help in this direction. The demand for currency was met by increased issues of paper currency and the Secretary of State began to raise the Exchange by successive stages,

from 1s. 4d.	to 1s. 5d.	on 28th Aug.	1917
1s. 5d.	1s. 6d.	12th April	1918
1s. 6d.	1s. 8d.	13th May	1919
1s. 8d.	1s. 10d.	12th Aug.	1919
1s. 10d.	2s.	15th Sept.	1919
2s.	2s. 2d.	22nd Nov.	1919
2s. 2d.	2s. 4d.	12th Dec.	1919

It went up later even to 2s. 10d.

Here comes the Babington Smith Committee's Report that recommended the permanent fixation of the Exchange value of the Rupee at 2s, and the linking of the Rupee on to gold rather than to the depreciated pound sterling.

This new ratio was legalised by the Indian Currency Amendment Act in June 1920—six months after the appearance of the Report. In the meanwhile the Secretary of State offered to sell gold in order to bring down its value. But it proved a hopeless attempt. Though the act has been passed and the new ratio legalised, the Exchange has not been stabilized.

The value of silver now began to fall and to make up the Exchange, the Indian Government

began to sell Reverse Councils even though the balance of trade was in our favour. This led to the export of our floating capital to England and invoked a good deal of criticism from Indian circles. The balance of trade began to turn against India and the Exchange continued to fall.

The Indian Government had after all to confess its inability to maintain Exchange and has given up the sale of Reverse Councils. This is nothing but a confession of failure on the part of the Government to maintain Exchange at the legal ratio or to maintain the Gold Exchange Standard, but alas! this confession came too late.

The present situation is almost chaotic. The Exchange still continues to fall and has gone down to 1s. 3d. and our importers have refused to take delivery of the consignments. The whole trade is almost at a standstill.

Various deputations have waited upon His Excellency Lord Reading and questions have been asked from Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons. They still seem to be hopeful and attribute the trouble to a general disturbance of Exchanges all the world over rather than to any action on the part of the Indian Government. Said Mr. Montagu :—"The adverse balance of Indian Trades for the first seven months of the current financial year was mainly due to the curtailment of Indian exports in war times, restriction on the export of food grains owing to shortage in India and reduction of the buying power of European countries owing to depreciation of their currencies. I do not think that the reconsideration of the Majority Report of the Indian Currency Committee is necessary."

The Secretary of State still hopes that, when the European countries regain their pre-war production capacities and reestablish their currency systems on a sound footing (Heaven knows when ?) the Indian Exchange will of itself become stable at 2s. Whether the raising of the Exchange has affected the export trade or not (and I believe it has considerably) the Exchange may not revert to and be maintained at 2s. by artificial management. It is difficult to foresee what trend the events take. Yet, in spite of its hopeless failure, the Government of India seems to be wedded to the Gold Exchange Standard. So long as this policy of control is not given up and the real genuine gold standard introduced, a satisfactory solution of the Indian currency problem may be impossible.



# SIR ASHUTOSH MUKERJEA\*

## BIRTH AND FAMILY HISTORY

SIR Ashutosh Mukerjea was born on the 29th June 1864 in Bhawanipur, then a suburb and not as now an integral part of Calcutta. His father, Dr. Ganga Prasad Mukerjea, was an eminent medical practitioner who had settled in Bhawanipur for his professional work. He took his M. B. Degree from the Calcutta Medical College. It was open to him to enter government service after the general fashion of his time, but being a man of independence, he preferred to face the struggles of a private practitioner, a decision which, in those days, needed no small courage, for the hostile rivalry of the physicians of the old *Kaviraj* school was a factor to be reckoned with. Dr. Ganga Prasad was a man of culture and vigorous personality. He carried about him a stimulating and healthful influence. The great shock of his life came when his only other son died while yet young after a brilliant academical career. He tried to solace himself by founding a prize in the university to stimulate the study of philosophy, the subject for which his son had shown special talent. But this brought no lasting consolation. Sir Ashutosh nursed his father with great tenderness, but his grief was incurable and he succumbed to the shock in the year 1889. Sir Ashutosh owed a good deal of his mental peculiarities and gifts to the educative influence of his father during the formative days of his youth, though nature had also endowed him with talents of a very high order.

## SCHOOL DAYS

When young Ashutosh joined the South Suburban School in his fourteenth year, he had laid deep the foundation of his education. In addition to the general knowledge he had attained, he had developed a distinct bent for mathematics. The note books in which he had worked many of his geometrical solutions are, to this day, preserved and form interesting evidence of the studies and

inclinations of his boyhood. It is said that, in the course of his studies as a boy in the Suburban School, he discovered certain errors and inaccuracies in Barnard Smith's Arithmetic. With thorough confidence in himself, he wrote about these errors to the publishers, and the author made a handsome acknowledgement of the mistakes and sent him a collection of books including the complete works of Shakespeare, as a present. Among the teachers of his boyhood was, it is interesting to note, Pandit Shivnath Shastri, one of the most earnest men and profound scholars of his generation. Young Ashutosh continued in the school till 1879, in which year he passed the entrance examination, standing second in the university which, in those years, comprised the whole of Northern India.

## AT COLLEGE

It was in 1880 that Sir Ashutosh joined the Presidency College. He applied himself to his studies with great diligence and, being a boy of superb endowments, was able, while yet in the junior classes, to master the courses prescribed for the higher examinations. Mathematics was his special subject and with the assistance of Professor Booth, he achieved in it, as early as his second year in college, an exceptional measure of excellence. He appeared for the B. A. examination in January 1884, and stood first in the University. But in the midst of his activities, he was contributing solutions of difficult mathematical problems to the journals in England. His graduation gave him a little more freedom to carry on this work and he contributed more frequently than before. His solutions very soon attracted the attention of the learned and he was elected ere yet he had left college, to the fellowship of the London Mathematical Society, the Royal Astronomical Society and the Royal Society.

He continued his studies in Mathematics for the M. A. degree. He won the first place again in 1885 and stood for the Premchand Roychand scholarship which was to be awarded in the succeeding year for proficiency in science. The contest was a keen one, but

\* Condensed considerably from a sketch prepared for the Biographies of Eminent Indians Series. Price Annas Four. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

Ashutosh won the prize of Rs. 8,000 and the gold medal. The following week, he sat for the M. A. degree in physical science, in which, to his surprise, he was put in the second class.

#### CHOICE OF PROFESSION—LAW

Ashutosh joined the Law Classes of the City College after he took the B. A. degree, and in 1888, he took his B. L. degree and was enrolled in the same year. Among his lecturers, it is of interest to note, was Lord, then Mr. Sinha, still an unknown member of the bar. Ashutosh attended, during these years, the Tagore lectures on law and carried away for three successive years the gold medals awarded for proficiency in the subjects of their lectures. The chief event of these days is that he became an articled clerk under Sir Rash Behari Ghose, who was just then rising into fame. Dr. Ganga Prasad was the medical adviser and friend of Sir Rash Behari Ghose and this circumstance explains the interest the latter evinced in the welfare of the young man. The contact which the young student of law had with the master mind of Bengal was bound to be invaluable. When Sir Rash Behari brought out the second edition of his classical work on the Law of Mortgages, he was considerably assisted by his articled clerk and the great jurist acknowledged it in his preface to the book. Sir Ashutosh did not, any more than his master, find the profession of law a bed of roses. It exacted the most assiduous toil which, however, Sir Ashutosh ungrudgingly offered at its altar. But the struggle was hard. It was not until he passed the Honours in Law and got the Doctor's degree that he obtained anything like a firm footing; but after this, he rose quickly to a position of prominence. In 1904, he was elevated to the Bench and during the ten years since 1894, he had come to the forefront of his profession. He delivered a course of lectures on the Law of Perpetuities in British India which, though not very well known, are pronounced by competent critics to be brilliant and fascinating studies in an important branch of Law. During the time he was a lawyer, Sir Ashutosh had articled clerks in his turn and two of

these, Sir Nalini Rajan Chatterjee and Sir Charu Chander Ghose, have, like himself, risen to the position of judges of the High Court.

#### AS LAWYER AND JUDGE.

Sir Ashutosh's eminence as a jurist has been due to his intense erudition and wide outlook. He does not belong to the class of lawyers who score their triumph by readiness in retort, resourcefulness, cleverness in cross-examining and seductive eloquence. He belongs to the class of Sir Rash Behari Ghose and Sir V. Bhashyam Aiyangar. A shrewd observer describes the class in these words.

The mental powers that this class of lawyers attempts to cultivate are different from those others which have such a fascination for the other set. They have not only a working knowledge of law but they have drunk deep at the fountain head of those fertilizing streams which have united to building up the noble fabric of English jurisprudence, which is now suiting itself to the local requirements of the United States and Canada, in the New World, and of the Indian Empire and of the African and South Sea Colonies. They are not satisfied with learning the contents of particular sections of statute law simply as they stand, but they take it to pieces, analyze the component parts thereof and trace the history of each part to its early sources marking at each step the development of ideas that clustered round the early conceptions in the course of ages and fix the whole thing in their minds as a living and growing organism. The study is a most fascinating one and although one might have to wait for a considerable number of years before the reward comes to him there could be no doubt that come it will, and that in a most ample measure. It is this class of lawyers who, when raised to the bench, are not content with delivering those dry uninteresting and matter-of-fact judgments which, although binding between the parties, are treated by those not bound by them with but scant consideration. It is this class of lawyers to which belonged Sir Barnes Peacock, Sir Raymond West, Mr. Justice Holloway among the Europeans and Mr. Justice Dwarka Nath Mitter, Mr. Justice Mahmood, Mr. Justice Telang, and Mr. Justice Muthuswami Iyer amongst that generation that saw the establishment of the High Courts under the Royal Charter in the Presidency towns.

Sir Ashutosh's judgments are striking examples of his profound legal learning. As a judge he has been uniformly courteous to the lawyers and few people have been considered brighter ornaments to the court they presided over. Sir Ashutosh acted as Chief Justice from January to March in 1920.

#### POLITICS.

Sir Ashutosh has not so far thrown himself heart and soul into the politics of his country.



To call him a politician would be inaccurate. Education has claimed most of his time and his position as judge has denied him the full freedom of utterance. One thing, however, is certain—that in steadiness of independence and consciousness and pride of power, there is none to excel him. He is eminently proud of his culture and nationality and it may be safely said that few Englishmen like him for it. Still, politics, such as is known in India, has not been among his interests. Nevertheless there have been few Indians who entered the Legislative Council who were more fearless advocates of popular rights. Sir Ashutosh was elected representative of the university in the Bengal Council in 1899 and re-elected in 1901. In 1903 he was elected by the Calcutta Corporation to represent it in the Provincial Council and in the same year, he was elected by the Provincial Council to represent it in the Imperial Council. Though he served on the Councils for only these short periods, he distinguished himself by his wise moderation and dignified criticism.

Sir Ashutosh fought his best fight in the Councils when he opposed Lord Curzon's University Bill. The story of that Bill and the wild uproar it created are well known. Sir Ashutosh was able by virtue of his detachment from general politics, to view the measure without political bias. While he recognised the good points in the new proposals, his opposition to them was vehement and powerful, though like that of his colleague, Gokhale, unsuccessful. He spoke the plain truth when he said, "I cannot agree with these unfriendly critics who maintain that the Universities have failed in the objects which they have in view, namely, in the words of the great despatch of 1834—'the diffusion of the improvements, science, philosophy and literature of Europe, in short, of European knowledge,—and I cannot but point out that in some quarters at least, the Universities are disliked and cried down, because there is really a dislike of the culture which educated Indians have attained.'"

#### VICE-CHANCELLOR.

Sir Ashutosh's exceptional gifts were not called forth by law or politics but by the University of Calcutta. Here he showed his administrative powers, his capacity for untiring labour, his patriotism, his zeal for reform, his idealism. The period of his Vice-chancellorship which dates from 1906 to 1914, has marked an era of steady and continuous advancement and it is not an overstatement to say that the history of the Calcutta University is more than half Sir Ashutosh's biography. If he gave the University so much of his genius and leadership, he also gave it ungrudging labour. During the vacations of the High Court, it was no unusual sight to see him working hard at the Senate House from eleven in the morning to eight at night, "toiling", as Sir P. C. Ray says, "like a Hercules and putting his shoulders to the wheels of the elaborate machinery." Sir Ashutosh said of himself in words sadder than egoistic "To university concerns, I have sacrificed all chances of study and research, possibly to some extent, the interest of family and friends and certainly, I regret to say, a good part of my strength and vitality."

It would be difficult in the short space of this sketch, to give a detailed account of the numerous services Sir Ashutosh has rendered to his Alma Mater. Thanks solely to his labours, what was merely an examining body has been converted into the foremost teaching University of India. No other Indian University has had so many University Chairs or such eminent professors. Sir Ashutosh has shown a remarkable gift for discovering talent. The great impetus given to post-graduate study and research was due entirely to his unceasing endeavours. Sir P. C. Ray says:

After all Calcutta is the only place where you have got something like an intellectual atmosphere, and a variety of fortuitous causes have conspired to bring it about. I am not blind to the numerous defects of my own university, but this much I may be permitted to add that, thanks to the genius and organising capacity of Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, a band, I had almost said, a galaxy of talents and researchers, have been mobilised in the service of the university such as has never been witnessed in the

intellectual history of India, unless we go back to the days of Vikramaditya of Ujjain and of Nalanda and Taksila.

The revival of the Vernacular in Bengal owes a great deal to Sir Ashutosh's endeavours to give it its proper place in the University.

It is also due to Sir Ashutosh's efforts that the university has been able to secure munificent donations for the advancement of knowledge. The magnificent buildings which the university now possesses, the splendid libraries, hostels and institutes of science, not to speak of the numerous chairs, have all been the outcome of Sir Ashutosh's unflagging zeal.

One has only to read Sir Ashutosh's Convocation Addresses delivered year after year, to feel the throb of his passion for reform and service. All the progress of the year and all the obstacles and losses are traced in clear and lucid language. All the defects in education are carefully considered and criticised. Appeals are made more and more for funds, and the criticism of unfriendly critics is answered. One also sees in these addresses the work he put in as executive head of the Senate year after year. His educational views are given in words breathing wisdom and conviction; sincerity is, throughout, the keynote. And every one of these addresses contains salutary warning and advice to the young men taking their degree. Through page after page is seen the ardent reformer, the man of towering personality to whose tactful management the University owes so much.

Sir Ashutosh's Vice-Chancellorship lasted eight eventful years. The time when he was called upon to guide the destinies of the University promised nothing but toil and trouble. As he says himself—"the task was one to make the most courageous and ambitious aspirant to the dignity of Vice-chancellorship pause and consider". "But" he tells us, "I was sanguine at the time. I appreciated the honour of the call to the helm of affairs at so critical a period, and it had always been my ambition to be allowed to do something—something great as I flattered myself in my

youthful dreams—for the good and the glory of my Alma Mater". Sir Ashutosh has every reason to congratulate himself on the success of his Vice-Chancellorship.

Sir Ashutosh is the most powerful figure in the university. Some in admiration, others in envy, call him the *de facto* monarch of the realm. Chancellors and Vice-Chancellors may come and go, but Sir Ashutosh's personality is the constant and all-powerful factor.

#### SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS VIEWS

There is a very curious misapprehension among considerable numbers of Indians that Sir Ashutosh is a hide-bound conservative. His persistent adherence to Indian dress and to the orthodox Hindu methods of living, as well as the fact that he performs *pujahs* in the old Brahmin style seem to have contributed to this belief.

He did not go to Europe for his studies, not because he had any objection to crossing the "black waters", but because he was loth to displease his parents. Sir Ashutosh is not a social rebel, but he does not strike a student of his life as a conservative either. He allowed his widowed daughter to remarry and his son has been to Europe for his studies. We have further his own clear public utterances which throw some light on his social and religious views. We shall quote a few passages from which it will be seen that Sir Ashutosh reverences the time spirit and the spirit of progress and condemns the policy of isolation and stagnation, in other words, of suicide.

Speaking at the first Convocation of the Mysore University, he said:—

We cannot afford to stand still; we must move or be overwhelmed; we cannot waste precious time and strength in defence of theories and systems which, however valuable in their days, have been swept away by the irresistible avalanche of world-wide changes. We can live neither in nor by the defeated past; and if we would live in the conquering future, we must dedicate our whole strength to shape its course, and our will to discharge its duties. The most pressing question of the hour for the people of every race is, not what they have been hitherto, but what they shall determine to be heretofore; not what their fathers were, but what their children shall be. The past is of value, only in so far as it illuminates the present, the present



is of value only in so far as it guides us to shape the future. Let us then raise an emphatic protest against all suicidal policy of isolation and stagnation."

#### NON-CO-OPERATION

With such catholic views it is no wonder that Sir Ashutosh resisted the educational boycott preached by Mr. Gandhi and the Non-Co operators since the beginning of this year (1921.) Sir Ashutosh has, for a decade and more, been the life and soul of the Calcutta University and when he saw the youth of Bengal led away by the passing frenzy of Non-Co-operation, he stood by his *Alma Mater* with redoubled faith and courage.

#### CONCLUSION.

Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee is now fifty-seven years of age. He is still a Justice of the High Court. A man of his rank and station has many calls on his time, and his love of study and his numerous public interests keep him fully occupied. He has again become Vice-Chancellor of the University. But, whatever his official work might be, his life is bound to be a strenuous one for many years to come.

In build, Sir Ashutosh is flabby rather than muscular, but he keeps excellent health and has displayed an inexhaustible store of energy. It is a regular custom with him to take a brisk walk every morning across the Calcutta *Maidan*.

His house on the Russa Road is a plain edifice and very simply furnished. Sir Ashutosh is found in no magnificent drawing room but in a small study crowded with books and papers.

He is generally seen in his house wearing his dhoti in right orthodox fashion. Viceroys and Governors may call on him, but he does not trouble to disturb his comfortable *neglige*. Numerous stories are told of the misapprehensions which this method of living has caused in his visitors. It is a sign of his independent spirit that regardless of convention and the slavish tendency to dress *because* a European and not an Indian, is expected, he adheres to the old Indian way which is after all so emi-

nently suited to the climate of the country. Independence is indeed the strongest point of Sir Ashutosh's character. His whole look is aggressive, autocratic and dominating. The impression of a powerful personality is completed by his thick, shaggy eyebrows and his strong, broad forehead. Every lineament of his powerful and intellectual face suggests high birth, culture and refinement. But a bull-dog expression predominates. Still, few are more tactful. Competent critics call him a statesman. It is part of the general tragedy of life in India that men of Sir Ashutosh's gifts and acquirements should rise no higher than a Judgeship or a Vice-Chancellorship of a University. These offices are high and require superior powers of intellect and personality, but are these all, the reward of endowments so superb? A free country would have told even a more inspiring story of Sir Ashutosh's life. Politics have not enchanted Sir Ashutosh. Yet nobody can deny that his life has been inspired by high ideals. Sir Ashutosh, we are told, was charmed by two beautiful lines of an English poem:

To draw new furrows beneath the healthy  
morn

And plant the great Hereafter in the Now.  
These lines convey the purpose, no less  
than the accomplishment of his great life.

## The Indian Review

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# Temperance Work in America and India

297

BY

SATIS C. GUHA, LIBRARIAN, RAJ DHARBANGA.

THE United States of America is perhaps the first country that is successful in creating a popular will for temperance. The States, one after another, have all enacted legal prohibition for liquors.

The temperance movement in America is actively supported by the state and the people alike. The various temperance societies there have done and are still doing splendid work. As a result we find that arrests for drunkenness and its allied evils have considerably decreased.

Mr. W. B. Wheeler, writing in the *Current Opinion*, says :—

Drunkenness in former wet territories has decreased 60 per cent; for all offences about 40 per cent. Boston is a fair illustration. In 1919 total arrests 81,593; in 1920, 47,395. There were 5,287 fewer total arrests for 1920 in Boston than for drunkenness alone in 1919.

"Jails, alcoholic wards in hospitals, inebriate asylums and workhouses are gradually closing their doors or are abandoning a large part of their institutions for lack of inmates. The State Farm in Massachusetts decreased in its population 44 per cent. this year. Arrests for truancy, delinquencies and neglected children are declining rapidly. The Boston Police Department reported a decrease for delinquency of 1,063 in 1920 or 29 per cent."

He goes on further to state that "Deaths from suicide, alcoholism and accidents have decreased about 60 per cent. Application for admission to insane asylums have diminished so rapidly that an expert recently declared that, if there was no other beneficial result, this alone would justify the effort and expenses to secure protection. The necessities and some of the comforts of life are being supplied in multiplied thousands of homes heretofore in need. The home is having a chance to show its superiority as a substitute for the saloon. Mr. Wheeler has also written to say that the church and other agencies of human uplift have been relieved of much of the wreckage caused by liquor heretofore left on their doorsteps for care.

When such are the results arrived at, it may be interesting to observe the various methods, the tem-

perance societies in general and those in the United States in particular, have adopted for the creation of a public opinion in favour of temperance. One of the most popular ways of the propaganda work is to issue cards and leaflets embodying therein in short simple words the effects of liquor on the mind and body not only of the persons guilty but of their issues as well. And they are put in a most impressive and attractive way, using a variety of types and colours.

Wa will illustrate a few. One placard states in bold letters: "Using drink is like putting sand into the bearings of an engine." The following groups are made in a classified form.

## A

The effect of liquor on death rate and general health is made known by means of declaration of the following facts through cards etc :—

(a) More men died of alcoholism than from typhoid fever or smallpox in nine years in U. S. A. Alcohol carried off fifteen times as many as smallpox.—*U. S. Mortality Report 1900-1908.*

(b) Drink is the cause of not less 65,897 deaths every year in U. S. A. Drinkers had a heavier death rate than abstainers.—*Statistics based on Phelps' Estimate, 1911.*

(c) 70 abstainers died out of 100 deaths expected; 90 drinkers died out of 100 deaths expected.—*Statistics, V. K. Temp. Inst., 1866-1905.*

(d) Death rates in pneumonia increases with alcoholic habits and drinkers are more liable to catch pneumonia.

(e) Drink increases danger from sunstroke. In 1896 there were 465 cases of sunstroke, of which drinkers furnished 80 per cent. And of 70 deaths from sunstroke the same year drinkers furnished 90 per cent of the deaths.—*U. S. Weather Review, 1896.*

(f) Alcoholism must be considered the most active co-operator of the deadly germ of tuberculosis.—*Knopf: Tuberculosis, 1908.* And in one card we find the following truth is boldly expressed:—"In the tug of war between life and death, drink pulls on the graveyard end."

## B

How drink on the part of parents affects their issues is made known to the common people by the following declarations :—

(a) Defective children increased with alcoholization of fathers—*Bunge: Graphische. Alkoholfrege, 1907.*

(b) Deaths, defects and dwarfings to the young are to a great extent due to alcoholized parents.



(c) For children's misery parents' drink is to blame in at least 3 cases out of 4.—*Statistics Chicago Juv. Protection Assn.*, 1910.

(d) Wine-drinking fathers' children (and also wine drinking children) did poorer school work than abstainers'.—*Records of 3,999 pupils in Brusic, Italy*.

(e) Alcoholic dogs had more feeble and defective puppies.—*Hodge: Physiol. . . Liq. Problem*, 1903.

(f) Drinkers' children developed more slowly. . . Facts tend to show the retarding influence upon the children by the consumption of alcohol by the parents.—*International Congress vs. Alcoholism*, 1909.

(g) Deaths of babies increased as mothers became more alcoholized.—*Sullivan, Alcoholism*, 1900.

(h) Drink burdens childhood; of the amount given for relief of neglected or destitute children nearly half goes to care for the results of drink.

(f) More alcoholization is found in parents of feeble-minded children than in those of normal children. Five times as many feeble-minded as normal children had both parents alcoholic.—*Investigation. . Royal Comm. of feeble-minded 1908, B'ham, England*.

### C

*Insurance Companies* are reluctant to accept "wet" people for the reason that they die early: and this is notified in the following ways:

(1) Drinkers die early. Death carried off in the prime of life from two to three times as many drinkers as other insured men.—*Statistics Leipsic Sick Benefit Soc.*, 1901.

(2) Alcohol carried off 1522 policy holders of the Prudential Insurance Company alone in four years.—*Statistics. . Prudential Ins. Co.*, 1912.

### D

That sickness lasts more in the case of drinkers and that they are more liable to get disease are brought to the notice in the following ways:—

(1) Drinkers had more sickness than the average. . . The records show that between 25 and 44 years of age drinkers were sick on the average 27 times as often as insured men in general.—*Statistics, Sickness Benefit Soc., Leipsic* 1910,

(2) Drinkers' sickness lasted about 21 times as long as that of the average insured man. *Ibid* 1900.

(3) Drinkers' recovery from wounds is often hindered by alcohol; *Ibid.*, 1910.

### E

*Drinkers are liable to some special diseases* and this is notified.

"Chronic drinkers can easily get heart disease, hob-nailed liver, fatty derangement of liver, inflammation of stomach, Pneumonia and Tuberculosis.

A card writes:—

"In one way or another most of the organs and tissues of the body may become the seat of morbid changes chargeable to the poisonous action of alcohol."—*Wm. Walsh, M. D.*

### F

*Alcohol impairs physical strength and mental qualities.* This fact is declared in various ways:—

1. Alcohol impairs precision of measurement by the eyes.—*Experiments by W. Reis*, 1895, *Physiological aspect of liv. problem*, 1903.

2. Moderate drinking renders worker's efficiency. "Losses caused by alcohol tend to increase as time goes on. The notion that moderate drink helps an artisan in his daily work is false."—*Prof. M. A. and Dr. A. S. Rosanoff*.

3. Drink impairs scholarship.—*Investigations by E. Bayr, Vienna*, 1890.

4. Skill and endurance are impaired by alcohol. It impairs muscle strength.—*Mount climbing experiment by Prof. A. Durig on Mt. Bilkencrat*, 8000 ft.

5. Alcoholic liquor impaired muscle work in lifting also. (Tests in lifting weights with fingers in Germany, 1913.

6. Alcohol taken daily lessens the advantage of practice and diminishes the amount of work.—*Exper. by Dr. A. Smith, Univ. Heidelberg*, 1895.

7. Drink impairs judgment, unsteadies nerves.

### G.

The abstainer's position is always advantageous, and this is brought to the notice in the following ways:—

1. Abstainers have less sickness and a smaller death rate. *Statistics, S. Australia*, 1890-92.

2. Abstainers had one-third less accidents in the Rooschlingsche Iron and Steel Works, Volklingen, Germany. Drink increases danger of accident, because alcohol dulls senses and alertness in perceiving danger; it impairs judgment of distances and thus of danger. It impairs ability to decide quickly and accurately how to avoid danger; it causes unsteadiness of hand or feet. *Statistics, Die Alkoholfrage*, 1909.

3. The abstainer's position is advantageous in a championship walking match. Match held at Kiel, Germany, 1909; 59 non-abstainers and 24 abstainers entered; abstainers won 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 8th and 9th places. Abstainers won the race. *Peterson*, 1908.

4. Abstainers show marked superiority to non-abstainers throughout the entire working years of life for every class of insurance policy and for the both sexes however tested. *Statistics, U. K. Temp. Inst.*, 1841-1901. (Reported 1904.)

### H.

As regards *assaults* all will agree that the sober man thinks before he acts; alcohol makes a man act before he thinks. We find the following convincing statistics:

Of 1115 assaults in Heidelberg (Germany) in 1900-04, 66½ per cent. committed in saloons; the rest in street, workshop and at home or place unknown. Many arrests committed outside the saloon were also due to drink. *Statistics, Kurz: Psychol.*, 1905.

## I.

*The affection of the brain* is a necessary evil due to liquors. Many an insanity, many a case of suicide will be found due to alcoholization. The cards tell us that :

1. At least 14,411 suicides in 10 years (1901-1910) were traced to alcohol in the United States *Phelps Mortality of Alcohol, 1911.*
2. Do you know that one insured insane person in every four owes his insanity to drink? It costs \$ 5,332, 307 every year to care for these alcoholic insane people in U. S. A. *Rosanoff, McClure's Mag. 1909.*

## J.

The last but not the least is the *unhappy home*, attended with divorce in the West. Some of the cards speak of it in the following way.

1. One in every three husbands divorced for cruelty was intemperate. Alcohol is an enemy to the home. *Marriage and Divorce Rep. U. S. Census Bur. 1909.*
2. Drink is the largest cause of unhappy homes in Chicago.

Statistics from the Records of the Chicago Court of Domestic Relations, show that of the total unhappy homes drink contributed 46 per cent., immorality (partly due to drink) 14 per cent., diseases 13 per cent., ill temper and abuse (also due to a certain extent to drink), 11 per cent., intemperance of parents 7 per cent., miscellaneous causes 10 per cent.

## K.

And thus the enquiry committee of 50 conclude :

"Our statistics (for U. S. A.) point to the conclusion that intemperance is the one most prolific source of the criminal condition. It causes irritability, weakens the judgment and self-control needed to hold irritability in check."

It has been found out and made known through the leaflets and cards that *alcohol is not a stimulant but a narcotic*, and as a result a striking change is found on the physicians on the hospital staff. The Massachusetts's General Hospital used to spend 46 cents. (about Rs. 1-7) in alcoholic liquors for medicinal purposes per patient in 1887; but 9 years later (1906) it spent only 13 cents. (about 6½ annas), Expense for drugs in the same hospital fell off 45 per cent., and that for liquors fell off 70 per cent. *Alcohol is going out from the medicine chest.*

Drink leads to immorality, loss of social status, loss of self-respect: and with drink bad companions are always forthcoming; they all make

their own destruction which they call enjoyment, and they all become unfit for work. They lose employment; decent employers refuse them work; friends are tired of supporting the vagabonds, hence starvation follows. And everybody will agree with Hermann Popert (Judge, Hamburg, Germany) when he says :

"The result achieved by the United States of America has opened the eyes of social workers of other countries. The European nations are trying to follow America's splendid example; and had there not been the great war they would have certainly made much more progress by this time. Our sister country Japan has taken up the drink question in right earnest. The Japan people are following the footsteps of America, issuing publicity cards and leaflets through temperance and other societies, and encouraging results are forthcoming."

India is also not silent. Temperance work has been going on for the last 20 years or more in different centres, and American methods have also been introduced with some amount of result. As temperance societies of all countries do take pride in extending help to each other, India is receiving considerable assistance in all possible ways from America, England and other countries. But the difficulty with our country is that the Government of the country seems not to encourage temperance for fear of loss of revenue. It is most ludicrous on the face of the earth this day that some of the Indian Provincial Governments have proved themselves to be opponents of the movement. Even a provincial governor in opening his Council is reported to have said :

The country is invited to take to spinning wheels the surest method of developing national industries, and social reform by way of temperance is sought to be promoted by methods some of which at any rate must come into collision with law and order. If the direct object of all these movements were amelioration of the people, *and not the destruction of Government* (italics ours) I am confident they would appeal to the members of this Council.....But I cannot believe that you will seek to carry out that policy... by trying to create habits of temperance by means other than a well-considered excise policy, regulating



the control, manufacture, possession and sale of alcoholic liquor and intoxicating drugs.

A motive of destruction of Government is believed to prompt the workers to devote their energies to temperance work. Exactly the same belief underlies the notice served at Nagpur on a temperance worker and it begins thus :

Whereas it has been made to appear to me that a movement has been started in Nagpur recently ostensibly in favour of temperance but in reality with the object of embarrassing Government by causing sale of liquor to drop with resultant loss of revenue and by causing liquor contractors to avoid taking up excise shops in future.

We know that in some places the police are verbally instructed to convince the people of the good effects of liquor ; and a Government Gazette, *B. & O. Criminal Intelligence Gazette*, January 14, 1921 (Excise Supplement) quotes an article on "Value of Wine" from the pen of a physician (who has not however given his name). The article shows prominently : "Many great men of the past were wine-drinkers—Moses, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Napoleon, Shakespeare, Scott, Stephenson, Gladstone, Beaconsfield, Bismark, Tennyson, to name only a few of them."

The article opens with the following words :

In these days when the teetotal campaign is gaining considerable ground and 'Pussyfootism' is becoming an accepted creed of an increasing number of people, it is well to point out the value of wine both as food and as a medicine.

It goes on to say :

What is wanted is not teetotalism, but moderation, for if wine be excluded from the dietary of the whole community a food of equal value will be denied us.

The reproduction of such a pro-drink article in a police gazette underlies a motive no doubt. Is it the duty of the police to promote drinking among the people ?

Fortunately for ourselves, India has taken of late quite a new turn—which may be called a true Indian turn—not only in respect of temperance but of every other aspect of social welfare as well. We hear *washermen* of such and such village or locality assembled together in response to a demand made by a simple selfless person,

clad in the simplest of styles and living on vegetables and milk,—and realised that their scriptures forbid the use of wine ; it is an irony of fate that a caste engaged in keeping clean the outward covers (garments) of the person of a people should pollute its own inner body with intoxicant liquors ? It is beneath the dignity of such a caste. The high idea spreads like fire from village to village, and the whole caste—and not only a few individuals—take the question as a condition of stay within the caste.

As in the case of washermen so also in almost every other caste, which most people used to call "low." In fact these castes have proved how high they intrinsically are. Marvellous results have been achieved during the few months the movement has come into existence.

The internal condition of India is a unique one on the face of the world. Here we find the common people listening to higher truths of life, that it is not wickedness but honesty by which wickedness is to be overcome ; and it is not falsehood but truth by which falsehood is to be avoided. The silent endurance borne by the people in the Panjab and other similar wrongs bear testimony to the superior soul-force that is within.

If the moral and religious instinct so latent in the people is roused, or even the question of dignity or prestige can be raised and taken up, the communal life of each and every caste will at once elevate itself to higher and higher status : and ultimately the whole Indian community will be free from evils which other countries have found very difficult to eradicate under conditions of individualistic basis of society.

The glamour of liquor is gone ; in spite of the preachings that such and such western great men used to drink wine : and it may be expected that in the near future the whole continent of India will be a "dry" land even in the face of the opposition received at the hands of the foreign government.

# BRIDEGROOM'S PRICE

301

BY

MR. C. H. SANKARA SASTRI.

"If you have caused one tear the less,"  
"Down Sorrow cheek to flow,"  
"If you have caused one smile the more,"  
"On my face to glow,"  
"Then, friends, you have not lived in vain."

THE problem of the Hindu marriages is growing more and more intricate every day but no earnest attempt has ever been made to find out a satisfactory solution for it. The economic condition of the people has lowered considerably during the last two decades but the expenditure is now on the rise. Every Hindu household has to confront the question of the marriage of girls within a stipulated time but a suitable match can only be secured, if the parents are prepared to spend money like water. The grand lineage and family-ties are cast to the winds and the sanctity of the idea of marriage is deliberately disregarded. Caste distinctions and racial barriers have prevailed in India for tens of centuries but the practice of profaning religious customs was never perceptible before. The greed for selfish ends has become so omnivorous that 'everything is rupees, annas and pies' for the present day man as expressed similarly by the holy Swami Vivekananda in the case of Americans. Kanyasulkams were heard of in indigent quarters sometime ago but Varasulkams have now become the order of the day both in the indigent and the wealthy quarters. It may sound a paradox that indigent people should resort to Varasulkams but the renunciation of their all or a lifelong contract of service in some way or other makes it possible though not always. The established belief that Kanyasulkams were against religious injunctions and that those who resorted to them were sure to catch perdition put a ban over their spread and the evil affected only the utmost poor suffering from pangs of hunger but Varasulkams have to-day become a fashion, nay an emblem of glory, to the Hindu family. Much voice is wasted upon hair-splitting differences

between sect and sect and theoretical propositions never likely to be fulfilled. Brahmins and Non-Brahmins are at logger-heads for nothing but they are reckless about their inward cankerous growth claiming a heavy toll upon their moral and economic condition. Persons vie with one another in the offer of dowries to imposing matches to their daughters so that there is neck and neck competition and the penniless are driven to the wall in the end. This evil is not absent in any of the important Hindu sects *viz.*, Brahmins, Vysyas and Sudras. The scale of the current dowry system is exhibited below and it excludes all *lanchanams* (Mamuls) including cloths, silver dishes, vessels and etc., the lowest estimate of which does not fall short of half of the demanded dowry. Brokerage of 5 per cent extra, though in exceptional cases.

U. P. C.	..	300 to 500
S. S. L. C.	..	500 to 800
Inter.	..	800 to 1,116
B.A.	..	Minimum 1,116
Honours and B.L.	..	Do. 2,000

The conservative section of the upper classes have not rightly approved the post-puberty marriages but the commercialisation of marriage affairs has *a fortiori* suspended a dead weight to their necks. There is already an unusual struggle for the daily bread in the majority of the population and the minority care very little to cater for the well being of the former. The plenum of their wealth and power blinds them to the troubles and turmoils of the weak and the remedy proposed by the celebrated poet Potarazu in a pithy and oft-quoted verse in Srimath Bhagavatam was the application of the Anjanam of poverty. It is not to bring the rich into contempt for the pleasure of doing so that the inter-relations of the rich and the poor are attempted to be described but it is only to impress upon the



general reader the way of the world and the influence of the wealthy even over the spiritually connected ceremonies of the countrymen. The impact of western civilisation has aggravated the folly and the aristocracy is on the ascendancy in towns. The habit is imbibed by the landlords also in villages and the ambition of every wealthy villager is to purchase a Deputy Collector's or a Collector's son at any cost. After all, the new-fangled relations prove to be heterogeneous and there is a tug of war between the two. The social reformers style themselves radicals and fly to the summits without attempting to test the buttresses on which the nationality stands.

Their work starts from the pulpit, not from the hearth. Imprecations are showered upon the ancestors for having given scope for the creeping of deleterious ways into the conditions of life but no constructive programme is ever put forth. We have no quarrels with them but they are to be cautiously guarded against.

The Oriental and Occidental liberals express their utter disgust at the caste riddenness of the Hinduism and rail at the orthodox in season and out of season. We ask pertinently what nation is not caste-ridden though not in the literal sense in which Hinduism is.

The prosperity and contentedness of the people can therefore be said to be satisfactory only when the so called social reformers and the influential minority turn their fertile brains in the reconstruction of the dilapidated social fabric on the healthy lines already chalked out by the primitive sages instead of dissipating their lives on quixotic plans and wasteful luxuries.

Snehalata, the immaculate virgin of Bengal, horribly victimised herself at the altar of the baneful dowry system, proclaiming to the world at large that the eradication of the evil forms the foremost duty of the living. Sporadic cases of a like nature have also occurred here and there. Who knows how many more families are passing

series of sleepless nights with the anxiety of the question of marrying their girls? If the above instances cannot move us into tears, we do not know what will. To forget these recent happenings out of sheer indifference means nothing short of damnation. The prices of boys would not have gone so high but for the machinations of the petrified rich and the B.A. and the M.A. degrees of the present education. If the Hindus are not invertebrate and have any claim for the front ranks of civilisation they will to-day organise themselves into small associations at convenient centres, affiliate them to a central association and devise an effective means of extirpating the foe of Varasulkams. Social ostracism of both the giver and the taker will palliate the evil in the course of one year and if it is sedulously continued for some time more, it will surely die out leaving excellent results on the people. That day will be the brightest day in India in the present times, A nation that has been the dictatory of the highest spiritualism and philosophy to all the living nations in the world, a nation that has produced a Chaitanya and a Paramahansa, a nation that has got a heavy traditional sanctity on its back cannot brook the calumny of a feeble social evil in its midst. Is it not then the bounden duty of the lawyers, the elite of the towns, the mighty landlords—the strength of the villages, the promising youth—the pride of schools and colleges to congregate in one common pandal and to concert measures for the redemption of the lost glory and for the appeasement of millions of burning hearts. Is this matter to be pooh-poohed? Ponder well and decide for yourself if the life is worth living when your brothers and sisters are repining day by day with the chronic anxiety of their girl's marriage? Remember that boys and girls are not bulls and cows for disposal in marketing centres.

There is no philosophy higher than the one that induces you to wipe off your sister's tears and calm your brothers' distress.

# INDIAN ART AND ICONOGRAPHY

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BY

MR. BRINDABAN C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., F.R.S.G.S.

INDIAN art is not a thing, merely by itself. It is one of the several manifestations which represent, in all consummation, the spiritual life of the Indians. To appreciate the true nature of Indian art presupposes always a sound comprehension of the origin of all true art and that of Indian art in particular. Human mind takes an inward delight in reflecting itself upon nature and its processes and it is the idealised forms of the issues of such a mental operation that have given rise to all productions of art. Man, an observer of nature, has discovered certain unities or similarities between himself and the outer world but not being content with a mere shadow of resemblance, he succeeded in finding out his own similarities magnified in scale or modified in form in nature. He proceeded still further and from a consideration that all vibration signified a true sign of life, he believed, that throughout in nature, there was no want of life, and nature, as a whole, was living more or less. So rightly he regarded nature as a great store-house of life and energy, from which have radiated the particular so-called living beings and consequently was justified in calling nature as the true mother or father. This was the origin of the personification of nature or in other words, of seeing nature in a personal form. When, thus, the relation between Nature and Man was once established and understood, all the attributes, as well as the functions of man commenced to be seen through Nature though in an idealistic form. There was, however, another process at work: the process of abstraction or generalisation which gradually created a world in itself. Abstraction of qualities resulted in revealing certain universal phases of nature. Any comprehension of one of them was practically not possible without a *recollection* or *representation* of object that it always inhered. Thus the need of objectifying the human as well as the natural phase was felt and immediately we find artists were born for attaining this purpose.

Artists of all ages have perceived in Nature and Man certain immutable universal types or phases to which they gave faithful representation and ablest expression whether in the art of poetry or of painting or of sculpture. All ideas, it may be maintained, are abstractions either of qualities or of forms. And ideas have been found to be the guiding factors of all art. Let us now take an

example of what we have so far essayed to generally explain. It is well-known that with the Greek artists the idea of the beautiful was practically every thing. And thus they eminently succeeded in bringing out that idea in their best sculptures. Similarly, the idea, though of no single attitude but, of fierceness, mildness, beauty, magnificence, meditateness and so on played a great part in the minds of the Indian artists. In this connexion, it would be just relevant to say that there existed a fundamental distinction between the Greek life and the Indian life. For their own sake, the bodily culture and the improvement of its form engaged the sole attention of the Greeks whereas, contrarily, the Indian life of old ages and probably of to-day has been manifestly characterised by a contemplative side of the human mind. Thus, it is only too natural to discern in the works and designs of the Indian artists a faithful representation of their living ideals of the mind.

It is not infrequently maintained that the sculptors of ancient India were fettered to a great degree to enjoy any latitude, to move freely in their art and thus the productions, which they have left, utterly lacked that free play of art, that unrestrained air of life and harmony which it is always the guarantee of success to be looked for by all connoisseurs of art. We, however, naively dissent from such a view. We are rather disposed to hold that the Indian literature, particularly, the religious, bears clear proof to show that not only were the artists directed to express in art certain symbolical representations of the nature of a particular god or goddess but to show, through their chisel-work, extremely subtle poses of the image, to show unmistakably the various moods either grim or mild or meditative or grave or some other kind in which the deities were to appear before the worshipper. This presumably led to the psychological foundation of the Indian art. The Indian artists must, of necessity, have studied the general conduct of the human mind, the outward expressions, the subtler bodily changes, either sustained, retarded or temporary being the results of the strong dictates of the mind in action and particularly laid bare the remotest corners of the Indian mind as they were called upon by their art to perform that solemn, yet the most fascinating, duty of life. It may be



questioned, however, legitimately to the triumph of the Indian artist whether a greater number of expressive postures, not only of the face but of the whole body throughout, could have been only possible for any artist to exhibit in any region of the world. Apart from the multiplicity of hands in the case of Indian deities often sarcastically styled by some superficial European critics as "Monstrous outgrowths fit for amputation" without for a moment defying their prejudiced mind to go deep into the intended significance of this unusualness; the lasting appeal which the Indian sculptures make to the minds of the greatest critics can never be over-estimated beyond all chances of misconception. Just an attentive look at an Indian image of old is sufficient to impress upon the mind of the observer that a distinct, perfect, clearly set out mood was intended by the artist for the image to carry through its physical outline, "waves" and other artistic schemes and devices.

There is still a deeper meaning conveyed by the productions of the Indian artists—a meaning which they so eagerly made it their aim to express in the works of their art. Once more it may be said that the Indian images used to be wrought and fashioned for the purposes of worship. And in order that the worshipper might, without much effort, meditate upon them, might think that his dearest, his *Saviour*, his master, his object of reverence has come before his eyes, might forget his own individual identity and identify his own self with the image of God, the artists of India have tried their fullest to render the images as impressive and imposing as could be possible in a sculptural art. They believed with the devotee that 'God comes near the worshipper if the images were made fine'—

अमरुण्याच्चविग्वानां देवः सान्तिध्यमृच्छन्ति ।

*Hayasi rsa-pancaratra*

Another consideration of no less momentousness was in the mind of the Indian artists as it was in the minds of the *Rshis*. In nearly all the phases of Indian art the *Rasa* (or 'impassioned feeling') has played a very prominent role. The Indian belief is that the supreme being is *Rasa-Svarupa* or as, on other occasion, has been said *Raso Vai Sah*. (He himself is the impassioned feeling') Thus, the merit of a piece of Indian art should, doubtless, be judged by the degree of *Rasa* (or impassioned feeling) it evokes in the mind of a spectator, or a worshipper. The minds and inclinations of all people are not the same nor are

the states of temperament fixed all the time. They ever vary with individuals and with times and circumstances. Hence we find a number of different *Rasas* which the artists practised to dwell upon in their dry stones and metals. These *Rasas* were the essentials by which they exerted a psychological influence upon the minds of the devotee. The *Rasas* being the very core of a poem or a drama as well, have been, thus, enumerated as nine in number :—

शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणरौ प्रवीरमभानका ।

वीमत्सादृत संज्ञौ चेत्यष्टौ नदि रसाः स्मृताः ॥

("Love, laughter, pain (sorrow), rage, animation, fear, repugnance, wonder—these are nine feelings enumerated in a drama.")

The images were so wrought by the Indian artist as to manifest one or more of these *Rasas* by their pose and appearance. The artists believed that, when the mind-feeling and temperament of a devotee would come in an identical line with those of the worshipped, the realisation of one's prayer could only then be expected. Thus, they furnished various images expressing not one but a variety of *Rasas* just according to the needs of the worshipper. Nor should we carelessly err in assuming that an image conveys one single feeling in its pose. As in a man, so in an image may be discernible a mixed feeling the result of an inter-action of multiple feelings, either of the similar type or even of opposing types. As for illustration the expression of love and sublimity is regularly to be noticed in the images of *Hara-Gauri* or *Lakshmi-Narayana*, more particularly in the *Ananta-Sayya* group. The feeling of laughter but without repugnance or sarcasm many easily be excited in us as we look at the pot-bellied image of Ganesa dancing with his elephant nose or of Kubera, the god of wealth, whose prototype is the modern corpulent *Baniya* of our bazaar. The mood of anger together with the sympathetic protection (*Vara-bhaya*) has been emphatically expressed in most of the Tantrik images which, as a rule, represent the energetic principles of the universe. In them more vividly than in others may be witnessed a mingled feeling of fear, wrath, repugnance, wonder and sportiveness. Indeed, it ought to be both plainly and presumptively be said that, without a trained eye in this direction, it is as impossible to appreciate the remarkable success attained by the Indian artists as it is to estimate rightly all the standing monuments of the ancient Indian culture.

# Sir William Jones: The Man and His Work <sup>305</sup>

BY

MR. K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

## INTRODUCTION.

IN one of his poems Sir William Jones said:—

Give me (thus my high pride I raise)  
The ploughman's or the gardener's praise,  
With patient and unceasing toil  
To meliorate a stubborn soil  
And say (no higher need I ask),  
With zeal hast thou perform'd thy task."

We cannot introduce such a worker of such strenuous self-dedicatedness better than with such words of his own, because his zeal for work was remarkable, his search for virgin soil was rewarded, his tillage of it was scientific and thorough, his love for it was deep and true, and his harvest was golden and abundant and valuable to all men and for all time. It is through men of his type and temperament that the true spirit of fraternity between the West and the East will be born. It is through the co-operative work of scholars and scientists and artists and philosophers and humanitarians that the bridge of friendship can be thrown across the gulf of separation in spirit. Statesmen may proclaim the need of such kinship of feeling. Diplomats may proclaim that it exists already. But statesmen and diplomats and soldiers and civil officials can only keep up a patched-up outer peace often rent asunder by the frequent convulsions of inner estrangement. Sir William Jones was one of those with whom Indian scholars could and did feel that

We were nursed upon the self-same hill,  
Fed the same flock by fountain, shade and rill;  
Together both, ere the high lawns appeared  
Under the opening eyelids of the Morn  
We drove a-field.

## HIS LIFE.

Sir William Jones was born in 1746. He studied at Harrow School. In his ninth year he fractured his thigh-bone and was confined to his bed for a year. It was during this time that he studied the best English poets. He had an extraordinary memory. On one occasion when he and his friends proposed to act *the Tempest* but had no copy at hand, he

wrote it for them correctly from his memory. He composed a tragedy on the story of Meleager which was acted by his school-fellows. Learning was always uppermost in his mind. Dr. Bennett says that "great abilities, great peculiarity of thinking, fondness for writing verses and plays of various kinds, and a degree of integrity and manly courage, distinguished him even at this period." Dr. Thackeray, the master of the school, said that "he was a boy of so active a mind, that if he were left naked and friendless on Salisbury plain, he would nevertheless find the road to fame and riches."

He entered the University College, Oxford, in the spring, 1764. Mr. Chalmers says: "Oriental literature presented itself to his mind with unusual charms, as if the plan of his future life and the avenues to his future fame had been regularly laid down before him."

In 1765 he became private tutor to Lord Althorpe. In his twenty-first year he began his commentaries on Asiatic poetry, in imitation of Dr. Louth's Prelections at Oxford on the sacred poetry of the Hebrews. He translated the manuscript of the Life of Nadir Shah brought by the King of Denmark, then on a visit to England. He then resolved to study law and was admitted into the Temple on 19th September 1770. Mr. Chalmers says:

Those who consider the study of the law as incompatible with a mind devoted to the acquisition of polite literature, and with a taste delighting in frequent excursions to the regions of fancy, will be ready to conclude that Mr. Jones would soon discover an invincible repugnance to his new pursuit. But the reverse was, in a great measure, the fact. "He was stimulated by what appears to have predominated through life, an honest ambition to rise to eminence in a profession which, although sometimes successfully followed by men of dull capacity, does not exclude the most brilliant acquirements."

In 1772 he published a volume of poems and two essays on Eastern poetry and on the arts commonly called imitative.

He was called to the Bar in 1774 and tried to make himself "not only the technical



but the philosophical lawyer." Mr. Chalmers says: "For some time he had but little practice, but it gradually came in, and with it a very considerable share of reputation." In 1776 he was appointed a commissioner of bankrupts. He took to the study of Greek orators and translated the most useful orations of Isaeus. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1772. He then published a Latin Ode to Liberty. In 1780 he published *An Enquiry into the Legal Mode of Suppressing Riots, with a Constitutional Plan of Future Defence*, a pamphlet suggested by the dreadful riots in London at that time. He tried to prove in it "that the common and statute laws of the realm then in force, give the civil state in every country a power, which, if it were properly understood and continually prepared, would effectually quell any riot or insurrection, without assistance from the military and even without the modern Riot Act." In 1780-81 he translated seven ancient poems of the highest reputation in Arabia. He published also an *Essay on the Law of Bailments*. "His object in all legal discussions" says Mr. Chalmers "was to advance law to the honours of a science." In 1782, he took a very active part in the societies formed to secure a more equal representation in the House of Commons. He wrote a *Dialogue between a Farmer and a Country Gentleman on the Principles of Government*.

In March 1783, he was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, on which occasion the honour of a knighthood was conferred on him. In April following he married Anna Maria Shipley. His friend, Lord Ashburton, congratulated him on securing "two of the first objects of human pursuit, those of ambition and love." He arrived in Calcutta in September. Mr. Chalmers says: "He had not been long in his new situation before he began, with his usual judgment, to divide his time into such regular portions, that no objects connected with duty or science should interfere." He formed in Calcutta a society for scientific work and he was appointed as its President,

He soon began the study of Sanskrit. About the Sanskrit language he has said: "The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either." He compiled a Digest of Hindu and Mahomedan Laws to help him in his administration of justice. In 1789 he published his first volume of the Asiatic Researches, as also a translation of Kalidasa's immortal play, *Sakuntala*. In 1794 he published a translation of the ordinances of Manu "who is esteemed by the Hindus the first of created beings, and not only the oldest, but the holiest of legislators." He said about Manu:—

A spirit of sublime devotion, of benevolence to mankind, and of amiable tenderness to all sentient creatures pervades the whole work; the style of it has a certain austere majesty, that sounds like the language of legislation and extorts a respectful awe; the sentiments of independence on all beings but God, and the harsh admonitions even to kings are truly noble: and the many panegyrics on the Gayatri, the mother, as it is called, of the Veda, prove the author to have adored not the visible material sun, but that divine and incomparably greater light, to use the words of the most venerable text in the Indian Scripture, which illumines all, delights all, from which all proceed, to which all must return, and which alone can irradiate not our visual organs merely but our souls and our intellects.

In 1794 he became ill of inflammation in the liver and succumbed to that disease on 27th April 1794.

SIR WILLIAM JONES, THE AUTHOR, THE JUDGE AND THE MAN.

Mr. Chalmers well says of him: "Thus ended the life of a man who was the brightest example of rational ambition, and of extensive learning, virtue and excellence that modern times have produced, a man who must ever remain the subject of admiration, although it can happen to the lot of few to equal and perhaps of none to excel him." He was of encyclopædic learning but as Lord Teignmouth says:

"No writer perhaps ever displayed so much learning with so little affectation of it." On the bench he was "laborious, patient, and discriminating." In him integrity and courtesy and learning were admirably combined. Lord Teignmouth well refers in his

biography to "the exertion of his talents and abilities, of energies well directed and usefully applied to the benefit of his country and mankind."

#### HIS LETTERS.

Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir William Jones is in two volumes and is as well-written as it is just in its estimate of the great scholar and judge. It contains many of Jones's excellent letters from which we give the following few extracts by way of illustration:—

The life of no man can be pronounced either happy or miserable, virtuous or abandoned, before the conclusion of it.

Fondness for polite literature, congenial pursuits, and conformity of sentiments are the great bonds of intimacy amongst mankind.

If it ever should be my lot to be concerned in the administration of affairs, I will renounce gain and popularity, and pursue one object, and one only, to preserve our beautiful constitution inviolate.

Let me ever retain a place in your affection, as you do in mine; continue to cultivate polite literature; woo the muses; reverence philosophy; and give your days and nights to composition, with a due regard, however, to the preservation of your health.

If I am disappointed, philosophy remains; the bar is open, and I shall not, I trust, want employment; for the harvest of litigation is always abundant.

To tell you my mind freely, I am not of a disposition to bear the arrogance of men of rank, to which poets and men of letters are so often obliged to submit,

Seven hours to law, to soothing slumber seven,  
Ten to the world allot and *all* to heaven.

"Think how Sully shone,  
Think how Demosthenes with heavenly fire  
Shook Philip's throne and lightened over his  
towers.

What gave them strength? Not eloquence alone,  
But minds elate above each low desire."

#### SIR WILLIAM JONES'S CHARGES TO THE GRAND JURY.

These are replete with wise and valuable thoughts. They cannot be dealt with in any great detail in this sketch. But the following passages may well be referred to here.

Legislative provisions have not the individual for their object but the species; and are not made for the convenience of the day, but for the regulation of ages.

Justice must be administered with effect, or society cannot long subsist.

The use of law as a science is to prevent mere discretionary power under the colour of equity; and it is the duty of a Judge to pronounce his decisions, not simply according to his opinion of justice and right, but according to prescribed rules.

I aspire to no popularity and seek no praise, but that which may be given to a strict and conscientious

discharge of duty, without predilection or prejudice of any kind, and with a fixed resolution to pronounce on all occasions what I conceive to be the law, than which no individual must suppose himself wiser.

Be it our care, gentlemen, to avoid by all means the slightest imputation of injustice among those, whom it is the lot of Britain to rule; and by giving them personal security, with every reasonable indulgence to their harmless prejudices, to conciliate their affection, while we promote their industry, so as to render our dominion over them a national benefit and may our beloved country in all its dependencies enjoy the greatest of national blessings, good laws duly administered in settled peace! for neither can the best laws avail without a due administration of them, nor could they be dispensed with effect, if the fears and passions of men were engaged by the vicissitudes of war, or the agitation of civil discontents.

#### SIR WILLIAM JONES ON THE LEGAL MODE OF SUPPRESSING RIOTS.

This pamphlet is of great value and excellence and presents in a succinct form the basis of personal security and public peace. He says well:

The power of the country, therefore, includes the whole civil state from the duke to the peasant; while the military state as such, forms no part of that power, being under a different command, and subject to a different law.

He concludes his essay with the following true and wise words:

As every soldier in England is at the same time a citizen, I wish to see every citizen able at least for the preservation of the public peace, to act as a soldier; when that shall be the case the liberty of Britain will ever be unassailed; for this plain reason—it will be unassailable. The security, and consequently the happiness of a free people do not consist in their belief, however firm, that the executive power will not attempt to invade their just rights, but in their consciousness that any such attempt would be wholly ineffectual.

I may quote here from his speech on the Reformation of Parliament the following fine passage:

Be persuaded also that the people of England can only expect to be the happiest and most glorious while they are the freest, and can only become the freest, when they shall be the most virtuous and most enlightened of nations.

#### HIS PLAN OF A TREATISE ON EDUCATION.

This is very interesting, though he did not write out the treatise itself. It begins thus:

The perfect education of a great man consists in three points: in cultivating and improving his understanding; in assisting and reforming his countrymen; and in procuring to himself the chief good, or a fixed and unalterable habit of virtue.



He shows how education should improve our natural reason so that we may know and practise what is good. This can be best done only by assimilating the accumulated experience and wisdom of all ages and all nations. Hence we must study the languages and literatures of the great races of the world; and we must convey to other races our great ideas. "It follows, therefore, that the more immediate object of education is, to learn the languages of celebrated nations both ancient and modern." Science and art must be equally attended to, as also manly sports. Ideas like these deserve to be emphasised again and again in modern India where education is being steadily forced away from healthy and proper channels and is getting more and more divorced from the great summations of Indian thought, the traditional methods and ideals of our outer and inner life, the supreme lessons and proclamations of Indian art and religion, and is not rooted in the past or alive to the present or clear-sighted about the future that is to be.

#### DISCOURSES AT CALCUTTA.

These display his deep insight into the Indian culture and his comprehensive knowledge of Indian literature and philosophy. He says:

The six philosophical schools, whose principles are explained in the Darsana Sastra, comprise all the metaphysics of the old Academy, the Stoa, the Lyceum; nor is it possible to read the Vedanta, or the many fine compositions in illustration of it, without believing that Pythagoras and Plato derived their sublime theories from the same fountain with the Sages of India.

He says further:

We are told by the Grecian writers that the Indians were the wisest of nations, and in moral wisdom, they were certainly eminent.

The addresses treat also of the Arabs, the Tartars, the Persians, the Chinese and other races of Asia. About Sri Sankaracharya's *Bhashya* on the Vedanta Sutras he says:—"It is not possible indeed, to speak with too much applause of so excellent a work." He says further:

The fundamental tenet of the Vedanta school, to which, in a more modern age, the incomparable Sankara was a firm and illustrious adherent, consisted, not in denying the existence of matter, that is, of

solidity, impenetrability, and extended figure (to deny which will be lunacy) but, in correcting the popular notion of it, and in contending, that it has no essence independent of mental perception, that existence and perceptibility are convertible terms, that external appearances and sensations are illusory, and would vanish into nothing, if the divine energy, which alone sustains them, were suspended but for a moment.

#### THE ASIATIC MISCELLANY.

It consists of various translations, imitations, fugitive pieces, and original productions. The first poem in it is a *Hymn to Kamdeo* and describes Cupid (Kama). The opening stanza runs thus:

Hail, pow'r unknown! for at thy beck  
Vales and groves their bosoms deck,  
And ev'ry laughing blossom dresses  
With gems of dew his musky tresses  
I feel, I feel thy genial flame divine,  
And hallow thee and kiss thy shrine.

The poem recalls the heavenly beauty of the description of the triumphant advent of Cupid in the third Canto of Kalidasa's *Kumarasambhava*. Jones addresses Kama and Rati thus:

God of each lovely sight, each lovely sound,  
Soul-kindling, world-inflaming, starry-crown'd,  
Eternal Kama!  
Thy consort mild, affection ever true,  
Graces thy side, her vest of glowing hue,  
And in her train twelve blooming girls advance,  
Touch golden strings and knit the mirthful dance.

Equally interesting is Jones's poem *A Hymn to Narayana*. He well describes the Hindu theory of creation when he says:

The whole creation was rather an *energy* than a *work*, by which the Infinite Being who is present at all times and in all places, exhibits to the minds of his creatures a [set of perceptions, like a wonderful picture or a piece of music, always varied, yet always uniform; so that all bodies and their qualities exist, indeed to every wise and useful purpose, but exist only so far as they are perceived; a theory no less pious than sublime, and as different from any principle of atheism, as the brightest sunshine differs from the blackest midnight. This illusive operation of the deity the Hindu philosophers call *Maya*.

The poem begins thus:

Spirit of spirits, who, through ev'ry part  
Of space expanded and of endless time,  
Beyond the stretch of lab'ring thought sublime,  
Badst uproar into beauteous order start,  
Before Heaven was, Thou art.  
Ere spheres beneath us roll'd or spheres above,  
Ere earth in firmamental ether hung,  
Thou sat'st alone; till, through thy mystic love,  
Things unexisting to existence sprung,  
And grateful descant sung.

What first impelled thee to exert thy might?  
Goodness unlimited. What glorious light  
Thou power directed? Wisdom without bound.

This work contains also fine translations of extracts from Jami's *Yusuf Zuleika* by Thomas Law, Najnoon, etc. These are by other writers and not by Sir William Jones.

#### POEMS.

A collected edition of his poems was published in 1772. They are not of a high order of achievement but are certainly full of occasional beauty and general refinement. The following stanza is from an imitation of Horace written by him when he was fourteen years of age.

How quickly fades the vital power!  
Alas my friend! each silent hour  
Steals unperceived away.  
The early joys of blooming youth,  
Sweet innocence and dove-eyed truth,  
Are destin'd to decay.

*Arcadia* is a pastoral poem written by him in 1762. In it occur the following fine lines:

A graceful ease in every step was seen,  
She moved a shepherdess, yet looked a queen.  
Now deeper blushes ting'd the glowing sky,  
And evening raised her silver lamp on high

*Caissa* or the Game of Chess was a poem written in 1763. It is very ingenious and elegant and concludes thus:

Low in their chest the mimic troops were laid.  
And peaceful slept the sable hero's shade.

The *Seven Fountains* is an eastern allegory written in 1767. *Solima* or an Arabian eclogue was written in 1768. It contains the following fine lines:

Love-tinctured cheeks, whence roses seek their bloom,  
And lips, from which the Zephyr steals perfume.  
Till morn with pearls has deck'd the glowing east.

*Laura*, an elegy from Petrarch, is in the style of the eighteenth century poetry but Jones's study of Indian poetry enabled him to get a release from the shackles that chained the poetic imagination and emotion of the age. Another poem contains the following fine refrain:

Come, smile, damsels of Cardigan,  
Love can alone make it blissful to live.

The following two brief poems are of real beauty:

As meadows parch'd, brown groves, and withering flowers,  
Imbibe the sparkling dew and genial showers,  
As chill dark air inhales the morning beam,  
As thirsty harts enjoy the gelid stream,  
Thus to man's grateful from heaven descend,  
The mercies of His father, Lord, and Friend.  
Before thy mystic altar, Heavenly Truth,  
I kneel in manhood, as I knelt in youth  
Thus let me kneel, till this dull form decay,  
And life's last shade be brightened by thy ray,  
Then shall my soul, now lost in clouds below,  
Soar without bound, without consuming glow.

Equally fine is his Ode in Imitation of *Alcaeus* in which he says:

What constitutes a state!  
Men, high-minded men,  
Men, who their duties know,  
dare maintain,  
Prevent the long-aimed blow,  
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain,  
These constitute a state  
And sovereign Law, that state's collected will,  
O'er thrones and globes elate,  
Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill.

Another Ode sums up England's ideal thus:

Rise Britannia! Dauntless rise!  
Monarch good, and nobles wise,  
People valiant, firm, and free.

A *Chinese Ode* contains the following ideal of true manhood:

What soft, yet awful dignity!  
What meek, yet manly, grace!  
What sweetness dances in his eye  
And blossoms in his face!

A *Turkish Ode* contains the following fine lines:

See! yon anemones their leaves unfold,  
With rubies flaming and with living gold.  
The plants no more are dried, the meadows dead,  
No more the rosebud hangs her pensive head:  
The shrubs revive in valley, meads and bowers,  
And every stalk is diadem'd with flowers;  
In silken robes each hillock stands arrayed.  
Be gay; too soon the flowers of spring will fade.

A special place in our thoughts and hearts must be given to his two excellent poems called *Two Hymns to Prakriti*. In one of them the wonderful episode in Canto V of Kalidasa's *Kumarasambhava* where Uma moves away in anger from the self-ridiculing and self-concealed Siva is thus described;



She spoke and o'er the rifted rocks  
 Her lovely form with pious frenzy threw ;  
 But beneath her floating locks  
 And waving robes a thousand breezes flew,  
 Knitting close their silky plumes,  
 And in mid-air a downy pillow spreading ;  
 Till, in clouds of rich perfumes  
 Embalmed, they bore her to a mystic wood ;  
 Where streams of glory shedding,  
 The well-feign'd Brahman, Siva, stood.

In the other occurs the following stanza full of exalted feeling :

Mother of Gods, rich nature's queen,  
 Thy genial fire emblaz'd the bursting scene ;  
 For, on th' expanded blossom sitting,  
 With sunbeams knitting  
 That mystic veil for ever unremoved,  
 Thou bad'st the softly—kindling flame  
 Pervade this peopled frame,  
 And smiles, with blushes tinged, the work approved.

In his *Hymn to Indra*, Mount Meru is thus described :

Hail, mountain of delight,  
 Palace of glory, bless'd by glory's king !

The sun is thus addressed in his *Hymn to Surya* :

Fountain of living light,  
 That o'er all nature streams,  
 Of this vast microcosm both nerve and soul ;  
 Whose swift and subtle beams,  
 Eluding mortal sight,  
 Pervade, attract, sustain the effulgent whole ;  
 Lord of the lotus, father, friend, and king,  
 O Sun ! thy powers I sing.

Since thou, great orb ! with all-enlightening ray  
 Rulest the golden day,  
 How far more glorious He, who said, serene,  
 Be, and thou wast—Himself unformed, unchang-  
 ed, unseen

The *Hymn to Lakshmi* is equally fine. It says :

Daughter of ocean and primeval night,  
 Who, fed with moon beams dropping silver dew,  
 And cradled in a wild wave dancing light,  
 Saw'st with a smile new shores and creatures new,

The goddess ! I salute ; thy gifts I sing.

Shall man unthankful riot on thy stores ?  
 Ah, no ! he bends, he blesses, he adores.

Oh ! bid the patient Hindu rise and live.

The companion *Hymn to Saraswathi* says :

These are thy wondrous arts,  
 Queen of the flowering speech,  
 Thence Saraswathi named and Vani bright !  
 Oh, joy of mortal hearts,  
 Thy mystic wisdom teach,

The *Hymn to Ganga* is equally fine :

How sweetly Ganga smiles, and glides,  
 Luxuriant o'er her broad autumnal bed !  
 Her waves perpetual verdure spread,  
 Whilst health and plenty deck her golden sides.

Jones's poems contain also two Indian tales in verse—*The Palace of Fortune* and *The Enchanted Fruit* and various Latin poems. Special mention may here be made of a few fine lyrics by him. Out of these we cull the following lines :

Beauty like thine, all nature thrills ;  
 And when the moon her circle fills,  
 Pale she beholds those rounder hills,  
 Which on the breast thou wearest.

#### HIS THEORY OF POETRY.

Sir William Jones's *Essay on the Arts*, commonly called *Imitative*, is of great value. In it he discusses the theory that all poetry consists in imitation. He shows how poetry originated in a strong and animated expression of the human passions ; how cadence and measure accompany strong feeling ; and how love and war were the chief inspirers of song. Elegy and Satire also came into being as poetic forms. Music with its harmonies of accessory sounds is also as old as man. He says :

What has been said of poetry may, with equal force, be applied to music, which is poetry dressed to advantage ; and even to painting, many sorts of which are poems to the eye, as all poems merely descriptive, are pictures to the ear.

He shows how the real power of art is in creative power, not in mere imitative accuracy. He says :

Thus will each artist gain his end, not by imitating the works of nature, but by assuming her power, and causing the same effect upon the imagination, which her charms produce upon the senses : this must be the chief object of a poet, a musician, and a painter, who know that great effects are not produced by minute details, but by the general spirit of the whole piece and that a gaudy composition may strike the mind for a short time, but that the beauties of simplicity are both more delightful and more permanent.

#### HIS INTERPRETATION OF HINDU CULTURE.

Sir William Jones was one of the earliest and best interpreters of Hindu culture to the world. His was a calm and balanced soul with an inborn and indomitable Indian outlook on life ; and this was the reason of his sympathetic insight into Indian culture.

Though great and varied is his work in other directions, it is this spirit of sympathetic insight that is of even greater importance than his actual achievement.

He knew what few others have cared to know and what may ignorantly deny that the Hindus are as much lovers of poetry as of philosophy. He says:

In all our conversations with learned Hindus, we find them enthusiastic admirers of poetry, which they consider as a divine art, that had been practised for numberless ages in Heaven, before it was revealed on earth by Valmiki, whose great heroic poem is fortunately preserved

Here we have an indication as to what the Indians must do now and hereafter to preserve and perfect their self-consciousness, to redeem their fair name so proud and revered in the past from the charge of senility or sterility in the present, and to make their future brighter than their wonderful past. We must understand and realise the *differentia* of Indian culture. Till then mere additions of thought from the West will hang loosely about us and will never become an integral portion of our inner life and enrich the treasury of our national consciousness.

#### SIR WILLIAM JONES ON INDIAN LITERATURE AND ART.

He says about the *Vedas* as the fountain of Indian literature:

From the *Vedas* are immediately deduced the practical arts of Chirurgery and Medicine, Music and Dancing, Archery, which comprises the whole art of war, and Architecture, under which the system of mechanical arts is included.

About Indian medicine he says with a prophetic warning and by way of wholesome advice:

Infinite advantage may be derived by Europeans from the various medical books in Sanskrit, which contain the names and descriptions of Indian plants and minerals, with their uses, *discovered by experience*, in curing disorders.

The West is yet to learn this great truth and act on this wholesome advice. Sir William Jones was always impressed by the vastness of Indian literature. He says:

Wherever we direct our attention to Hindu literature, the notion of infinity presents itself.

A great fact to which he drew repeated attention was the wonderful metrical system of Sanskrit poetry. He says:

The Hindu poets never fail to change the *metre* which is their *mode*, according to the change of subject or sentiment in the same piece; and I could produce instances of poetical modulation (if such a phrase may be used) at least equal to the most affecting modulations of our greatest composers.

Sir William Jones has translated the *Gita*, *Garuda*, *Ritu Samhara*, *Sakuntala*, and *Hitopadesa*, as also Manu. He calls Kalidasa the Shakespeare of India and says:

Dramatic poetry must have been immemorially ancient in the Indian Empire.

He says of *Ritu Samhara* by Kalidasa:

Every line composed by Kalidas is exquisitely polished; and every couplet in the poem exhibits an Indian landscape, always beautiful, sometimes highly coloured, but never beyond nature.

Jones's discourse on the *Musical Modes of the Hindus* is of great value. He says about music:

Considered as an *art*, it combines the sounds, which philosophy distinguishes, in such a manner as to gratify our ears, or affect our imaginations, or by uniting both objects, to captivate the fancy while it pleases the sense, and, speaking, as it were, the language of beautiful nature, to raise correspondent ideas and emotions in the mind of the hearer; it then and then only becomes what we call a *fine art*.

He says further about the Indian conception of art:

In the literature of the Hindus all nature is animated and personified; every fine art is declared to have been revealed from heaven; and all knowledge, divine and human, is traced to its source in the *Vedas*, among which the Sama Veda was intended to be sung.

He quotes the following beautiful stanza as descriptive of the Hindu idea of Ragas. It describes the Sri Raga.

लीलाहिहारेण वनान्तराले  
चिन्वन्प्रसूता निवधसहायः ।  
विलासिवेषोदित दिव्यमूर्तिः  
श्रीरागएवः प्रथितः पृथिव्यां ॥

(The demigod Sri Raga, famed over all this earth, sweetly sports with his nymphs, gathering fresh blossoms in the bosom of yonder grove; and his divine lineaments are distinguished through his graceful vesture).

He then points out that Hindu musicians give "their modes a distinct character and a very agreeable diversity of expression." He knew further that the great Hindu Musicians were masters of "modulation, or change of



mode, to which passionate music owes nearly all its enchantment."

#### SIR WILLIAM JONES ON ARAB POETRY.

Not only was he alive to the beauties of Indian culture. His mind took in all oriental culture. He gives in his *Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations* many just and noble ideas about Arab poetry. He points out how the Arab life has lent its glow to Arab poetry. He says:

"It is very usual in all countries to make frequent allusions to the brightness of the celestial luminaries, which give their light to all, but the metaphors taken from them have an additional beauty if we consider them as made by a nation, who pass most of their nights in the open air, or in tents, and consequently see the moon and stars in their greatest splendour."

He shows also how "they have never been wholly subdued by any other nation" and how this also has given a grace and power to their poesy. He further says that in a hot country like Arabia where the intense heat of the sun is tempered by the shade of trees, the notions of felicity are naturally taken from freshness and verdure. "It is a maxim among them that the three most charming objects in nature are a green meadow, a clear rivulet and a beautiful woman." Love poetry is predominant in Arabian literature. It compares the maiden to a wanton fawn playing among the aromatic shrubs. He says:

Their language is expressive, strong, sonorous and the most copious, perhaps, in the world.

Arabian poetry inspired Persian poetry which in its turn inspired Turkish poetry. He concludes thus:

I must once more request that, in bestowing these praises on the writings of Asia, I may not be thought to derogate from the merit of Greek and Latin poems, which have justly been admired in every age; yet I cannot but think that our European poetry has subsided too long on the perpetual repetition of the same images and incessant allusions to the same fables.

#### SIR WILLIAM JONES ON SUFISM.

He points out in his discourse on the *Mystical Poetry of the Persians and Hindus* the points of identity between Vedantism and Sufism. The Sufi doctrine is thus summed up by him:

That the souls of men differ infinitely in degree, but not at all in kind, from the divine spirit, of which they are particles and in which they will ultimately

be absorbed; that the spirit of God pervades the universe, always immediately present to his work, and consequently always in substance; that He alone is perfect benevolency, perfect truth, perfect beauty; that the love of Him alone is real and genuine love, while that of all objects is absurd and illusory; that the beauties of nature are faint resemblances, like images in a mirror, of the divine charms; that from eternity without beginning to eternity without end, the supreme Benevolence is occupied in bestowing happiness or the means of attaining it; that men can only attain it by performing their part of the primal covenant between them and the Creator; that nothing has a pure absolute existence but mind or spirit; that material substances, as the ignorant call them, are no more than gay pictures presented continually to our minds by the sempiternal Artist; that we must beware of attachment to such phantoms and attach ourselves exclusively to God, who truly exists in us, as we exist solely in Him; that we retain even in this forlorn state of separation from our beloved, the idea of heavenly beauty and the remembrance of our primeval vows; that sweet music, gentle breezes, fragrant flowers, perpetually renew the primary idea, refresh our fading memory, and melt us with tender affections; that we must cherish those affections, and by abstracting our souls from vanity, that is, from all but God, approximate to His essence in our final union with which will consist our supreme beatitude."

#### HIS MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

The range of his miscellaneous works is immense. It includes such varied subjects as *The Chronology of the Hindus*, *The Indian Zodiac*, *The Lunar Year of the Hindus*, *The Cure of the Elephantiasis*, *The Indian Game of Chess*, *Tales and Tables by Nizami*, *The Spikenard of the Ancients*, *Botanical Observations in select Indian plants*, *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, *The History of the Persian language*, *The Mahomedan Law of Inheritance*, *The Speeches of Isaeus*, *A Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts*, *A Short History of Persia*, *A Description of Asia*, etc.

#### CONCLUSION.

Such was the great man and such was his great work. We cannot take leave of him better than by feeling and saying that he has amply won the praise coveted by him in his trees:

Give me (this my high pride I raise,  
The ploughman's on the gardener's praise,  
With patient and unceasing toil,  
To meliorate a stubborn soil,  
And say (no higher need I ask),  
With zeal has thou performed thy task.

# THE CENTENARY OF NAPOLEON

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ON the 5th of May the Republic of France celebrated the centenary of the death of her greatest son—Emperor Napoleon, amidst the



NAPOLEON WITH CZAR ALEXANDER.]

booming of guns and general rejoicing. Other European countries to whom he was for a time the most insuperable enemy, now joined the celebrations. England herself which nursed a petty spite long after the downfall of the greatest of Frenchmen, has buried the hatchet now for many years and participated in the festivals in honour of the man whose genius has in a way fashioned the history of modern France.

At the time of the Great War a writer in these pages brought out prominently the

salient characteristics of the personality and work of the great Corsican. "It is his misfortune that the dazzling brilliance of his military career has obscured the world's perception of his real claim to greatness as a ruler. But the ordered national system and the carefully elaborated code of law, characteristic of France to-day, are largely the work of Napoleon."

When a hundred years ago, on the 5th of May 1821, Napoleon, the ex-Emperor of France, died in the lonely habitation at St. Helena the world was passing through a transformation as fateful as it is to-day. Napoleon had played his part in the stage of the world with more than imperial splendour. He had made and unmade kings. All Europe and a part of Asia lay at his feet. He made war with Austria, Prussia and Russia and he triumphed over all. He subjugated Spain and Portugal. He formed coalitions of kings and states and appointed his friends and relations to rule over the conquered countries. But the Russian invasion of 1812 was the beginning of his downfall. The victories of Austerlitz and Marengo and the great march across the Alps were forgotten in the retreat from the fantastic expedition to Moscow. And then came the fall. Beaten by the Allies in 1814 he was compelled to retire to Elba whence he emerged again in 1815 with magnetic effect on the youth of France. Thousands flocked to his standard. But he was heading for a disaster and he met the day of reckoning at Waterloo. The story of that great battle and the decisive turn given to it by the sudden appearance of Marshal Blucher are matters of history. A hundred years pass; and the coalition is reversed. France and Germany are at war again. England steps in to fight for France against her old ally and Germany is beaten. It is left to a judicious English statesman to bemoan the petty-mindedness of his forbears in ill-treating the illustrious prisoner whose memory is to-day the object of universal veneration. Lord Rosebery,



in his study of the *Last Phase of Napoleon* recounts the pitiful spite with which the English called Emperor Napoleon, General Bonaparte. The long and shameful delay in recognising the merits of that Man of Destiny is recalled with sorrow in the wise and thrilling narrative of the English author.

The celebrations of the 5th of May are intended to mark the passing of Napoleon from "the world of politics to the serene atmosphere

of history." This is superfluous. For Napoleon has already won a shining page in the history of great actors. He still lives in the soul of France and his spirit inspires the heart of all Frenchmen. Not only by his military genius but also by his achievements in the art of administration his name stands for all that typifies energy, intellect and imagination. Taken all in all he was a genius and his place in history is among the heroes.

## GREAT BRITAIN AND EGYPT

WHAT is called "unrest" is by no means confined to Ireland and India. The termination of the great war has been the signal of an aggressive spirit of nationalism all over the world. Nowhere has this been more keen than in the British Empire in which the statesmen who waxed eloquent over "self determination" and "the rights of weaker nations" are, for once, asked to vindicate their faith in practice. That is a crucial test of their sincerity and as matters stand, it is hardly likely that the struggle will cease unless and until justice is done. In Egypt, especially, there has been a long sustained effort to rid the Lower Nile Valley of the British overlordship which apparently ignored the nationalistic aspirations of the Egyptian people. Mr. Harry J. Carman of the Columbia University, writing in the current number of the *Political Science Quarterly*, offers a judicious estimate of the Egyptian struggle for freedom, since 1879 when France and England established 'dual control' over the country for the purpose of protecting European creditors. Three years later British troops entered Egypt to quell an anti-European movement which threatened the lives and property of foreigners. A strong contingent of Egyptian patriots resented what they called the "bleeding" of their country by foreign usurers and raised the cry of "Egypt for Egyptians."

The rising was, of course, crushed but the cry has since remained. Prof. Carman gives, in his article, a luminous account of the succeeding years, defining British policy and their efforts to conciliate Egyptian sentiment since the days of Gladstone.

That great statesman, addressing the House of Commons on August 10, 1882, announced that the sole purpose of the British Government was "to restore the power of the Khedive." Otherwise,

it would be absolutely at variance with all the principles of Her Majesty's Government and the pledges we have given Europe.

This statement was emphasised by a further declaration in the House on August 9, 1883, that the Government was opposed to permanent occupation or annexation :—

We are against everything that resembles it and approaches it, and against all language that tends to bring about an expectation of it. We are against it on the ground of the interest of England; we are against it on the ground of the specific and solemn pledges given to the world in the most solemn manner and under the most critical circumstances—pledges which have earned for us the confidence of Europe at large during the course of difficult and delicate operations, and which, if one pledge can be more sacred than another, special sacredness in this case binds us to fulfil.

For thirty years following this, all British officials who had anything to do with Egypt kept on repeating this statement. Great Britain, it was contended, should remain as the Egyptian Schoolmaster "until there had been established on

sure foundations the principles of justice, liberty and public happiness." Acting on this assumption Lord Dufferin, who was sent to Egypt, submitted his report of Feb. 6, 1883 which became the basis of the Organic Law constituting the new Government. By it Egypt theoretically remained an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire ruled by the Khedive who recognised the suzerainty of the Sultan and paid annual tribute. At the same time, by virtue of international agreements known as "capitulations", Consuls of European and American States enjoyed the right of jurisdiction over all cases in which their own nationals were concerned. With the above exceptions, all authority was nominally centred in three representative bodies, an Egyptian Council of ministers headed by a Premier and two Assemblies.

It was with this political machinery that Sir Evelyn Baring, afterwards Lord Cromer, assumed the duties of Consul-General in 1883. A period of peace and prosperity followed but not all Egyptians were happy. They suspected British motives and were "unrestful under alien tutelage." A new generation educated in European and American Universities, inspired by modern ideals of liberty, looked forward to the day of national independence. The increasing impatience and disaffection grew as the British agency developed into a strong bureaucracy crushing the freedom of the Ministers and gradually imposing its will on a weak and timorous administration.

British control over local affairs was slightly relaxed when, in June 1908, a number of reforms affecting the Provincial Councils were promulgated. Some measure of financial and other powers were vested in the National Councils but the legislation failed to arrest the growing discontent. On September 14, 1909, the twenty-seventh anniversary of the British occupation, the Nationalists sent the following telegram to Mr. Asquith:

A meeting of six thousand Egyptians assembled here to-day desires to convey to Your Excellency the

unanimous and energetic protest of the Egyptian people against the British occupation, and demands from to-day the evacuation, relying upon the engagements and solemn oaths of the Queen's governments. Moreover, to gain our friendship is preferable for English honour than to lose our hearts and support.

A statement of Sir Edward Grey's that Britain was not for immediate withdrawal fanned the flame of indignation while Sir Eldon Gorst, the Consul General, made "the alarming announcement that co-operation with the Ministers was incompatible with the development of representative institutions." This was the situation when Lord Kitchner arrived in 1911. Lord Kitchner, throughout his term, minimised the political disturbances and continued to attribute them to ultra-territorial causes, once to the Turkish war with Italy and again to the Balkan war.

In 1913 another instalment of reforms was introduced giving the Egyptians "a very considerable extension in the representative principle." The new Legislative Assembly had increased opportunities of influencing legislation but it was intensely nationalistic. It would not co-operate with the Government and expressed itself bitterly against the British domination.

At this time war broke out in Europe. Germans were endeavouring to turn Egypt against Britain. To meet the situation British authorities "persuaded" the Egyptian Government to regard itself in a state of war with the Teutonic powers. During these days Abbas Helmi Pasha, the Khedive, was in Constantinople. He threw in his lot with Turkey while

the proclamation of martial law and the establishment of a very strict censorship early in November, 1914, were forerunners of this inevitable break; the bonds were completely severed on December 18 by issuance of a proclamation to the effect that "Egypt is placed under the protection of His Majesty and will henceforth constitute a British Protectorate". On the following day another proclamation announced that "in view of the action of His Highness Abbas Hilmi Pasha, lately Khedive of Egypt, who has adhered to the King's enemies, His Majesty's government have seen fit to depose him from the Khedivate; and the high dignity has been offered, with the title of Sultan of Egypt, to His Highness Prince Hussein Kamel Pasha, eldest living prince of the family of Mohammed Ali, and has been accepted by him". Thus



Egypt after nearly four hundred years ceased to be even nominally a part of the crumbling Ottoman Empire, and the veiled protectorate which Britain had exercised for over thirty years became a protectorate in name as well as in fact.



H. H. ABBAS HILMI PASHA.

The British Government henceforth regarded itself as the trustee of Egypt and as such it promised to defend Egyptian territory against all aggression." All relations between Egypt and foreign powers were to be conducted through the British representative at Cairo as High Commissioner. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Arthur Henry McMahon, G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., C.S.O. was appointed the first Commissioner.

But this policy only strengthened the nationalists and there ensued a prolonged disturbance in which disaffection increased. On the incarceration of the leaders the whole of Egypt was in revolt. General Allenby "the strong man of the East" was then sent with extraordinary powers first to "restore order, secondly to inquire into the causes of discontent and thirdly to redress justifiable

grievances." On the release of the prisoners from Malta the country quieted down.

Peace was not to be for long. Strikes and other forms of unrest followed. The ministry,



LT. COL. SIR ARTHUR HENRY McMAHON.

often powerless, changed frequently at the bidding of the High Commissioner but no ministry could bring peace. The country was distracted with rage again and British control had broken down.

On May 16, 1919 the British Government appointed a strong mission under Lord Milner to devise means to shape "for the Protectorate a system of prudent and ever enlarging enfranchisement" and to meet "the claims of the Egyptian people to a due and increasing share in the management" of their own affairs. It is hoped that the Milner recommendations which have since been framed will go far towards giving Egypt that peace and content which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman gave to the Union of South Africa.

# THE POLL-TAX IN CEYLON

This is a photograph of Mr. C. E. Victor Corea, Advocate, Chilaw, performing the six days' labour in the Chilaw District, instead of paying the tax.



The existence of the poll-tax in Ceylon which falls equally on the rich and the poor has been the cause of unceasing trouble and vexation. In spite of continued agitation against this obnoxious method of taxation the Ceylon Government does not seem inclined to alter it. When the deputation that last waited on the Under-Secretary of State in London urged that this particularly noxious system of tax should be repealed, they were promised that a commission would soon be appointed to consider the question and decide. But the feeling against the tax is growing in intensity and some of the more ardent spirits of the Young Lanka League would not brook the delay. They decided rather to work on the public road than pay the poll tax. Mr. Corea the President of the League has given the lead and it is expected that other members would follow his example. We are indebted to the courtesy of the *Ceylon Daily News* for the block printed in this page. —Editor, *Indian Review*.



# THE REFORMED LEGISLATURES

## THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

### SIR M. DADABHAI ON LORD CHELMSFORD'S WORK.

Sir Maneckji D. dabhoi, interviewed by Reuter recently in London, expressed the opinion that the Council of State and Legislative Assembly fairly represented all interests, classes and creeds. The Council has already proved itself thoroughly competent to direct the destinies of India and both bodies were in complete harmony for the furtherance of India's interests. Sir Maneckji paid a tribute to the Duke of Connaught's visit and declared that he had helped to heal many sores and had infused a spirit of harmony and cordiality into the deliberations which had mainly contributed to the success of the Reform Scheme. He declared that Lord Chelmsford's real concrete work for the good of India was, unfortunately, obscured by political clouds but history would reveal how greatly India had benefited from the reforms which were inaugurated under his regime. The success of the reforms, Sir M. Dadabhoi declared, now depended upon British sympathy and the desire to treat India no longer as dependency but as an equal partner in the Empire. If the people of Britain took a more intelligent and more continuous interest in the welfare of India and gave evidence of their desire to do justice to the growing aspirations of Indians, no danger would threaten the British connection with India.

### JOINT COMMITTEES.

Lala Shukbhir Singh has given notice of a number of resolutions at the forthcoming session of the Council of State. Among his resolutions one urges the appointment of a Joint Committee of both Houses to overhaul the present system of land revenue especially in the United Provinces and the Punjab in the light of the recommendations made by the Joint Parliamentary Committee. He will also move for a recommendation to the local Governments to introduce religious and moral educational institutions, and will also press for the stopping of killing of cattle in this country for supply of beef to British troops, and for the stopping of the Burma meat trade.

### THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE.

The Hon'ble Mr. Raza Ali has given notice of the following resolution, which he proposes to move at the next session of the Council of State :—

The Council recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that an informal conference, to be attended by members of the Government of India and representatives of all schools of political thought including the leaders of the non-co-operation movement, should be convened at an early date, under the presidency of H. E. the Viceroy, with a view to having an unfettered discussion on the political questions in which the people of India are interested. This Council further recommends that no resolution should be adopted by the Conference and that no minutes need be kept.

## THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

### DR. WHYTE'S IMPRESSIONS

The *London Observer* has, by courtesy of a correspondent, published an interesting despatch reviewing Mr. A. F. Whyte's experience of the first session of the Indian Legislatures. As the first President of the Assembly he had ample opportunities to study its methods and its work. Says Dr. Whyte :

The power of the President of the Assembly is really greater than the power of the Speaker of the House of Commons, partly because the rules are fairly elastic and leave to him a wide discretion, but mainly

because the whole Assembly, especially the Indian majority, had an immense respect for the traditions and practices of the House of Commons. The Assembly has been an almost unqualified success. The quality of the personnel is better than any one expected and there are at least half a dozen who, in debating ability, need have no fear of competition from any but the most skilful British Parliamentarians at Home and most important of all, the body has shown a corporate sense of responsibility which was the most reassuring feature of a very promising Parliamentary session. In surrendering the system of official block, Government has unwittingly improved its own position and given life and reality to the debates of the new Legislature. The fact that the budget has emerged practically intact from a pretty severe handling in debate, due partly to the Parliamentary skill,

and good feeling of Mr. Hailey and partly to the good sense of the majority who invariably chose the right course when faced with the fact that a wholesale reduction in votes for the various departments which they were sorely tempted to make would have brought the whole Government to a standstill.

Mr. Whyte says he left his chair on the last day of the session as a confirmed optimist. He expressed the opinion that new problems would arise very soon. The political problem presented by the conjunction of an irremovable Executive and a large constitutionally irresponsible majority, he said, would be ripe for treatment long before ten years is over.

Whichever Government and majority first develops into a coherent parliamentary force will master the situation. Government may be in that position even though it is in a minority because the majority is composed of factions which will only coalesce with difficulty.

#### PROPOSALS FOR NEXT SESSION

Notices of a large number of interpellations and a few resolutions have been put up in the agenda of the next session of the Legislative Assembly. Mr. M. Krishnaswami Reddiar of Madras has sent three resolutions, one of which

commends the prohibition, as soon as possible, of the export of all kinds of manures from India and a levy of a ten per cent. *ad valorem* duty on all kinds of oil-seeds exported. His other resolutions relate to sale of salt in some parts of the country and while, on the one hand, he recommends the appointment of a Commission of officials and non-officials to consider whether the present practice of selling salt by private merchants is not a hardship on consumers, especially in the Presidency of Madras and some parts of Bombay, he, on the other hand, urges that the practice of selling salt by measure be prohibited, in view of the great loss sustained by consumers.

His interpellations relate to the construction of New Delhi.

Mr. E. L. Price of Karachi wants the Government to consider the advisability of issuing a monthly or quarterly statement of revenue and expenditure, such returns being made on a basis comparative with the Budget estimates.

## PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES

### The United Provinces.

On May 1st the Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Minister of Education, was entertained by the Nawab of Chatari at a Garden Party. In reply to the address, the Minister made a lengthy speech recounting his experiences as minister and member of Government. Touching the difficulties of the minister's position in the Government he said :—

In the first place, the Ministers are non-officials who have entered the Government for the first time. They have been life-long critics of the administration. They are now called upon from inside the Government to give effect, so far as circumstances permit, to things they uttered in a position of greater freedom and less responsibility and at the same time to establish relations of mutual confidence and esteem between themselves, their official colleagues, the secretaries to Government and the heads of their respective departments. The secretaries to Government and the heads of departments are repositories of all the official knowledge relating to particular subjects. And no Minister, whatever he may think of himself, whatever the non-officials may think of him, can hope to achieve the smallest success who is not able to acquire the confidence of the officials with

whom he is to act. I am glad to be able to say, as the result of my inside knowledge of Government for a little over three months, that so far the non-officials and officials inside the Government have got on on terms of absolute and mutual confidence.

Mr. Chintamani then paid a tribute to the character and influence of the Governor and some of his colleagues in the Government, notably Mr. Porter and Mr. Clarke. He then went on to define what should be the attitude of non-officials in the new Government.

The idea should be abandoned that the attitude that non-officials should adopt towards the Government is an attitude of hostility or opposition. The idea should be given up, if it continues to persist in any quarter, that it is a Government of opponents of reforms and supporters of vested interests which they have to fight at every turn in order that the people may get what they want. The more correct idea in the circumstances that exist would be that it is their own Government whom they can criticise and ought to criticise (no non-official should ever abdicate his function of criticism), but which they can persuade by argument and convert to their own views wherever they may differ, but while all said and done, a Government which is moved by the same purpose, by the same motive by which they themselves are actuated.



### Assam

The voting of grants (March 31,) took three days and the debate centred on important issues in the Budget. Of the motions for reduction thirty were withdrawn, twenty were rejected, four were carried against Government, while two were accepted by the Government, the total amount reduced being a lakh and a half rupees. Part of this was transferred to education.

The Minister's salary then came in for consideration. There were two motions, one fixing the salary of each Minister at Rs. 1,500 a month and the other fixing it at Rs. 2,500. The second was accepted by the mover of the first but it was defeated by thirty one against eight. Apart from the merits of the case there was one remark made by Mr W. J. Reid emphasising the right of the Legislature to grant what salary it pleased to the Minister, to which it is necessary to draw special attention. He said that the right of the Council to decide what the emoluments to the Ministers would be was unquestioned.

### BURMA

The question of the constitution of Burma has been considered at several meetings of the Standing Joint Committee on Indian Affairs in London. It is probable that the report giving the recommendations of the Committee will be presented to Parliament very soon after Whitsuntide recess.

#### BURMESE ASSOCIATION'S VIEWS

The General Council of the Burmese Association, Rangoon, with 500 delegates present, passed resolutions expressing opinion that no more deputation to England for constitutional reforms is necessary, endorsing the demand for full Responsible Self-Government without delay passed at a mass meeting on the 27th February, establishing a publicity committee, protesting against the District Magistrate's order prohibiting public meetings in Rangoon, approving the Burma Reform League's action to move the Chief Court to

set aside the order, recommending all Y. M. B. A. schools to be nationalised and that the non-participation policy be continued in the forthcoming Legislative Assembly elections.

#### LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR'S SPEECH

The Burma Reform League has written to the Chief Secretary regretting the Lieutenant-Governor's Legislative Council speech, his references to National Education as anti Government, and also to Ottama's case while *subjudice*. The League protested against such comments as tending to provoke bitterness in the public mind against the Lieutenant-Governor and the administration.

### CEYLON

#### REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION

In the House of Commons on May 4, Colonel Wedgwood asked Mr. Churchill whether he was aware that candidates for the Ceylon Legislature, in view of the Governor's promise to revise the constitution within the year, were pledging themselves not to sit in the Council after 1921; whether steps would be taken to consider the revision of the constitution; and whether Government would defer the appointment of three unofficial members to the Executive Council until after the revision of the constitution.

Mr. Wood replied that his attention had been drawn to a statement in the Ceylon Press declaring that the National Congress was asking candidates to resign their seats after a year from the opening of the Council.

The appointment of unofficial members was a reform which had long been advocated.

Mr. Wood did not see any reason to defer the appointment as was stated on the 15th March. The Colonial Office would consider any proposals for the amendment of the constitution which might be suggested at the forthcoming session of the Ceylon Legislature and its pledge would be kept.

## Tagore on Non-Co-operation.

In the course of three letters published in the current issue of the *Modern Review* Dr. Rabindranath Tagore offers a critical analysis of Non-Co-operation. He explains why, in spite of his strong desire to be in accord with it, he has to raise his voice of warning against it. He shares Mr. Gandhi's passion for truth and reality and, with the poet's keen and penetrating vision, he sees behind the masque of things. Alive to the need of flooding the world with spiritual light he fears that Non-Co-operation is not the best way to clear our mind of hatred and envy and purge the country of materialism.

The idea of Non-Co-operation is political asceticism. Our students are bringing their offering of sacrifices to what? Not to a fuller education but to non-education. It has at its back a fierce joy of annihilation which at its best is asceticism, and at its worst is that orgy of frightfulness in which the human nature, losing faith in the basic reality of normal life, finds a disinterested delight in an unmeaning devastation, as has been shown in the late war and on other occasions which came nearer to us. No; its passive moral form is asceticism and in its active moral form is violence. The desert is as much a form of *himsa* (malignance) as is the raging sea in storm, they both are against life.

His own plea is a broadening of our sympathies and the breaking down of the barriers between the East and West. Towards this consummation our efforts should be directed. It cannot be attained, he says, by merely asking the students to withdraw from their colleges. Says the poet :—

The reason of my refusing to advise those students to leave their schools was because the anarchy of a mere emptiness never tempts me even when it is resorted to as a temporary measure. I am frightened of an abstraction which is ready to ignore living reality. These students were no mere phantoms to me, their life was a great fact to them and to the All. I could not lightly take upon myself the tremendous responsibility of mere negative programme for them which would uproot their life from its soil, however thin and poor that soil might be. The great injury and injustice which had been done to those boys who were tempted away from the career before any real provision was made, could never be made good to them.

## The Philippine Educational System.

Prof. D. J. Fleming, writing to *The International Review of Missions*, says that the Philippine system of education created by a foreign agency seeking to develop a curriculum suited to the needs of Philippine life and beginning with teachers most inadequately equipped for their task, has its lessons for the missionary teacher. The dominating idea is the training of the masses for citizenship rather than the education of the few to govern the masses. The whole system sets out to help each student industrially, academically and physically. With regard to primary instruction the aim is very explicit.

Academically, the aim is to give the great mass of the population elementary instruction in reading and writing English, in home and world geography, and in sufficient arithmetic for simple business transactions and to avoid imposition by exploiters. Industrially, they aim in the primary to instil a respect for labour. In particular they want to help the Filipino boy to cultivate a home garden, and to do simple carpentry for the home, to weave hats, mats, slippers and baskets from local materials, and to handle simple business affairs. They aim to help the Filipino girl to prepare a wholesome meal, to make her own clothes, to weave hats, mats, etc. Physically, they aim to impart the rudiments of home and village sanitation, to improve the quality and variety of food through developing gardens, to abolish poor and insanitary cooking through classes in domestic science, and to correct physical under-development by inaugurating group games and athletics.

To carry out this well planned aim there has been developed a central office with a field force for supervision which is a form of continued teacher training. There have been also started summer institutes for teachers and also annual vacation assemblies for teachers which are usually attended by 80 per cent of the total teaching force. 91 per cent of the school children are doing some form of industrial work every school-day in the year. In the intermediate grade there is a distinct specialisation along vocational lines—general teaching, trade, farming, house-keeping, household arts. Agricultural training is also given; and there is a central agricultural school at Lurzon.



### India and the World before Christ.

Prof. Shivanath Basu, writing in *The Hindustan Review*, describes the prehistoric connections that existed between India and Babylonia. According to Hall (*The Ancient History of the Near East*) the ethnic type of the Sumerians was certainly Dravidian and the existence of the Brahmins, the Babylonian legend of Oannes, the fish-god, also go to show the early connection of India with other countries overseas. The Dravidian type has been noted in Southern Persia; and possibly the now Aryan people of ancient Persia formed a connecting link between Babylonia and India. The Sumerians were an Indian race which passed certainly by land through Baluchistan, perhaps also by sea to Mesopotamia and imposed their higher culture upon the primitive inhabitants of Babylonia. A Babylonian cylinder seal containing human figures and words in cuneiform script was discovered in central India. Whether the Sumerians were an Indian race or not, there was certainly a connection between the two countries.

According to Dr. Sayce there was commercial intercourse between India and Babylon as early as 3000 B. C. Lenormant says that in the bass reliefs at the temple of *Der-el-Bahari* in Egypt (15th century B. C.) there are representations of many Indian animals and products. The Mittanis, an Aryan race of Asia Minor, were connected with the Aryans of the Rig Veda; and their kings bore Aryan names.

Even in the Bible, traces of this early intercourse can be discovered—e. g., the Book of Ezekiel, Book of Kings etc. Mr. Foulkes says that the spices carried to Egypt by the Midianitish merchants of Genesis and by the sons of the Patriarch Jacob had been cultivated in the Deccan. In the library of Assurbanipal of Assyria (7th century B. C.) the word *Sindhu* stands for muslin; and we are told that the Assyrian monarch sent for Indian plants including the cotton tree.

There was a beam of Indian cedar in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon at Bir Nimrud. There is the evidence of the *Bavern Jataka* very clear as to the intercourse of Indian merchants in the Persian Gulf as far back as the 6th century. In the 5th, Greeks and others knew of certain Indian commodities. Indian goods found their way to Sidon and Tyre. There was closer connection between India and Persia in the time of Darius, Herodotus and later, under the Mauryas.

Central Asia, China, and Malaya, have had also Indian connections from very early times.

### A Deathless People.

Mr. Aurobindo Ghose has a thoughtful article in the *Arya* on the life of peoples as distinguished from the life of individuals. Individuals are born and they die inevitably. But a living well-organised society need fear no death, he says, for there is in some peoples a splendid vitality for recovering. Though some peoples have passed through times of stress and extinction, it is not always true of all races. The history of India, says Mr. Ghose, is a striking instance of a people persisting in abounding life though threatened many a time with dire extinction.

A people, a great human collectivity, is in fact an organic living being with a collective or rather—for the word collective is too mechanical to be true to the inner reality—a common or communal soul, mind and body. The life of the society like the physical life of the individual human being passes through a cycle of birth, growth, youth, ripeness and decline, and if this last stage goes far enough without any arrest of its course towards decadence, it may perish,—even so all the older peoples and nations except India and China perished.—as a man dies of old age. But the collective being has a capacity of renewing itself, of a recovery and a new cycle. For in each people there is a soul idea or life idea, at work, less mortal than its body, and if this idea is itself sufficiently powerful, large and force-giving and the people sufficiently strong, vital and plastic in mind and temperament to combine stability with a constant enlargement or new application of the power of the soul idea or life idea in its being, it may pass through many such cycles before it comes to a final exhaustion.

### Tradition.

The *Positivist Review*, for April, has a note on the value of tradition to active progress by the late Mr. Henry Crompton. Tradition is the subjective inheritance of memories, modes of action, customs and institutions; and traditions of the future will only differ from those of the past by reason of a better sifting, of having a more complete basis of reason and knowledge. Tradition is part of the collective or the social soul—as illustrated by the fact of fairplay being a tradition of the English. In practical life tradition means that influence from the past which comes to us involuntarily whether spontaneously by inborn prejudices or by social habits systematically adopted.

The moral sanction of the Future therefore, to which we must look for the justification or the condemnation of the various actions which constitute men's conduct, is threefold: firstly, Tradition; secondly, Reason; thirdly, Popular Assent and Co-operation. Together they form a complete and purely human authority. When each constituent is perfected, when they are harmonised and blended together, as they have been at times, then Humanity will have created the most powerful moral force, to guide and control the individual and society, that the world has yet seen. Hitherto generally there has been a want of harmony: some one of the constituents has conflicted with the other two, or has been wanting. Reason may have contradicted tradition. The popular assent may have been refused to the most convincing demonstration, or popular common sense may have rejected the tradition. I shall not stop to give examples which will occur to each of us. It is impossible to assign too much importance to any one of these three. There is no danger, in this age, of anyone underestimating the share reason has to play in the future, or the inevitable necessity of all conduct and government having to be in accord with public opinion. These are accepted truisms. It is not so clearly seen how important a part is left for the third element in the moral authority, namely tradition, the voice and judgment of past generations, wrought into forms, impressed upon us by signs and images, the powerful modes by which the collective forces of the past, operate upon life and action in the present.

The great moral rules that have come down to us from the past are the best examples of tradition. When in harmony with reason and resting on popular sympathy and conviction, tradition, form and ceremonious duty have their place in social life, they promote veneration for the past and a true understanding and use of the laws of continuity.

### England and America.

A writer in the April number of the *English Review* examines the logical outcome of unrestricted competition between England and America. America will become progressively more formidable as an exporting nation, while the indebtedness of Europe to America makes an increased output from Europe to America inevitable; and for this American goods must be exported as an offset. But, as Europe's credit is low, she cannot take very much of America's goods which must therefore be deflected in increasing quantities to the other markets of the world and come into competition with Great Britain.

It follows, therefore, that, viewed externally, the struggle between Great Britain and America would appear to be a contest between fairly evenly-matched antagonists. The weight of British experience is balanced by American freshness and enthusiasm—an enthusiasm absent in our population. America and Great Britain have not the field to themselves; Japan is an increasingly formidable antagonist in foreign markets, and has, in China, a country of untapped resources. Germany will come back into foreign markets with inevitable strides. The reorganisation of the Foreign Trade Control Board of the German Foreign Office is already well advanced.

In every country the cost of living is rising concurrently with increased production and increasing facility of production. Accumulating credit is constantly being employed in the industrialisation of countries hitherto mainly agricultural. Everywhere there is the double tendency of an inflated export trade and deflated home market.

In the immediate future there are necessary adjuncts to the unrestricted competition game between England and America. Great Britain must dominate Russia and the oil-bearing countries of Europe and America must have Mexico.

Financial and trading intrigues for the possession of spheres of exploitation will become increasingly bitter, until the strained bonds of international peace snap at some point—possibly in the Pacific, certainly in the East unless, of course, the breaking point comes first, at home, in the non-credit-owning classes.



## Mesopotamia—A Political Retrospect.

An article in the *Army Quarterly* (April, 21) while tracing the political and administrative problems which the successive phases of the British occupation of Mesopotamia called into being, says of the policy of the Proclamation of General Maude in 1916 that it was a charter of liberties big with importance and that it

contains a repudiation of any intention on the part of the British Government to impose "alien institutions," and emphasizes its desire to see the people of Baghdad flourish under institutions in consonance with "their racial ideal." Further, it commits the British Government "and the nations in alliance with them"—a term which can hardly be held to exclude our French Allies—to a pious hope "that the Arab race may rise once more to greatness and renown amongst the peoples of the earth." In short, it contains an intelligent anticipation, so far as Mesopotamia is concerned, of perhaps the most potent, for good or for ill, as it is certainly the most debated, of President Wilson's fourteen points—that which preclaims "self-determination of nationalities."

Sir Percy Cox kept up the reality of these professions and built up a very strong and efficient administrative system. The announcement of a Plebiscite policy in Mesopotamia was followed by unrest and active agitation fomented by ex-Turkish officials and others.

It is not in Baghdad and Mesopotamia alone that "self-determination of nationalities" gives rise to "excitement" and talk which seems "wild" in the ears of rulers and some leading citizens alike! Whether we regard it as a stimulant to enhanced national endeavour or as the virus of some spiritual disease, the assimilation of the idea of "self-determination" into the body politic of a people, whose past has been forcibly determined for it by an alien race, is bound to manifest itself in a quickening of the pulse and a rise of temperature not unlike the premonitory symptoms of a fever.

No modern physician dreams of curing fever by phlebotomy, and if in Mesopotamia a period of bloodshed followed hard on the track of "self-determination," the event cannot be attributed to a deliberate policy on the part of the British Government to repress the manifestation of Arab nationality. So far from that being the case, the sporadic risings which spread over the country in the summer of 1920, and had to be repressed by a vigorous use of force, materially delayed the settlement on national lines, which the British Government desired to effect.

## Parliament and the Indian Legislatures

Sir Thomas Bennett, M. P., writing in the *Asiatic Review* (April, 1921) tries to explain how the new Act of 1919 really leaves the power of ministerial appointments in the Indian Provinces in the hands of the Governors concerned, unconditionally. To some Members of the Commons the appointment of Harkishen Lal as Minister in the Punjab before Mr. Montagu could know of it, seemed as if all the rights of the House of Commons were suddenly being obliterated by a revolutionary Secretary of State. It is only by questions on matters of fact whether they fall within the functions of the Executive Councils or whether they relate to transferred subjects, that the House of Commons can build up the body of knowledge as to the progress of India in self-government which will enable it later on to judge whether the powers of its Legislatures and Ministers shall be enlarged. Questions must not be questions of the fussily inquisitorial order, nor must they be put with the obvious purpose of passing censure on a transferred subject for which the Minister is responsible to the Local Legislature. In this respect Parliament has to divest itself of a right of intervention corresponding with that which the Secretary of State has given up under the Act of 1919. The writer thus concludes:—

I do not see how any one who desires that the constitutional reforms scheme shall have a fair trial, and recognizes that it is an essential principle of that scheme that the Indian Legislatures shall, within the limits of their competence, deal freely and responsibly with the matters entrusted to them, can either question or reject the Speaker's ruling. The Indian Legislative Councils have had a definite and carefully measured trust reposed in them. The area to which that trust applies is sharply marked off from another area, in which the Executive Councillors exercise their authority in unquestioned responsibility to Parliament. It would be an unwise, and might be a harmful, thing to obliterate even at a single point a line of demarcation which Parliament has drawn advisedly and with a firm hand. The recent interpellations and the Speaker's ruling upon them will, I imagine, be studied with the keenest interest in India, where the ruling will be interpreted as an assurance that the Diarchy will be allowed by Parliament to work under conditions favourable to the free development of the self-governing side of the new Constitution.

### Professor Patrick Geddes.

Writing in appreciation of Professor Patrick Geddes, N. A. K. says in the February number of *Business* that he is typical of that genius whose reward consists more in the gratitude of posterity than in the intelligent homage of contemporaries, and that he is a man of enormous learning in many arts and sciences who has made his knowledge subserve a vast purpose for the education and uplift of his fellow-men. He was educated at the Universities of Sorbonne, Edinburgh and Montpellier. He taught subsequently at many centres of learning the subjects of Physiology, Zoology, Botany and Natural History. During the intervals of his work he has travelled extensively, visiting foreign universities, zoological stations and botanical gardens. He has carried out explorations in Mexico and done valuable service in India and America.

His literary output has included many valuable writings, notably *Evolution of Sex*, *Chapters in Modern Botany*, *City Development and Cities in Evolution*. Professor Geddes has been associated with many of the distinguished dead. He was an assistant of the great Huxley's, and, while still a young man, came in contact with Haeckel and Virchow who considered him one of the most brilliant naturalists in Europe. At Edinburgh he founded University Hall and Outlook Tower, and organised the University Summer Meeting which was the germ of the University meetings movement. He saved Grossbey Hall from extinction and established Chelsea University Hall. He was one of the founders of the Sociological Society and of the Eugenics Movement. He brought to the work of town-planning an inspiration drawn from Art, History and Science. He transformed Old Edinburgh, and planned gardens and parks that became the talk of the world. For India and its ancient culture, Professor Geddes has a special affection. During the course of his stay in this country he made many friends amongst Indians, and it is characteristic of the man that in Calcutta he lived for a time as the guest of a Hindu household. Mr. A. G. Gardiner says:—

"It is to bring the world out of its dusty pigeon-holes that Patrick Geddes comes like a Crusader with his Masque of Learning.....The Old City leaps to life again.....It becomes a promise of the future, a vision of the City Beautiful, with squalor banished, with learning and life no longer divorced, but going hand in hand to the complete triumph over the misery and confusion of things."

### Japan & the Present Political Thought.

Dr. Suchiro Tanaka, Professor of Keio University, writing in the *Asian Review* for February, says that the English and the Americans are now obsessed by the extreme militaristic spirit of Germany, and that democracy has not got the better of militarism. According to him the League of Nations has been organised for war, rather than for peace in recognition of the juxtaposition of the various states. A portion of the Japanese nation reposes implicit confidence in the Anglo-Japanese alliance; but the British attitude on the subject seems to have undergone a great change, judging by their policy. The British Laborites, he complains, show no sympathy towards Japan, while the Liberals show positive antipathy. It is only the Unionists who desire to co-operate with Japan, because they find it convenient to their policy to do so.

If we are to know why such a change has come in the public opinion of England, we must remember that England is no longer the England of yore. It is true that she is still strong enough to make her influence felt in Europe, but it has grown difficult for her to carry out her Imperialism by force. She may be able to pursue her Imperialistic policy toward her colonies and dominions, but she is no longer in a position to apply it to foreign countries. This is largely due to the ascendancy of the Liberals in England and also to the rise of the Laborites who are deady opposed to the prosecution of any Imperialistic policy. The day has already passed for England when she can lead European politics as she was able to do in the days of Cromwell and Pitt.

The Japanese should take a resolute stand and should safeguard their own nationality, both as against the foreign wars which would trouble them in the near future and as against the agitations for communism and republicanism which will come in the remote future.



### Tropics and the League of Nations.

Some Socialists support the League of Nations, others do not. The reason is that the League is so composite a thing. The rivalries and ambitions of European Governments to conquer territory and of their citizens to acquire land and capital in the parts of the world that are without fully independent governments are one group of facts that made the League of Nations a necessity. The result of the war, according to a writer in the *Socialist Review*, has been to leave the wealth of Asia and Africa in the control of three victorious empires, Britain, France and Japan. The rivals are fewer in number, but their rivalry is as keen as ever. The League of Nations is only a meeting place of these Governments, to argue, threaten, bargain and compromise. The chief bane is the dominance of the interests of private capital in the foreign policy of States.

There has however grown a reaction in several countries concerned, which is however variously related to changes of other origin. The demand is everywhere arising for an independence that would abolish the political control of Europe, threaten the security of European capitalists and that may well cut off from Europe the supply of products that are necessary to her prosperity.

With such a prospect in view, the rivalries of competing financial groups are seen to be foolish. Whether British or French or American capitalists out-manceuvre the others is of no importance to any but themselves. The politicians see what investors do not see, how precarious is the authority of both, how great is the danger of overthrow, both of their political and of their economic supremacy. None in our time can predict the issue of that greater conflict. If Europe were united, the enslavement of the countries of Asia and Africa would be easy. But there are too many uneasy consciences in Europe for that, so conquering nations dare not use their full strength. Rebellions are never followed by complete subjection as in former times. Caught between two minds Europe is afraid to follow either plan. The resulting mixture of oppression and elemency encourages constant rebellions as no other policy could. Their defeat is never final. The spread of education sows the seed of rebellion among new millions every year. Unrest is fast attaining the normal condition of dependent countries in the Tropics.

The League of Nations is a useless remedy in such a situation. The facts cry out for a constructive scheme, for a basis of unity among races. The terms of the Treaty of Versailles include provisions for the government of those parts of Africa and Asia that were once subject to Germany and Turkey, by which the mandatory powers were pledged to treat the wealth of those dependencies as their own property and to encourage the growth of self-governing institutions in them.

We all know how this Covenant has been given for execution into the hands of men who have no sympathy with its aims. Events in Syria and Mesopotamia prove what mockery these men have made of the solemn pledge to support native governments with real independence. Their plan is plainly first to subdue and cow the people and then to set up puppets of native birth supported by foreign bayonets, who will compel their unwilling subjects to produce wealth for their true masters, the lords of industry and finance.

### The Duke's Visit.

Respecting the Duke of Connaught's appeal, the *Challenge*, whose broad sympathies cannot be questioned, says :—" We know how bitterly the outrage has been resented by our Indian friends : we know how hard it is for them to trust our sincerity or to discriminate between those who still attempt to justify the O'Dwyer policy and those who feel the shame of it not less keenly than themselves. But we beg them to believe that the Duke spoke for England when he begged them to forget the past and to enter in a partnership with us into this beginning of *Swaraj*. Deeply as we respect the personality and the saintliness of Mr. Gandhi, we cannot but feel that this campaign can only lead to disaster and the destruction of fellowship ; he has declared that his policy should cease when Britain gave proof of her regret and asked India for pardon. The word has now been spoken : it comes from the heart. We pray that it may not have been spoken in vain."

### Lafcadio Hearn.

Mr. F. Hadland Davis, author of *Japan* and *The Myths and Legends of Japan*, writes in the *Japan Magazine* about Hearn, whose works are pre-eminent in the vast accumulation of books that have been recently written about Japan and who is so well-known for his rich poetic and sensitive style. But all the books of Hearn tell us little about his personality. What he did was to illuminate only the Japanese past. He did not hesitate to denounce the many Japanese innovations due to Western influence and his denunciation of the New Japan is, at the same time, a vigorous acclamation of the Old. He wanted Japan to stand still, to worship her old gods and remain faithful to her illustrious ancestors, to be always quaint and superstitious; and he managed to present, in his books, all that was beautiful, picturesque and lovable about Japan. He railed against the missionary *beasts*, against officialdom in silk hat and frock-coat and against young men with watches instead of hearts in them. When Hearn praised, he praised whole-heartedly.

Hearn claimed that mythology, history, romance, and especially poetry, enriched fancy. He went so far as to assert that astronomy, geology, and ethnology furnished him "with a wonderful and startling variety of images, symbols, and illustrations." Alive, on the emotional side, to the work of others, he believed that "when the soil of fancy is really well enriched with innumerable fallen leaves, the flowers of language grow spontaneously." The wonder is that this sensitive writer, who rushed from one shrine of praise to another, from Gautier to Kipling, and from Kipling to Herbert Spencer, should have been able to form an individual style of his own that is either the man himself, or his dream of the beautiful that came to him in the States, in the West Indies, and in Japan—that dream of poetic prose. He wrote: "Then I stopped thinking. For I saw my home—and the lights of its household gods—and my boy stretching out his hands to me—and all the simple charm and love of Old Japan. And the fairy-world seized my soul again, very softly and sweetly—as a child might a butterfly." That is our last impression of Lafcadio Hearn, for it was from such thoughts as these that he dreamed his dream, called up to a weary and cynical and hustling world the ghostly magic of the Land of the Gods.

### Indian Anthropological Investigation.

Mr. W. Crooke, C.I.E., contributes to *Man in India* a note suggesting certain lines of inquiry for the many Indian scholars who are interested in ethnological and anthropological studies and desire to be numbered among the contributors and supporters of this new journal which is to be edited by Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy. Mr. Crooke is of the opinion that scholars in Europe are in possession of more precise information regarding the native tribes of America, Africa and Australia than of the races of India; while early works like those of Ward and Abbe Dubois suffer from the natural prejudices of the writers and the works compiled under the orders of the various Local Governments are more aids to civil administration than works of anthropological research. Hence he advocates a patient and minute investigation of the special problems connected with religion and sociology.

I would, therefore, venture to suggest to Indian inquirers, in the first place, that they would do good service to science if they would compile full, comprehensive accounts of Hindu and Mussalman domestic ceremonies: birth, initiation, marriage, and death. For this purpose examples should be taken from the various ranks of Indian society, beginning with the higher groups who follow, more or less completely, the orthodox ritual, down to those in the very lowest grades. It must be remembered that such accounts cannot be too comprehensive and detailed, and they should include, with translations, the formulae, such as the Mantras, songs, and the like, which form part of the ritual. For the ancient ritual the celebrated essays of Mr. H. T. Colebrooke should be revised, extended, and brought up to date in the light of the knowledge which has been gained in the period of more than a century since they were written.



## Adult Education in India.

Mr. K. T. Paul, writing in *The Young Men of India* for May explains the magnitude and urgency of the problem of education in India which suffers because the term education is wholly equated in our minds exclusively with the school-room and the child. It is officially stated that 30 per cent of the children educated relapse into illiteracy within 5 years after their leaving school. An adult education movement must be developed in the country and there are certain established social facilities and organisations like the co-operation movement, the weekly village market, the theatre, etc., which would lend themselves effectively to such work.

The market lectures have been considerably developed in America. In India they have equally great potentialities.

The method of instruction is seldom by lectures. The lantern, the bioscope and concrete objects are used to an extraordinarily liberal extent. The aim is not to impart detailed instruction but to arrest attention, to stimulate curiosity, to leave behind a general impression. To many in the audience it may be a species of entertainment, but few indeed there can be who are not the wiser for the event.

The weekly market has the advantage of being a regular stated event which collects the whole countryside. A continuous course of instruction it should be possible to devise for them. Even if ten per cent of the crowd attend three consecutive classes the amount of instruction imparted would be considerable. We have, in the weekly market of India, an enormously greater advantage than what is available for the Chautauqua makers of America.

The great festivals of India are again an opportunity. Unlike the weekly market, the festival crowds vary greatly and they come from so many different parts and from such different conditions that it may be very difficult to arrange for suitable educational work. Still such gatherings are so numerous in India and bring together such large concourses of people, that a wise use of the bioscope and the theatre for a few carefully selected didactic purposes should be of undoubted value.

Above all the village-school itself should become a community centre. This idea has been worked out in the Report of the Village Education Commission.

The citizen should be fitted to enable his community to intelligently correspond with its political and economic environment in the world and educated to enjoy all his available opportunities in life.

Three parties need to co-operate if this "task of appalling difficulty and magnitude" is to be accomplished, and so the death of India prevented. They are the People, the Universities, and the State. Of these three, the first is the greatest, and the other two can succeed truly only in so far as they successfully work through the first.

## Economy in Public Life.

"Every intelligent citizen should procure the Fourth Report of the Committee of Public Accounts," says *Commonsense*. "It contains many examples of public waste besides some paragraphs of warning. Here is one:—

"It seems to us essential that the heads of departments should work together as a team in the pursuit of economy in every branch and every detail of the public service. The imperative necessity for securing economy in every department of public (as, indeed, of private) life, if national bankruptcy is to be avoided, is not yet sufficiently recognised.

"Nothing will accomplish it but a return to the almost forgotten tradition established by Mr. Gladstone, and carried on by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, under whom the financial policy of the state was "by saving numerous pence to spend effective pounds." Since their day there has increasingly grown up a feeling that small expenses do not matter."

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.  
THE IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA. By Mr. K. C. Mahindra, ["The Hindustan Review," April 1921.]

THE MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH. By Ferozud Din Murad, B.A., M.Sc. ["The Educational Review," March 1921.]

ECONOMICS OF TRANSPORT IN INDIA. By Kausik Nath Bhattacharya, M.A. ["The Business World," April 1921.]

### Mr. Fraser on the Changing India

I have very slowly come to the conclusion, writes Mr. Lovat Fraser in the *Daily Mail*, 'that, while in the past the basic attitude of the Government of India was right and justified, the time has come when it must be adjusted to a new standpoint.'

The only way to ensure the permanent continuance of India within the British Empire is to encourage the Government of India to identify themselves more exclusively with the interests of India and her peoples. Both the British and the Indian members of that Government must in future be, first and foremost, the outspoken champions and defenders of Indian interests. The British administrators must no longer lie under the suspicion, sometimes justified, that they think of Great Britain first and India afterwards.

They must take up a position analogous in spirit to that occupied by the Governments of the over-seas Commonwealths. Because Australia says "Australia first" and Canada says "Canada first," that does not lessen their attachment to the Crown, to the Imperial cause, and to each other. So it must be in India. The Government of India must be "the Government for India." Only by such a change of spirit can India be kept permanently within the Empire. That is the secret which the British have still to discover, and it is the whole secret.

### WHERE THE FAULT LIES

Remember that the fault does not lie with the British members of the Civil Services in India. They need no conversion. "The fault lies here, in this country." It lies in the Press, in Parliament, and in unwise public speeches. It is inherent in the obsolete conception that we hold India by the sword rather than by the willing acquiescence of her peoples. It finds expression in such demands as that now being made in Lancashire that the countervailing cotton excise duty, which

is morally indefensible, should be increased. It ought to be abolished forthwith.

The Viceroy who first grasped the great truth that he must champion Indian interests first was Lord Hardinge of Penhurst. When he went down to Madras and protested vigorously against the disabilities suffered by Indians in South Africa he touched a chord which never ceased to vibrate. Who in England knows of the affection in which Lord Hardinge was ever after held in India for that courageous act?

### WHAT LORD HARDINGE DID

The reforms instituted by Lord Minto and Lord Morley have been most unjustly slighted. They were the outcome of Lord Minto's tenacity of purpose and of Lord Morley's keen perceptions, and at the time they were entirely sufficient. Lord Hardinge guided India through the world-wide convulsions which followed the outbreak of the Great War, and even to-day our people do not know how great was his achievement.

No Viceroy of India need ever expect much thanks. The Viceroyalty is the hardest, the most anxious, and the loneliest post on earth, for men who try to fill it adequately. Its burdens are enough to crush all but the most resilient spirits.

It is so engrossing that no Viceroy ever gladly laid his burden down, and yet I believe no Viceroy, except perhaps Lord Lansdowne, who was specially fortunate, ever filled it without passing through periods of sorrow and anguish and tragic trial of which he never dreamed when he set sail.

Rightly undertaken, it purifies and ennobles. No man who has ever woke up daily to think that he is in supreme charge of three hundred millions of human beings can ever be quite the same again. It is both an uplifting and a chastening experience, and invariably it leaves marks on mind and heart which can never afterwards be effaced.



## Utterances of the Day

### Mr. Gandhi & the Suppressed Classes

Mr. Gandhi presided at the Suppressed Classes Conference held in Ahmedabad on the 13th and 14th April 1921. He said, in the course of his speech :

'I regard untouchability as the greatest blot on Hinduism. This idea was not brought home to me by my bitter experiences during the South African struggle. It is not due to the fact that I was once an agnostic. It is equally wrong to think, as some people do, that I have taken my views from my study of Christian religious literature. These views date as far back as the time when I was neither enamoured of, nor was acquainted with, the Bible or the followers of the Bible,

'I was hardly yet twelve when this idea had dawned on me. A scavenger named Uka, an untouchable, used to attend our house for cleaning latrines. Often I would ask my mother why it was wrong to touch him, why I was forbidden to touch him. If I accidentally touched Uka, I was asked to perform the ablutions, and though I naturally obeyed, it was not without smilingly protesting that untouchability was not sanctioned by religion, that it was impossible that it should be so. I was a very dutiful and obedient child and so far as it was consistent with respect for parents, I often had tussles with them on this matter. I told my mother that she was entirely wrong in considering physical contact with Uka as sinful.

'While at school I would often happen to touch the "untouchables," and as I never would conceal the fact from my parents, my mother would tell me that the shortest cut to purification after the unholy touch was to cancel touch by touching any Mussalman passing by. And simply out of reverence and regard for my mother I often did so, but never did so believing it to be a religious obligation. After some time we shifted to Porebandar, where I made my first acquaintance with Sanskrit. I was not yet put to an English school, and my brother and I were placed in charge of a Brahmin, who taught us *Ram Raksha* and *Vishnu Punjar*. The texts "*jale Vishnuh*" "*sthale Vishnuh*," there is the Lord (present) in water, there is the Lord (present) in earth, have never gone out of my memory. A motherly old dame used to live close by. Now it happened that I was very timid then and would conjure up ghosts and goblins whenever the lights went out, and it was dark. The old mother, to disabuse me of fears, suggested that I should mutter the *Ramaraksha* texts whenever I was afraid, and all evil spirits would fly away. This I did and, as I thought, with good effect. I could never believe then that there was any text in the *Ramaraksha* pointing to the contact of the 'untouchables' as a sin. I did not understand its meaning then, or understood it very imperfectly. But I was confident that *Ramaraksha*, which could destroy all fear of ghosts, could not be countenancing any such thing as fear of contact with the 'untouchables'.

'The *Ramayana* used to be regularly read in our family. A Brahmin called Latha Maharaja used to

read it. He was stricken with leprosy, and he was confident that a regular reading of the *Ramayana* would cure him of leprosy, and indeed, he was cured of it, 'How can the *Ramayana*,' thought to myself, in which one who is regarded now-a-days an untouchable took Rama across the Ganges in his boat, countenance the idea of any human beings being 'untouchables' on the ground that they were polluted souls?' The fact that we addressed God as the 'purifier of the polluted' and by similar appellations, shows that it is a sin to regard any one born in Hinduism as polluted or untouchable—that it is satanic to do so. I have hence been never tired of repeating that it is a great sin. I do not pretend that this thing had crystallised as a conviction in me at the age of twelve, but I do say that I did then regard untouchability as a sin. I narrate this story for the information of the Vaishnavas and Orthodox Hindus.

'I have always claimed to be a *Sanatani* Hindu. It is not that I am quite innocent of the scriptures. I am not a profound scholar of Sanskrit. I have read the *Vedas* and the *Upanishadas* only in translations. Naturally therefore mine is not a scholarly study of them. My knowledge of them is, in no way, profound, but I have studied them as I should do as a Hindu and I claim to have grasped their true spirit. By the time I had reached the age of 21, I had studied other religions also.

'There was a time when I was wavering between Hinduism and Christianity. When I recovered my balance of mind, I felt that to me salvation was possible only through the Hindu religion and my faith in Hinduism grew deeper and more enlightened.

'But even then I believed that untouchability was no part of Hinduism; and, that, if it was such, Hinduism was not for me.

'True, Hinduism does not regard untouchability as a sin. I do not want to enter into any controversy regarding the interpretation of the *Shastras*. It might be difficult for me to establish my point by quoting authorities from the *Bhagwat* or *Manu Smriti*. But I claim to have understood the spirit of Hinduism. Hinduism has sinned in giving sanction to untouchability. It has degraded us, made us the pariahs of the Empire. Even the Mussalmans caught the sinful contagion from us and in South Africa, in East Africa and in Canada the Mussalmans, no less than Hindus, came to be regarded as pariahs. All this evil has resulted from the sin of untouchability.

### India and the League.

Lord Crewe, presiding at a lecture by Professor Hearn Shaw on the "Study of World History" at the Indian Students' Hostel in Bloomsbury, hoped that India would do her best to promote the League of Nations. It would, he said, be a splendid contribution if the East could set example to the West by holding on high the League's flag.

## The Hyderabad Administration.

H. E. H. the Nizam has issued two Firmans, the first of which deals with the separation of the judicial from executive functions and the second with the permanent relief measures in the districts. The first says :—

The question of the separation of judicial and executive functions in the administration of my dominions has engaged my attention for some time. Having carefully examined the problem, I have decided to introduce this reform in the machinery of my Government, as I feel sure it will secure greater efficiency and thereby ensure a larger measure of happiness and contentment to my beloved subjects. In the scheme of separation it is my desire that my executive officers should be relieved of all judicial duties, save and except such as may have been provided for by the revenue laws of my dominions, or may, in some instances, be related under the criminal laws to emergent measures affecting the public tranquillity. My Sadr-i-Azam is authorised to carry out the separation of functions with as little delay as possible. The details are left to him for execution. If fresh legislation is necessary he will determine the extent to which it will be needed.

The other Firman says :—

Since the conclusion of my recent tour in the dominions I have reflected on the question as to how my visit to some of the more important centres can best be commemorated. After mature consideration I have decided that facilities ensuring comfort and convenience to my beloved subjects should be the basis on which action ought to be taken. The need for the supply of pure drinking water and other local wants have come under my personal observation during the tour and it is in these directions that I desire permanent relief should be secured. I therefore order that a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs be immediately set aside for such purposes. The amount is to be made up as follows :—My personal contribution Rs. 1 lakh, from the Dewani Rs 5 lakhs, from Local Fund Rs. 9 lakhs. My Sadr-i-Azam, in consultation with the finance Member of the Council, will take immediate steps to carry out my wishes and forthwith make the necessary allocations for such objects of public utility as he may, in his discretion, find most suitable, regard being had to local needs and requirements.

## Education in Mysore

The Government of Mysore have ordered that all candidates from the depressed classes for the Lower Secondary and School-leaving Certificate Examinations shall be exempted from paying examination fees for a period of three years.

## Maharaja of Jaipur's Adopted Heir.

The Maharaja of Jaipur, who has no lineal descendant, has adopted Kunjar Mour Mukat Singh, son of Thakur Sawai Singh, Rajawat of Isarda, as his son and successor to the Jaipur *gaddi*.

Kunjar Mour Mukat Singh, who is ten years old, has been renamed Maharaj Kumar Man Singh and satisfaction is expressed that His Highness has selected for adoption as his heir a boy from among the Rajawat families of Jaipur.

For some time past there have been rejoicings in Jaipur State in celebration of the adoption ceremony.

## A Maharaja on Civil Marriage Bill.

Under the Presidency of the Maharaja of Dharbanga; there was a large gathering especially of Marwaris at a meeting held recently in Calcutta. The first resolution in the agenda was with regard to the Civil Marriage Bill recently introduced by Dr. Gour in the Legislative Council. The meeting expressed its emphatic protest and recorded it as a violation of the purity of the Hindu religion and of social customs. It was urged that no Council has any right to interfere with the social fabric of any community. The *Sastras* alone are the greatest authority in these matters but are sadly ignored and polluted by the Bill.

## The Maharaja of Burdwan on Students.

Distributing prizes at the Burdwan Raj College last month the Maharajahadhiraja of Burdwan justified his action in closing the College during the recent students' strike, saying that he had never allowed students to go as they liked as regards joining political movements and remaining in College; that would be an intolerable position for any educational institution, and he used the only weapon he had, to show his disapproval, namely, closing the College. The Maharaja said that he would gladly support a National College conducted on proper lines and affiliated to the Calcutta University.



## Indians Outside India

### A Message from Keniya.

A message from Mr. Jivanji, dated Nairobi, May 7, states that, at a round table conference every effort was made to arrive at an agreement.

On the franchise question, our demand was for equal communal representation. We offered even the English education test; offered five seats which we regard insufficient to represent Indian interests. On the segregation question it was agreed that there be no commercial segregation. Europeans admit that residential segregation is based, not on racial or sanitary, but on social considerations. Professor Simpson's theory is consequently repudiated by both Europeans and local medical men. Segregation exists nowhere else in the world; its introduction is productive of everlasting race-hatred, bitterness and economic loss. There is no evidence that the absence of segregation disturbed social convenience. On the land question Europeans claim the highlands as their preserve, but, in the past, both the highlands and lowlands have been given mostly to Europeans. Consequently Indians should be allowed facilities to acquire highlands and lowlands by free transfer and the Governor's veto should be abolished. Keniya is not the only country for Europeans. There are vast areas in Canada, Australia, South Africa and elsewhere from which Indians are virtually excluded. Indians, therefore, claim special facilities in Keniya, Uganda and Tanganyika. Of that land offered to us a vast portion is valueless. A vast number of Indian soldiers fought for the defence of these territories, creating a paramount claim to the land for Indians. More and better land should be made available. We strongly urge immediate representations to influence the discussion now proceeding in London.

### Indians in Fiji.

Replying to Major Ormsby-Gore in the House of Commons with regard to the recent reports of the strike among Indians at Suva, Fiji Islands, the Hon'ble Edward Wood said that on the north-west coast of the main island there had been a strike of the labourers of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company for increased wages. It had been necessary for the Colonial Government to send additional police into the district to deport the Sadhu and Bishist Muni, who were endeavouring to incite Indians against Fijians. There was no disorder.

### Indian Products in Canada.

An exhibition of produce and manufactures of India is being organised at Montreal in connection with which His Majesty's Trade Commissioner in Canada has offered the use of sample rooms and other facilities. Exhibits from India are being collected by the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and will be shipped to Montreal in June. Jute goods, Leather, Tanning materials, Vegetable Oils, Indigo Paste, Rugs and Carpets, chicken work and embroideries will be among the principal exhibits.

### The Returned Immigrants

Several hundreds of Indian settlers in Fiji, Guiana and Trinidad have come away to this country, smarting under the harsh and invidious treatment of which they were the victims in the inhospitable colonies. They worked there as labourers, domestic servants, mechanics, shopkeepers and cultivators. An organised attempt should be made, says the *Bengalee*, to set them up here in business or other occupations suited to their capacities. There will soon be a great demand for working men in the mills, factories and workshops that will soon come into existence. In the meantime, the duty devolves on us to see that these returned immigrants are not left stranded in default of useful avocations.

## Industry, Homes and Architecture.

In the course of an article in the *Journal of the American Institute of Architecture* on the subject of the control of land in relation to industry, homes and architecture, Mr. Thomas Adams says that, as land is the source from which we derive all necessities of life; as, under modern conditions, the production of raw materials from the land is only a half or less than half of the industry of a country, and, yet, owing to the development of the manufacturing machinery and the consequent creation of the city, it has become difficult to follow the connection between the land and the various graduations of production, manufacture and distribution. But it is upon a proper regulation of these processes, upon which the land is planned, developed and controlled that the health and spirit of the workers and their homes and surroundings depend. It should, therefore, be the objective of progressive communities to control land for use as an instrument of production. For land development is the root of the tree of structural development. "We must begin on town planning with the cultivation of the root and a great deal of our artificial treatment of the subsequent growth will be unnecessary." A scientific production is needed for the land development and town-planning. What is wanted for this purpose is "growth of knowledge beyond imaginable utilitarian ends which is the condition precedent of its practical utility." In building a new city or replanning the building of an existing city we must have regard to the principles that constitute the proper use of land for health, order and amenity. It is these principles and not the so-called principle of expediency that should guide us in the practice and policy of city-planning. These principles are sound from the point of view of practicability, ethics and of nature—and nature is a tyrant whose law we cannot dispose with impunity. He therefore urges

that city and town-planning should be commenced only after a scientific investigation, among other things, considerations such as the relation between industry, dwellings and transportation, the best economic uses of land in given localities, and housing, comprising sanitation, convenience for places of employment and amenity. In order to achieve this object it is not enough to set up mere planning commissions but it is necessary, by state legislation, to give adequate power to local councils, to enforce any scheme effectively, and to do all things necessary *according to modern standards*, for health, safety, and injury to private rights.

The architect also has a duty to perform in this respect. The real foundation of his structure is not the piece of land on which he builds, but the general system of laying out the land for industries or homes. His share of responsibility for laying a safer and more scientific foundation for the development of industry and homes depends, with him as with all, on the knowledge that is power.

## Imperial Preference.

It is probable, says a *Statesman* cable that an English economic expert will be included in the Indian Fiscal Commission, which, in response to the suggestion of a Select Committee of the Indian Legislature, will, next winter, consider India's attitude towards Imperial Preference.

## Mr. Montagu on Indian Trade Unions

Mr. Chaman Lal, Secretary of the Trade Union Congress, sends the following telegram from Murree: Cable received by me from the Workers' Welfare League, London, stating the Joint Deputation of British Workers and the League representatives saw Mr. Montagu and obtained a satisfactory reply regarding protection of Indian Trade Unionists and Unions against legal action as in the recent Madras case.



## Agricultural Section

### Agriculture in Bengal

With a view to marking out a comprehensive line of work for the Departments of Agriculture, Industries and Co operative Societies, a conference of the chief officials of those departments and divisional Commissioners was convened at the instance of the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, Minister in charge of Agriculture and Public Works. It was agreed to make an agricultural survey of districts with a qualified officer in charge of each important crop. The Minister said that, in view of the national demand for cotton cultivation and the revival of the spinning wheel as a home industry, every officer of the department should try to give all assistance in his power to the improvement of cotton cultivation. In his view the question of commercial competition did not arise.

As a subsidiary means of livelihood, cotton spinning was an occupation of great value. He also made a number of suggestions for the improvement of cattle and the establishment of dairy farms. He further suggested the use of manures of indigenous origin as far as possible in preference to imported manures. He urged the establishment of factories or industries in the mofussil and said that the Government should establish pioneer factories, grant industrial loans, supply machines on the hire purchase system, arrange with firms for the apprenticeship of Government nominated students and offer money prizes for new industries.

### Cleanliness in Milking

To keep the bacterial contents of the air of byres in which cows are milked low, the byres must be kept very clean, dust and dust-forming litter avoided, and dust well laid by watering. As the hair of cow is laden with bacteria, all loose hairs must be removed from the cows by currying so that they shall not fall into the milk. Between this operation and milking sufficient time should elapse for the bacteria and dust to

settle on the floor. The cow's udders must be carefully washed with warm water and a clean cloth before milking. Wiping the udders with a clean, wet cloth greatly decreases the bacterial contamination of milk. In distributing ground food and hay, care should be taken to raise as little dust as possible.

Experiments made at the Agricultural Station of Geneva, New York State, show that the greatest improvements in the construction and keeping of the byres has but little influence on the bacterial contamination of milk and that the most efficacious means of preventing such contamination are :—removal of bits of skin, hair, and other foreign matter during milking, cleanliness during milking and the use of narrow-mouthed vessels ; careful sterilisation of all instruments coming in contact with the milk, and protecting these instruments from contamination during the interval between sterilisation and their use.

### Charms against Insects

Some odd methods of "controlling" insect pests in South India are described by Mr. T. V. Ramakrishna Iyer in the *Agricultural Journal*. In most villages, he says, many of the farmers, believing as they do in supernatural causes of insect outbreaks, naturally do nothing ; others resort to cures such as charms, *mantras*, magic, and so on.

"I came across a professional pest driver who reluctantly wrote me out a Sanskrit couplet, which, he told me in confidence, was very effective in checking pests. The verse is to the effect that all sorts of pests can be driven by means of a talisman prepared and fixed by an individual born of a particular *gotra* or sect among *dwijas* or the twice-born. The procedure consisted in this man preparing three small slips containing the verse written down and having these buried at the three corners of an infested plot on a Sunday morning. It is believed that the pest clears out through the fourth corner of the plot."

# NOTICES OF BOOKS

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SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.

**Glimpses of Bengal:**—Selected from the letters of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, 1885 to 1895. Macmillan & Co, London.

This is a delightful volume made up of excerpts from various letters written by the Poet during the exuberant leisure of his youth when he was between 25 and 35 years old. The theme of the letters is his well-known study and contemplation of nature in all her moods as they unfolded themselves before the poet's vision in the rural plains of Bengal. Most of the letters have been written during journeys in a house-boat on a river, and the exquisite fancies of the poet depicting village and woodland scenes find apt and melodious expression in the unrivalled language which has become familiar to us in the published translations of his works. Glimpses of the great message that was to be given forth to the world in the fulness of time, once again establishing the claim of this ancient land of the Rishis to pre-eminence in the realm of the spirit, are in evidence everywhere in the few mellifluous pages before us, and well may the Poet say in his preface—"it had been rightly conjectured that they (the letters) would delight me by bringing to my mind the memory of days, when, under the shelter of obscurity, I enjoyed the greatest freedom my life has ever-known."

**Three Story Books.** Blackie & Son, Limited, Madras.

We have received from Messrs. Blackie's, three handsome story books for boys and girls: "Tales of Indian Chivalry" and "The Last of the Peshwas" by Michael Macmillan and "Indian Tales of the Great Ones" by Cornilia Sorabji. School children will find themselves on more familiar grounds in these tales of Indian history and tradition than in the exotic and altogether alien stories of Greek, Roman and Saxon legends. We have also received a copy of "Blackie's Compact Etymological Dictionary" which is at once cheap and handy and well within the reach of all boys.

**Songs of War and Patriotism.** By R. Knight Hallows, Longmans Green & Co., Ltd, London.

This is a collection of patriotic songs for English readers. It opens with a foreword from the pen of Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor of Bengal, and the proceeds of the book, we are told, will be devoted to Lady Carmichael's War Fund.

**Sukhadhara Bodini** (in Tamil,) by K. A. Ganapathy Iyer, Superintendent, L & M. Secretariat, Fort Saint George.

This is a little handbook of Hygiene in Tamil, designed for the use of boys and girls. The author has endeavoured to prescribe such preventive medicine and measures as are not alien to the habits and conditions of the people concerned. He teaches in a very simple fashion the elements of modern hygienic requirements. This pamphlet is dedicated to Sir Sivaswami Iyer.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

**THE WRECK.** By Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

**GANDHI VS. LENIN.** By S. A. Dange: Liberty Literature Co., Bombay.

**INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.** By M. B. L. Bhargava, B.A., Ganeshganj, Lucknow.

**SOUTH INDIAN FESTIVITIES.** With illustrations of South Indian Temples and Gods. By P. V. Jagadisa Iyer. Higginbothams Ltd., Madras.

**RECORDS OF THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.** Vol. LI, Part 3, Vol. XL, Part 3, & Vol. XLIV, Part I 1921:—Geological Survey of India, Calcutta.

**INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION.** Proceedings of meetings, Vol. II. Superintendent Government Printing, India, Calcutta.

**SOME IMPRESSIONS ABOUT SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND HIS WORKS.** By T. S. Ganesa Iyer, M.A., L.T., M.R.A.S. L. S. Natesan & Bros., Mylapore, Madras.



## Diary of the Month

March 29. The Viceroy prorogued the first session of both the Houses of Imperial Legislature.

March 30. The Thirteenth Annual Exhibition of the Bombay Arts Society opened to-day.

March 31. The Austrian ex-Emperor Karl arrived in Hungary.

April 1. Lord Reading arrived in Bombay.

April 2. Lord Chelmsford left India

April 3. The Bombay Municipality, presented an address to Lord Reading.

April 4. Sallendra Shekhar Sen and two others were prosecuted for alleged rescue of a prisoner.

April 5. The Madras Presidency Muslim Volunteers, Conference was held at Erode.

April 6. H. E. the Viceroy received a deputation from the All-India Vakils' Conference.

April 7. The All-India Khilafat Conference met to-day at Meerut.

April 8. A strike of the Triple Alliance in England has been decided upon.

April 9. The Reforms Provincial Conference met at Calcutta.

April 10. Dr. Snn Yat Sun was elected President of the Chinese Republic.

April 11. The death is announced to-day of the Ex Kaiserin.

April 12. The Hon'ble Justice Sir Alfred T. Lawrence has been appointed Lord Chief Justice in succession to Lord Reading.

April 13. Mr. Knox introduced the peace resolution in the U. S. Senate.

April 14. Farewell dinner to Hon. Mr. Sastry at Poona.

April 15. The British general strike for to-day has been cancelled.

April 16. Mr. Hugh Mepherston, C. S. I., has been appointed temporary Member of the Executive Council of Bihar and Orissa.

April 17. Mr. Jinnah has resigned the chairmanship of the Board of the *Bombay Chronicle*.

April 18. Col. K. Wigram and Lieut. Muspratt have been selected for the Imperial Conference to represent the Army in India.

April 19. Mr. Syed Hassan Imam arrived in Bombay.

April 20. Lord Chelmsford arrived in London.

April 21. The Bengal Legislative Council voted the supplementary Police Grant.

April 22. It is announced that H. H. the Aga Khan will lead the new political party, the Indian Progressive Federation.

April 23. Indian Seamen's Conference was held at Kidderpore, Mr. C. R. Das presiding.

April 24. The German Government to-day despatched a note to America containing new reparation proposals.

April 25. Mr. Lowther has resigned the speakership of the House of Commons.

April 26. A serious riot broke out at Malegaon in Nasik district.

April 27. H. E. the Viceroy has called for records of cases of martial law prisoners undergoing sentences.

April 28. A Communique on Repressive Laws Committee is published.

April 29. Swami Satyananda was sentenced to 18 months R. I. under section 124 (A).

April 30. The Duke of Connaught was welcomed by Their Majesties the King and Queen.

May 1. U. S. A. Senate has adopted by 49 votes to 23 the Knox peace resolution.

May 2. Mr. Rahimtulla Currimbhoy Ibrahim of Bombay, Member of the Legislative Assembly, died this morning at Bombay.

May 3. Rt. Hon. Syed Amir Ali and Dr. A. Suhrawardy have been appointed Muhammedan representatives of the Calcutta University to the forthcoming Universities Congress.

May 4. The laying of the Madras—Singapore cable has been completed.

May 5. The celebration of the Napoleon Centenary opened to day in France.

## Literary

### Publicity Committee.

Invitations to serve upon the Committee appointed to advise the Government of India on matters connected with publicity have been addressed to the following gentlemen :

*Non-officials:* Mr. Sachidananda Sinha, Sir Sivaswami Iyer, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Munshi Iswar Saran, Babu K. C. Neogy, Rao Bahadur T. Rangachariar, Mr. K. C. Roy, Mr. A. H. Kingston and Mr. E. Howard.

*Officials:* Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Fazli Husain, Minister for Education, Government of the Punjab, and Prof. L. F. Rushbrook Williams, Director, Central Bureau of Information.

Representatives will also attend from the Foreign and Political Department, Education Department, and the General Staff. The Hon. Sir William Vincent, Home Member, will act as the Chairman, and Mr. R. S. Bajpai, Barrister-at-Law, as Secretary.

### The New "Nation"

The union of the *Nation* and the *Athenæum* is an interesting partnership, says the *Challenge*. The *Athenæum*, during its long and honourable career, has consistently maintained a high level of excellence, especially in literary criticism and reviewing. The *Nation*, under Mr. Massingham, has made itself remarkable for its fearless advocacy of radical reform. The characteristics of both are being preserved in the new joint publication, which will be widely read by those who desire to look forward and are not afraid of unconventional and vigorous Journalism.

### Bolshevik Literature.

It is understood that the Government has sanctioned for a further period of one year the employment of two Inspectors of Police in furtherance of the scheme to deal with the danger of the inroads of Bolshevik emissaries and literature in Bengal.

### What Authors Earn.

The earnings of the average novelist would stagger the average man who gets his wage in a packet on Fridays, says the *Book Post*. One novel, published two years ago, received notices of not less than six inches in twelve of our most important newspapers. Up to date this work has brought its author £5.

### Germany after the War.

Mr. Frederick Harrison in a letter to *The Times* says :—

Would that Dr. Simons and his learned colleagues could hammer into the German mind the truth expressed in the famous lines of Claudian :—

Nulla est victoria major.

Queen guae confessos animo quoque subjugat hostes.

Only a real victory makes the defeated feel they are beaten. This is from *De sexto consulatu Honorii*, 248. The whole passage (229-260) and the occasion of it are full of warning to us. After the defeat of Alaric by Stilicho in the bloody battle of Pollentia, Claudian, in the very next year (A. D. 424) celebrated his patron's premature triumph and the stubborn spirit of the Goth :—

Mon tamen ingenium tantis se cladibus atrox Dejecit.

No, indeed ! It was only six years before Alaric stormed and sacked Rome ! (Gibbon, ch. xxxi.) The Gothic hero never accepted defeat, however much the last of the Roman poets crowed over his previous failure.

I happened to see the lines in turning over my Montaigne (Bk. I, ch. xxx.) ; but as usual, he quotes from memory incorrectly, " Victoria nulla est," which makes the passage even stronger for our warning. Why does not some one collect and group in a volume all the numberless quotations of Montaigne ? They cover the world as known in 1580, and they explain the omniscience of Shakespeare.



## Educational

### The New Spirit in Education

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar presiding over the recent Provincial Educational Conference at Palghat said, in the course of his address :—

The increasing expensiveness of education, the startling increase of unemployment amongst the educated section of the community, the success of an ill-educated or illiterate man in making a fortune or a competency merely by his enterprise, and the great



S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

political and economic up-heavals of recent years have undermined the prestige of accepted educational canons and have unsettled our faith in the values of many Western ideals and methods. The most important of the signs of the new spirit is that, in a province like Madras, where the greatest stress was once laid upon English and where it was cultivated with assiduous zeal, the desire to revert to the mother-tongues has become deep and widespread, and will, within a few years, become an unconquerable passion. Putting aside those who are fanatically against English and those who are fanatically against vernaculars, there can be little doubt that the vast majority of the educated community as well as the masses, while they realise that a working knowledge

of English is a necessity, are markedly and wholesomely biased in favour of the vernaculars. Again, the tendency to sit at the feet of European teachers, which was once so pronounced, is rapidly giving place to a desire to be disciplined and educated by Indian teachers. Then again, Indian subjects and Indian aspects of subjects of international importance attract far more attention than they formerly did. Above all, there is the universal desire that a type of education should be devised which would make Indians more practical and scientific, more united and national, which, while not attempting to assimilate Indians to Englishmen, would make them equals of Englishmen for all necessary purposes and as efficient and prosperous as the latter and which, while not disdaining the great and splendid English literature, will produce a great renaissance of indigenous culture and art, and of adventure and power.

### The Importance of English

Mr. Gandhi writes in a recent issue of *Young India* :—

Rammohan Rai would have been a greater reformer, and Lokmanya Tilak would have been a greater scholar, if they had not to start with the handicap of having to think in English and transmit their thoughts chiefly in English. Their effect on their own people, marvellous as it was, would have been greater if they had been brought up under a less unnatural system. No doubt they both gained from their knowledge of the rich treasures of English literature. But these should have been accessible to them through their own vernaculars. . . . . I refuse to believe that the Raja and the Lokmanya could not have thought the thoughts they did without a knowledge of the English language. Of all the superstitions that affect India, none is so great as that a knowledge of the English language is necessary for imbibing ideas of liberty, and developing accuracy of thought.

### University at Agra

At the annual meeting of the Trustees of the Agra College the following resolution moved by Pandit R. Jnath Kunzru was unanimously adopted :—

“ That to meet the growing needs of education, the Trustees of the Agra College request Government to be pleased to establish a Teaching and Residential University at Agra at an early date,

## Legal

### Lord Sinha on the Press Act.

The Secretary, Servants of India Society, has received the following letter from His Excellency Lord Sinha of Raipur dated the 12th April.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 7th April, with enclosures reminding me that your letter, dated the 3rd February last addressed to my Private Secretary, still remained unanswered. For this delay I sincerely apologise and can only plead in excuse that pressure of work in the beginning of my official position put your letter out of my mind for the time being.



H. E. LORD SINHA.

I am, indeed, sorry that the somewhat inadequate report of the few words I addressed to my friends of the National Liberal League at Bombay early in December last should have created or, in any way, added to any false impression in the public mind regarding Mr. Gokhale's action in connection with the Press Act of 1910. I should have thought that Mr. Gokhale's unblemished record of unequalled services to our country would of itself have been sufficient to prevent such erroneous ideas, and I would have hesitated to say anything in connection with the part I took in the passing of that measure but for the following facts: (1) That as the late Lord Minto after his return to England, publicly referred to

my offered resignation and subsequent withdrawal, it is no longer an official secret, (2) the persistent misrepresentation made in certain quarters in India from time to time that I was the author of the Press Act of 1910, and (3) your request for a statement to remove such erroneous impression as to Mr. Gokhale's share in that Act as appears from the newspapers articles you have been good enough to send me.

The Press Bill as originally drafted had no provision for appeal to the courts under any circumstances and as I could not, in the first instance, persuade my colleagues in the Executive Council to agree to the insertion of such a provision, I decided to resign my position as Law Member. It was at this stage that Mr. Gokhale intervened and strongly urged me to make one more attempt to persuade the Viceroy and other Members of his Council to reconsider the question of such provision and in so doing used words to the effect I mentioned to my friends in Bombay. Certain other events also happened at this time—to which I do not think it necessary to refer—and it was under the advice of Mr. Gokhale and Sir L. Jenkins, then Chief Justice of Calcutta, that I withdrew my resignation; and the Viceroy and other Members of Council agreed to the introduction of the clause which provided for an appeal to the High Court.

It is incorrect to say that that clause was introduced in England by the then Secretary of State, as will be apparent from the following passage in Lord Morley's Recollections, Vol. II page 329:—“Neither I nor my Council would have sanctioned it, if there had been no appeal in some due form to a court of law and you tell me that you would have had sharp difficulties in your own Council.” The latter part of the sentence obviously refers to the incident I have narrated above. You are at liberty to publish this reply in connection with your letters addressed to me.



## Medical

### I. M. S. Officers.

Replying to Major Glyn, in the House of Commons, Mr. Montagu said that he was advised that officers of the Indian Medical Service were not entitled to appeal under Section 42 of the Army Act, but were entitled to appeal to the Governor-General under Section 180 (2) 101 of the Act. If they were dissatisfied with his orders, they might then appeal to the Secretary of State for India, and through him to H. M. the King.

### Doctors and Smallpox.

Mr. W. Mc C. Wankleyn, delivering the last of his three Emeritus lectures to students of the Middlesex Hospital Medical School, took, for his topic, the eradication of smallpox, of which disease he has made prolonged and close study. Their ambition as medical men must be said to secure the maximum of efficiency for the unfit in which they worked by reducing smallpox to zero. There was some difficulty in the study of cases because patients were isolated so quickly, and smallpox hospitals were few, but he showed a number of remarkable photographs and stereoscopic slides of the characteristic features of the disease in its several stages the study of which, with explanations, would give in a few hour's help which would be very valuable in practice.

### A Freak of Anatomy

An extraordinary freak of anatomy, said to be the first of its kind ever known, has been brought to the notice of the Academy of Medicine, Paris. A young woman has a complete extra set of teeth, perfectly formed, in the socket of an eye. They are so placed that they are gradually forcing the eye out and threatening to destroy the eyeball.

### Reading Books in Bed.

"Reading in bed—a bad, vicious habit!" exclaimed Lieut.-Colonel Robert H. Elliot, M.D., the eye specialist, in the course of his lecture on "The Eyes in Health," at the Institute of Hygiene.

"It is the position which does the mischief," he said. "If it is done in a sitting posture, looking down at the print, and with the aid of a good light, there is no reason why reading in bed should be any more harmful than reading at a desk.

"But why is it a bad habit to read in bed with the eyes looking up at the book and the printed page half in the dark?" asked Colonel Elliot. "The explanation takes one back to the time, long ages ago, when the ancestor of man and the higher apes first developed the use of the opposing thumb. On that development hung the whole future of civilisation.

"The possession of a thumb which could be used in opposition to the fingers enabled the ape to pick up an object, to study it, to turn it round and look on the other side. This habit developed the brain, but the great point to be noted is that the objects thus studied were always held below the level of the eyes.

"And so it came about that, all through the ages, the muscles that depress the eyes have had a greater amount of work to do than those which raise the eyes, and therefore to-day we find the former are stronger than the latter. Downwards was the way the eyes had been trained to look for æons. Looking upwards, consequently, imposed a strain upon them, and that is why it was bad to read in bed.

"If we go to the National Gallery," said Col. Elliot, "and spend two or three hours looking up at the pictures, we come away with a headache. Many find the same effect after sitting in the stalls of a theatre or a cinema. The reason is that the eyes have been used in an unnatural position.

## Science

### A Motor Liner

A motor-passenger liner 590 feet in length, capable of carrying 1,500 passengers, 1,000 of whom will be steerage and the remainder 1st and 2nd class, with a speed of 18 knots, is under construction for the Swedish-American Line. The ship will have no funnel, and her total fuel consumption at full speed will be 50 tons of oil per day.

### Motor Cars that can Beat Aeroplanes

All world speed records are likely to be shattered by seven wonderful motor cars now undergoing their final tests. The flying seven compose the British team of Sunbeam, Talbot, and Talbot-Darracq motor cars entered for the French Grand Prix, this year's road race of the Le Mans circuit on July 25, the first big contest for motor-cars since the war. Speeds of over 150 miles an hour—a good deal greater than that of the average aeroplane—are looked for when the motor-cars undergo their turning on the Brooklands track.

### Weight of Star Dust

It has been estimated that daily from 10,000,000 to 20,000,000 of shooting stars are destroyed by our atmosphere, and, taking the average as 15,000,000, it is probable that our earth, revolving upon its orbit, destroys 5,250,000,000 of them yearly. Of course, each of these consumed shooting stars leaves behind it a small amount of dust, which settles gradually to the ground. Such an amount of star dust would add annually about 45,000 tons to our world's weight. However, even in a century this accumulation of dust would not amount to much, since it would take more than a billion years for the destroyed shooting stars to deposit a layer one inch in thickness upon our earth's surface.

### Professor C. V. Raman

Professor C. V. Raman, who has made his work as a physicist of no mean merit by research works in Physics, has been elected as a delegate of the Calcutta and Benares Hindu Universities to attend the forthcoming British Empire University Congress to be held at Oxford.

Professor Raman is deputed to visit all the important centres of scientific activity in the United Kingdom and he will also attend the forthcoming meeting of British Association of Physicists to be held at Edinburgh in September and is expected to be back in India in October.

Professor Raman has received several invitations from English Physicists to deliver a series of lectures upon his investigations in Physics.

### Machinery in Glass Manufacture

In an article on glassware in the Trade Supplement of the London *Times*, some interesting details are given of the rate of production now achieved by the machines that have been installed in the glass industry. The writer records that one of the machines in an eight-hour shift turned out 24,000 articles for illuminating purposes, all of them of perfect manufacture, and that only two boys and a mechanic were engaged. Under the old method 179 or 180 men and boys turned out 500,000 per week. To-day, tumblers can be turned out by machine at the rate of 30,000 per shift, whereas the best hand glassmaker could not make 500 in the same time.

### An Airplane with Shed

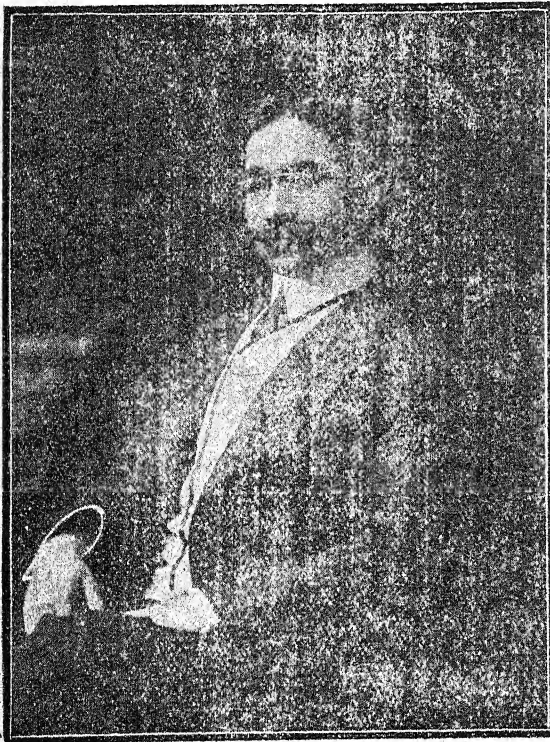
An Airplane that carries its own shed has recently appeared in the form of the new Sublatnig parasol limousine monoplane of European conception. This machine is provided with a folding tent which weighs about 75 pounds out of a total 2,200 pounds of useful load. When the planes are folded along the body the tent covering rests on the leading edges and the propeller tip, thus protecting the airplane against the elements,



## Personal

### Dr. Ansari's Return.

Dr. Ansari who returned from Europe on May 14 submitted a long report as Secretary of the Central Khilafat Committee regarding the work and various activities of the Khilafat representatives during their short stay in England and the Continent, which would soon be made public.



DR. ANSARI

Dr. Ansari has put the whole situation in the following words:—

Looking back on the work and experience of the Indian Muslim Commission, certain considerations and conclusions are inevitably forced on one's mind. The decision of Government to send a number of Indian Mussalmans to represent the Indian view at the London Peace Conference was a recognition on the part of Government, of the deep feelings in the country over the Khilafat and cognate questions. The hurried and secret manner of selections and the late hour at which members of the Commission were asked decreased their usefulness. They reached London

too late to influence the decisions of the Supreme Council which were already made before their arrival. The gravity of the situation in India is fully realised by the Secretary of State and also partially by the Premier. The Premier's views are influenced to an extent, that they are certainly, not as antagonistic as before, but this change is not sufficient to hope for the fulfilment of their demands in their entirety. Events, however, are taking place which would influence the decision ultimately in our favour. We must not only continue our work but redouble our efforts, for success would ultimately depend on our achievements in India. We must not however neglect to secure the world's opinion in our favour. The news sent abroad is misleading and always calculated to discredit all our movements. Ignorance of the public in England and Europe, about India is appalling. We must make suitable arrangements for sending correct news and for counteracting the influence working against us. We should make arrangements for sending a few front rank men to Europe in batches to be in touch with the workers and existing conditions there, as well as to work for our cause in connection with the Near-Eastern affairs. We should select immediately a batch of three influential persons, one at least to be a Hindu gentleman, to be ready to start to Europe directly for another Peace Conference which is sure to take place in a month or two."

### Mr. C. F. Andrews

*The Bombay Chronicle* announces that Mr. C. F. Andrews hopes to go up to the Kumaon Hills, Almora, as soon as his health permits and his duties at Shantiniketan allow him to be absent, in order to enquire personally into the people's grievances.

### The New President

Taking farewell of his neighbours prior to his departure for Washington, Mr. Harding, in a voice trembling with emotion, declared that he went to work confident that all would be well. "I believe in the security of the American Republic, I believe that 100 million Americans will be at the back of a right-minded executive. I have neither enmity nor jealousy in my heart and I know that in that I am like the great citizenship of America."

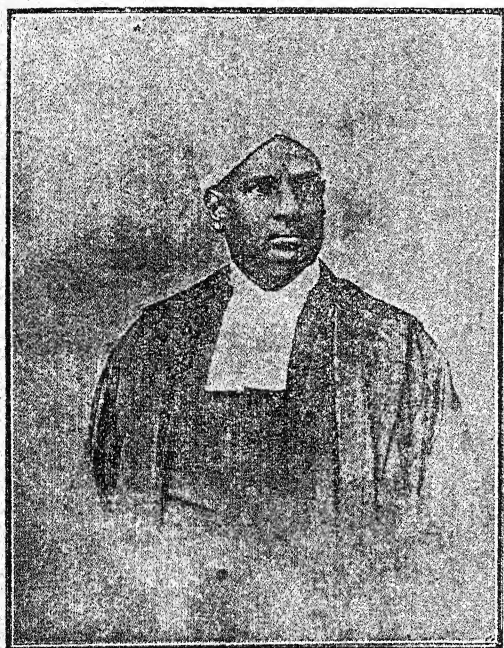
### Dr. Woodrow Wilson

When Mr. Wilson returned to his new home in Washington after his visit to the capital, a demonstration of several thousands cheered him and demanded a speech. Mr. Wilson bowed from the window, shook his head and withdrew choking with sobs.

## Political

### Sir Sivaswami Aiyar

An important committee will shortly assemble in Simla to confer on the military requirements of India with the object of preparing materials for the further examination of this question by a sub-committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence which meets in London later in the year.



Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar is the non-official Indian member selected to serve on it. We quite welcome the choice as Sir Sivaswami has bestowed considerable attention to the study of Indian military problems and has been a very discerning critic of the Report of the Esher Committee. We need hardly remind our readers of Sir Sivaswami Aiyar's excellent work in connection with the committee appointed by the Legislative Assembly to consider the Esher Committee Recommendations.

### Sir Surendranath on Non-Co-operation.

At the Rotary Club, Calcutta, on April 26, Sir Surendra Nath Bannerjee referred to the



Non-Co-operation movement and said :—I share Lord Chelmsford's optimism as to the future of India. Non-Co-operation is a dying creed. Every part of its programme has been unsuccessful. The Councils have not been boycotted. Our educational institutions have not been vacated except here and there. Arbitration Courts have not been constituted. There are more practising lawyers in our Courts than there is work for them. Its only achievement has been that it has created unrest and uneasiness. It has fostered rowdyism. It has weakened the bonds of discipline and of the regard for law and order. In its final stages Non-Co-operation has changed its tactics. It is now willing to join the local bodies and to co operate with them. If I may be permitted to indulge in predictions I will say this, that, when responsible Government has set to work in the development of constructive policy, it will have sounded the death-knell of Non Co-operation, and the darkening cloud, which now frowns upon our atmosphere, will have to disappear never more to rise again.



## General

### Mr. Gandhi on the Malegaon Incident

Writing in the *Young India* Mr. Gandhi deplores the misbehaviour of Non-Co-operators who took part in the fray in Malegaon. He writes :—

If the facts reported in the press are substantially correct, Malegaon Non-Co-operators have been false to their creed, their faith, and their country. They have put back the hands of the clock of progress. Non-violence is the rock on which the whole structure of Non-Co-operation is built. Take that away and every act of renunciation comes to naught, as artificial fruit is no more than a showy nothing. The murder of the men who were evidently doing their duty was, if the report is correct, deliberate. It was a cowardly attack. Certain men wilfully broke the law, and invited punishment.

There could be no justification for resentment of such imprisonment. Those who commit violence of the Malegaon type are the real Co-operators with the Government. The latter will gladly lose a few officers if thereby they could kill Non-Co-operation. A few more such murders and we shall forfeit the sympathy of the masses. I am convinced that the people will not tolerate violence on our part. They are by nature peaceful and they have welcomed Non-Co-operation because it is deliberately non-violent.

What must we do then? We must ceaselessly preach against violence alike in public and in private. We must not show any sympathy to the evil-doers. We must advise the men who have taken part in the murders to surrender themselves if they are at all repentant. The workers must be doubly careful in their talks. They must cease to talk of the evil of the Government and the officials, whether European or Indian. Bluster must give place to the work of building up put before the nation by the Congress. We must be patient if there is no response to the demand for men, money, and munitions. All police orders must be strictly obeyed. There should be no processions or hartals when known workers are prosecuted or imprisoned. If we welcome imprisonments of innocent men, as we must, we ought to cultivate innocence and congratulate ourselves when we are punished for holding opinions, or for doing things that we consider it our duty to do i.e., for spinning, or collecting funds, or getting names for the Congress register. There should be no civil disobedience. We have undertaken to stand the gravest provocation and remain non-violent. Let us be careful lest the hour of our triumph be, by our folly, the hour of our defeat and humiliation.

Reverting to the same subject in a subsequent issue of this paper Mr. Gandhi says :—

I observe that there is a tendency to minimise the guilt of the Non-Co-operators at Malegaon. No amount of provocation by the Sub-Inspector could possibly justify retaliation by the Non-Co-operators. I am not examining the case from the legal stand-

point. I am concerned only with the Non-Co-operator's. He is bound under his oath not to retaliate even under the gravest provocation.

But what should Non-Co-operators do in the event that any of its leaders are arrested? Should hartals and other demonstrations follow as a matter of course. Mr. Gandhi is explicit.

I would ask the public who are interested in the Khilafat or Swaraj, religiously to refrain from all demonstrations over the arrest or imprisonment of even their dearest leaders. I would hold it no honour to me for the public to proclaim a hartal or hold meetings if I was arrested or Maulana Shaukat Ali for that matter. I would welcome and expect in any such event a complete immediate boycott of all foreign cloth, a more energetic adoption of the spinning wheel, a more vigorous collection on behalf of the Tilak Swaraj Fund and a flooding of Congress offices for registration as members. I would certainly expect the emptying of Government schools and colleges and more suspensions of practice by lawyers. Killing officers and burning buildings will not only retard the advent of Swaraj and the righting of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, but are likely to lead to utter demoralisation of the nation. We must therefore scrupulously avoid all occasions which would excite the passions of the mob and lead them into undesirable or criminal conduct.

### Empire Universities Congress

The Right Hon. Syed Amir Ali and Dr. A. Suhrawardy, Barrister-at-Law, have been appointed Muhammadan representatives of the Calcutta



RT. HON. SYED AMIR ALI.

University to the forthcoming Congress of Universities of the Empire to be held at Oxford in July.

# THE INDIAN REVIEW

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## Hindu and Mahomedan Ideals in Architecture

BY

SIR VALENTINE CHIROL.

ONE of the most striking features of the present situation in India is the close association of a Hindu enthusiast who owes much of his apostolic influence over large masses of his fellow countrymen to his saintliness and austere simplicity of life with Mahomedan politicians not generally credited with the same virtues, in a raging and tearing propaganda of which the speedy attainment of Indian Swaraj is the declared purpose. I do not propose here to discuss the merits of the Swaraj movement as conceived by Mr Gandhi nor those of the Khilafat movement which the brothers Ali have induced him to endorse as its somewhat incongruous corollary. That they have at least temporarily produced a remarkable and, in some respects, unprecedented measure of "fraternisation" between certain sections of the Hindu and Mahomedan communities is as undeniable as the deep and bitter antagonism that still endures between them beneath the surface. Mahomedans have been allowed to penetrate into the inner sanctuary of Hindu Temples, and Hindus, welcomed into historic mosques, have preached Swaraj from the *Minbar* sacred to the glory and power of Islam. But significant as these emotional demonstrations of a common discontent may be, can they prevail against the evidence of the living stones of temple and mosque into which Hinduism and Islam have for centuries built their conflicting ideals of human faith?

In all countries, under all climes, amongst all races, architecture has been the supreme

interpreter of man's spiritual conceptions and India where religion has dominated, as no where else, his whole existence from the cradle to the grave and indeed far beyond the visible phenomena of birth and death, is no exception to the rule. The spirit of Hinduism, intensely introspective and speculative clothing its profound philosophies with an outer garment of exuberant and sensuous polytheism or pantheism lives in its temples, just as the spirit of Islam has embodied in its mosques the stern and simple monotheism of a religion essentially of action. For more than a thousand years now, Islam has imported into the far more ancient civilisation of India an aggressively alien element which at various periods has achieved undisputed temporal supremacy and has even acted as a powerful solvent on the social and religious life of Hinduism which in its turn steadily reacted upon the conquerors' habits of thought and life. But have the action and reaction of Islam and Hinduism ever bridged the broad gulf that separates them? Could that gulf be bridged, would they not have evolved some type of architecture connoting a fusion or even a tendency towards fusion between the two fundamentally antagonistic ideals that have confronted each other in mosque and temple through successive ages?

Once only during my many travels in India have I come across evidence in stone and marble of such an attempt, and by a curious coincidence, in that part of India with which the latest apostle of Hindu-Mahomedan "fraternisation" is most



closely connected, viz, at Ahmedabad which is still the second city of the Bombay Presidency and the chief city of the Gujerat country that claims Mr. Gandhi as its son. Gujerat was a stronghold of Hindu culture long before the Mahomedan invasions. Architecture especially had reached a very high standard there in the hands of what is usually known as the Jain school. This is a misnomer for the school was in reality the product of a period rather than of a sect, though Jainism probably never enjoyed anywhere or at any time such political ascendancy as in Gujerat under its Rashtrakuta and Solanki rule from the ninth to the thirteenth century and seldom has there been such an outburst of architectural activity as amongst the Jains of that period. To the present day, the Ahmedabad Salats or builders have in their keeping jealously locked away in iron bound chests in their temples many ancient treaties on civil and religious architecture of which only a few abstracts have been published in Gujerati and the great Jain temple of Hathi Singh built in the middle of the last century at a cost of over one million sterling shows them to have still preserved something of the ancient traditions of their craft.

Out of the chaos produced by Timur's cyclonic raid into India at the close of the fourteenth century, Mahomedan soldiers of fortune built up for themselves independent kingdoms and principalities and founded dynasties which each had their own brief moment of power and magnificence. They gave to India a Mahomedan *cinque cento* which, in many ways, recalls the contemporary *renaissance* in Italy. In all these new states which spread across middle India from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, Islam was the dominant power but even whilst trampling upon Hinduism it did not escape the inevitable consequences of increasing contact with an older and more refined civilisation. Amidst rapine and bloodshed and the constant clash of arms it was a

period of artistic splendour which as usual in the countries conquered by Islam, has survived chiefly in monuments of stone and marble and though Hinduism never triumphed for a time in Papal Rome the enduring and all pervading potency of its influence can be traced from capital to capital wherever these Mahomedan *podestas* established their seat of Government whether at Golconda or Gaur or Mandu or at Bijapur, or Bidar or above all, at Ahmedabad.

The Ahmed Shahi Sultans of Gujerat were if less, cultured, as magnificent in their way as the Medicis of Florence and like them they were bent on making the capital to which they gave their name worthy of the high adventure by which they had snatched a kingdom for themselves out of the devastating conflagration that Timur had kindled. The story of its foundation has a special attraction for Englishmen. For it was with no other than El Khizr whom Mahomedan tradition sometimes identifies with St. George the patron Saint of England that Sheikh Ahmed Khattu, surnamed Ganj Bakhsh, or the Treasure Giver, who was the spiritual adviser of Ahmed Shah, conferred as to the best site for the conqueror's new capital. El Khizr is said to have appeared in person to the Sultan and given his blessing to the scheme on condition that to stand sponsors to it four Ahmeds should be found who had never missed the afternoon prayer. It was a difficult condition, for of the five daily prayers prescribed by the Prophet the afternoon prayer is the one which all but the most pious are apt some times to shirk. However, as the Sultan himself, and of course his spiritual director, fulfilled the condition and two other Ahmeds were also ultimately discovered of equally faultless piety, the City was built and Ferishta tells us that in his day it was "the handsome" city in Hindustan and perhaps in the world.

Certainly very few Indian cities contain so many beautiful buildings as those with which Ahmedabad was endowed in the course of a few

decades by Sultan Ahmed Shah and his successors. No one can fail to admire the wealth of ornamentation and the exquisite workmanship lavished upon them, though they are not by any means the noblest or most characteristic monuments of Mahomedan architecture in India. Herein indeed lies their peculiar interest—they are Hindu rather than Mahomedan in spirit. For they were built by architects of the Jaina school who were just as ready to work for their Moslem rulers as in earlier times for their Hindu Rajahs. By the mere force of a civilisation in many ways superior to that of their conquerors, these builders imposed upon them even in the mosques which they built for them many of the most typical forms of Hindu architecture. To obtain for instance in a mosque the greater elevation required by Mahomedans to whom the dim mysterious twilight of a Hindu sanctuary is repugnant, they began by merely superimposing the shafts of two Hindu pillars, joining them together with flocks to connect the capital of the lower with the base of the upper shaft, and this feature in a less crude shape was permanently retained in the Indo-Mahomedan architecture of Gujerat. One can clearly follow all the various stages through which this adaptation of a purely Hindu style to Mahomedan purposes successively passed. It was at first rather violent and clumsy. The earliest mosque, that of Ahmed Shah himself, is practically a Hindu temple with a Mahomedan *façade* and the figures of idols and animals can still be traced on some of the pillars in the interior which had been collected from earlier Hindu shrines. The octagonal tomb of Ganj Baksh, the Sultan's spiritual preceptor, just outside the city at Sarkhit marks a further stride and the adjoining mosque of which all the pillars have the Hindu bracket capitals and all the domes are built on the Hindu model of concentric courses, gradually lessening in diameter, is nevertheless Mahomedan in feeling. Still more remarkable is the blend achieved

in the mosque and tomb of Ranee Sepree, the consort of Mahmud Bigarak, truly the *magnifico* of the Mahomedan dynasty of Gujerat. It was completed in 1514, just a hundred years after the foundation of the Ahmed Shahi dynasty, and it shows the distance that had been travelled in the course of one century towards the approximations of form at least between Hindu and Mahomedan architecture. But the Ahmed Shahi dynasty perished, and with it an attempt which had in reality never gone beyond a reconciliation of outward forms:

The spirit of the two still remained far apart. For Hinduism which loves mystery and imagery and a tropical flora of riotous details shrinks from the Islamic simplicity of the arched dome, and ingenious as the Hindu cupola may be with its concentric mouldings, the overlapping circular courses raised on an octagonal architrave which rests on symmetrical groups of pillars cannot attain to the same breadth of span or the same loftiness of elevation. Herein may perhaps be seen a symbol of the fundamental antagonism between Hindu and Mahomedan conceptions in many other domains than that of architecture. Even if the Arabs did not originate the pointed arch, it has been the most beautiful and universal feature of Mahomedan architecture. The Hindu on the other hand has never built any arch except under compulsion. Hinduism has found its truest expression, in the awful majesty of the long pillared galleries of Madura and Rameshvaram, peopled with terrific deities; Islam in the stern and unadorned spaciousness of the Gol Kumbaz, the perfect dome of Bijapur, which encloses the largest domed space in the world, and in the serene grandeur of the Taj Mahal at Agra.

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## HELLENISM IN SANSKRIT DRAMA

BY

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THE appraising of the Greek influence on Sanskrit literature or at least one branch of it, the Drama is, for all practical purposes, an open question. That there have come to light evidences of some mysterious connection—linguistic and mythological—between the ancient literature of India and the classics of old Greece and Rome cannot, probably, be denied. But that such a connection is, on the one side, a mere coincidence, or, on the other, a definite and determinate stage in the evolution of the Aryan race, is more than can be affirmed. To the analytical genius of Max Muller, coupled with his penetrating faculty and his unwearied patience the world, doubtless, owes one of the most magnificent discoveries in the domain of comparative philology. Few scholars, in or out of India, ever realised, before Max-Muller, the existence, either of a linguistic kinship or ethnographic affinity among the various races that now comprise the Aryan Stock, among others, the Anglo-Saxons, the Germans, a certain class of Hindus in India, and the Mussalmans of Iran. It was reserved for the Taylorian Professor of Dissan to enunciate, by elaborate and convincing discourses, that most of the nations divided by religion, differentiated by caste or distinguished by territory, come from a common descent. As in nature, so in the history of man, before his evolution there was, originally, no watertight compartment. Nor is this linguistic kinship alone all the testimony. Nothing, perhaps, gives a greater clue to the existence of a common parentage or a uniformity of religious and ethical thought, as the communism of soul-conceptions in the dawn of Time. The anthropomorphic delineation of deities, despite hard barriers of country and clime, or of time and space, exhibit a remarkable phenomenon in the development of human

thought, whether it refers to men who lived in their "ancestral home," or to those who, after the dispersion, migrated to other latitudes of the then habitable globe. Comparative mythology reveals an identity of religious and of ethical idealisms as remarkable as it is instructive and interesting to the students of human evolution. If we bar local accretions and peculiarities, there is a significant similitude in the attempt to anthropomorphise, with almost parallel attributes, a very considerable number of the divinities of different races. They show that, in their cradle-home, the members of the pantheon not only claimed a common adoration but were, in many aspects, designed on a common iconography. Vedic India, Pre-Scriptural Egypt, old Rome and Ancient Greece and hoary Babylon are full of mythological evidences that point to kindredship in ethical and social aspirations. The terms of house-hold and domestic relation in different languages of different nations, particularly of the Aryan stem are, notwithstanding phonological peculiarities of different languages, too familiar to be noticed here. But, probably, kinship in religious conception, more than anything else, discloses the existence not only of a common linguistic but ethical unity. Nor can it be a mere casual phenomenon. Indeed, comparative mythology, even as comparative philology, throws immense light on the direction of the development of religious and ethical aspirations. To take one out of many: *Kama Deva*, or desire, that is God of love, is the Vedic counter-part of the Roman Cupid and the Greek Eros (Amor) a son of Chronos or Saturn. The celebrated Soma, with its wealth of hymns and ceremonies described in the Rig Veda, only takes us back to the Indo-European period—the time before the separation of the two great sister-races, and reap-

pears in ancient Persia under the name of Haoma, and is made to do duty for almost similar ceremonies with the Iranian followers of Avesta. Instances of such parallelism are numerous and convincing. But the limits of a newspaper article forbid dilation. The more ambitious reader may refer, at least, to two books: "The Myths of Greece and Rome" by H. A. Queber and the "Myths of Hindus and Buddhists" by Nivedita and Coomaraswami. Indeed, if words are regarded as primary factors in historic reconstruction, of no less value in the same direction are religious ideals, mythological conceptions and fables and parables of drama and literature. But to come to the point. Nothing is more striking than the close resemblance between some of the earliest dramas of Greece and Rome and of Vedic India. That magnificent drama, the *Sakuntala* of Kalidasa which did not fail to inspire a belauding epigram even from such an austere critic as Goethe, seems to have its dim echo in Greek antiquity. In *Sakuntala* the ring is discovered in the stomach of a fine fish caught in a stream in which the daughter of the hermit had accidentally dropped it, and the unhappy fisherman accused of stealing it is summoned to the royal presence to receive judgment. The King surveys the ring, and the whole arcadian romance flashes afresh. He wakes up, as it were, from a trance and asks for his wife. Herodotus, in his story of Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, and the friend of Anacreon, represents him as having cast his highly prized ring into the sea as a sacrifice to propitiate the deity: The ring ultimately reappears the same night at the tyrant's table in the stomach of a large fish presented to the tyrant by the fisherman, as too fine for any but the royal board. "There is" says Zanaide Ragozin, in his usual eloquent manner, "no love element in the case, and the Greek used the incident to point a moral of his own, but the incident present there, in both, is identical." Is it probable that this

points, among other things, to a trace of Hellenism on Sanskrit drama? It is said that some critics find a suggestion to that effect in the circumstances that Greek female slaves are mentioned in, at least, one of the Sanskrit dramas. The fact again that Sanskrit drama flourished in the western provinces and western coastland of India, while it had no hold on the eastern provinces where there was very little Hellenic influence if anything at all, may seem to give point to the suggestion. On the other hand, it cannot be forgotten that it is generally admitted that Greek influence on Hindu civilization and culture has been very much in the nature of a negligible or a doubtful factor. Alexander the great, it is true, came and conquered a portion of India. But what was it? A consummate general, he effected a brilliant raid, but hardly occupied or consolidated any part of Indian territory. He shot like a meteor, flashed and vanished. The empire of his successors never extended beyond the Jhelum and the Beas on the one side, and Jhelum and Indus on the other. To what then is it due?—this striking resemblance between the story of Kalidasa and that of Herodotus based on Greek antiquity? Can it be a mere coincidence? It is true that fragments of Greek power lingered on in the east of the Punjab till about A. D. 50, when Kadphises, the Kushan King, ousted the last Greek prince Hermaios and thus extinguished Hellenic rule. That might give colour to the supposition that the influence of Hellenism, in feeble or interrupted current, might have trickled on to Sanskrit literature and Sanskrit drama. For, Kalidasa, who flourished in the Court of Vikramaditya, whose reign may well be regarded as the Augustan age of Sanskrit literature, could not have lived earlier than the beginning of the fifth century, whereas the influence of Greek culture must have been far earlier. This makes, it is true, the presumption of Hellenic influence somewhat stronger. But this presumption is



vitiated and weakened, if not destroyed, by the fact that very recently dramatic fragments of Indian Origin have been discovered among the palm leaf MSS. unearthed by Dr. Von Lecog in some of the cave temples near Kucha, in Turkistan. That clearly pushes back the chronological limits of Hindu dramaturgy to as far back as the Kushan times, probably A. C. 100. Under these circumstances it is difficult to trace the

origin of the similarity of the story of Sakuntala to that of Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos. Such being the case, it is difficult to agree with the view, though guardedly put, of the eloquent and erudite author of "Vedic India", that the story of Sakuntala may symbolize a faint and lingering echo of Greek influence on Sanskrit drama. Influence there may have been, but certainly not in the direction indicated.

## DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

BY

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TO DAY the word DEMOCRACY is being shouted from the house-tops as if it were a magical formula which in itself could alter human nature and bring about the millennium in every country. Few seem to care what Democracy really means. Every professing democrat has a different theory of its significance ranging from constitutional monarchy to communism and anarchy. Democracy appears to be in the minds of most people a nebulous idea. Every man says 'Oh! the spirit of the age is democratic and it is futile to resist the spirit of the age. This passive attitude of the majority is founded on a false idea that the spirit of the age must be correct. It should be distinctly understood that the keynote of extreme democracy is compulsion, not freedom.

### WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

There is no doubt that the growth of the democratic idea is natural and desirable in political evolution. Man is essentially a gregarious animal. The progress of mankind has been largely due to the social instinct of mutual aid through hunting bands, tribal communities and federations, nations, cities, to the international life of the present day. In every community there

have always been different classes because of the mutual inequalities or variations of men at birth, and natural differences minimised only by the instinct of mutual aid. Democracy may be defined in terms of evolution as the tendency of a society to improve its environment by the mutual aid of all classes in that society. This is in agreement with the original and proper meaning of the Greek word '*Demos*,' as the whole body of free citizens, the public of a community, and of Democracy, as the rule of the whole public embracing all classes of the community.

Democracy does not mean the rule of the proletariat, of one class, the labourers. Still less can those who preach the class-war call themselves democrats. This is exactly what is going on amongst us especially in our presidency. It is not quite clear, for instance, whether the non-Brahmin movement is a political or sectarian agitation. Any careful student of Madras politics is often inclined to ask whether politics are not coloured by racial prejudice. As the Hon. Mr. Sastri recently observed in the Council of State, the political questions in the province of Madras are decided by considerations of Brahmin and Non-Brahmin. Class war is the complete negation of

democracy. True democracy is the co-operation of all classes of the public for the common good. Class war is undemocratic. Herein lies the central fact of true democracy.

#### BRIGHT SIDE OF DEMOCRACY.

Man has a wonderful innate spiritual heritage. This moral force expresses itself instinctively in the martyr spirit of heroism and self-sacrifice for the preservation of the race. Democracy is the only form of Government, as Professor Freeman observes, which works up the faculties of man to a higher pitch than any other. It is a form of government which gives the freest scope to the inborn genius of the whole community. The ideal polity is that in which men can fully realise the perfection of their individual lives. The spirit of man has been framed for wisdom and judgment, for responsibility, initiative and self-control. A man without liberty is a being bereft of half his manhood. The perfect commonwealth, the ideal towards which all social and political endeavour moves forward is a society of freemen and women, *each at once ruling and being ruled*. It is not forgotten that Democracy is not without its dark side. But one is tempted to endorse Edward Carpenter's remark: 'Democracy, with all thy faults I love thee still'. It is no doubt idle to ignore that the political awakening and the development of the democratic spirit have really brought to the fore-front some men who are working for the cause of the country in a spirit of real self-sacrifice.

#### DARK SIDE OF DEMOCRACY.

But unfortunately the good work of these scattered few are being undermined everywhere by extremists of a peculiar frame of mind. The country is being indoctrinated with false ideas and strange political theories. It is needless to say that false partisan teaching—historical, social, and economic by revolutionary writers and speakers—foments a general discontent and unrest. We see everywhere that the organised activity of

false guides is tireless and ceaseless. It can be met only by an equally ceaseless literature, frank and fearless in defence of true political ideals and aspirations, namely, that of true co-operation. The attack is continual; the defence is spasmodic and not yet concentrated in a formula that could be easily understood by everyman. Here is considerable work for the Liberal League.

Taken as a whole, Democracy is the system of Government with the fewest drawbacks. It is *per se* the most just, the most reasonable, and the most practical. It is however open to certain serious drawbacks when it is necessary, as in modern times, for Democracy to be worked through representative institutions. These representative institutions tend to produce in reality, if not in name, a governing oligarchy. This tendency is enormously increased by a strict party system. Finally, representation and party system together, unless carefully guided, are very apt to produce, not majority rule or the will of the people, but government by a minority. In other words, Democracy in theory should produce liberty but in practice it produces a tyranny of organised minorities over moderate and apathetic masses.

Again there is danger from another side. Crowd-psychology is so unreasoning that unless uplifted by the influence of best minds, it tends to the degradation of national life. A crowd is persuaded not by reason but by the emotions. The notorious characteristic of the crowd is the violence of the outbursts of the primary emotions and impulses. One has only to watch for a few minutes the non-co-operation meetings in the rural parts to bear out these remarks. At present, in India, indignation makes Politicians.

#### THE GREAT DANGER.

In India, we see the beginnings of the adoption of the democratic principle with new Reforms. The new electorate should discern the qualities of mind and character that make the sound legislator



and effective administrator. Students of Carlyle will remember that the chief burden of his condemnation of political democracy is that it rejects or ignores 'the noble silent man' who best could serve it and places power in the hands of political windbags and charlatans. The ordinary man is carried away by the spur of the ambitious demagogue, and the glamour of the political dreamers. We see around us that men of mediocre intelligence who give expression to the confused and nebulous sentiments of the crowd are the uncrowned kings of the platform. Men of words are hypnotising the multitude and make the worse cause seem the better. The great mass of the people do no more real thinking than the separate cells of the individual human body. Every average Indian nowadays, is a ready victim to shibboleths and catchwords, and is prepared to apply fascinating formulas to any political question regardless of circumstances. A Professor, it is said, recently asked a Russian revolutionary who was crying out "No Annexation", what he meant by 'Annexia.' The man replied

that she was the fifth daughter of Tsar Nicholas !! Is it this kind of ignorance that makes most men in our country easy victims of shibboleths and willing devotees of doctrinaires. To desecrate sanctities, to flout traditions and abolish the venerable customs of the country, to break the continuity of national life and to destroy the organic development of the body politic—these are not the democratic spirit but irreverence and irresponsibility.

Are we then to despair of Democracy? By no means. For the collective will of a well-organised community commonly attains a higher level, both intellectually and morally, than could be individually attained by its average numbers. Let us remember the words of Mazzini that the struggle for individual rights could but end in anarchy; whereas a sense of social duty alone could build up a peaceful and noble commonwealth. The mere struggle for rights and privileges could only destroy, not found; whereas the sense of duty associates and nerves us to life-long and disinterested endeavour.

## WHISPERING

BY

MR. D. G. DAVIES, I. C. S.

When the gold moon comes glorying through the trees,  
Over the eastern plain, and the jackals cry,  
Then I remember other lands and seas,  
And other moons in old sweet years laid by.  
And in this moonlit garden of the East  
Footsteps are all about me and laughter and tears  
Of comrade boys and girls at youth's high feast  
And the summer sea comes whispering down the years.

# CIVIL MARRIAGE BILL

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BY

DR. H. S. GOUR, M.L.A., M.A., D.C.L., LL.D.

I HAVE ventured to place my Civil Marriage Bill on the Imperial Legislative anvil in the hope that it will merit the support of the country it deserves. As I will presently show, the prejudice aroused by its predecessors from a certain class of persons was due to the avowed reasons of the measure which are not the primary consideration that has actuated me in introducing it.

II. As every student of law knows, in all European countries and in America marriage is a civil contract, and as such, may be contracted by any two persons without reference to their religion, and subject only to the prohibition against consanguinity. This does not necessarily deprive marriage of its religious element, for, in practice, many parties thereto prefer to follow up the civil contract by a religious ceremony in church, and thus the law and sentiment are both satisfied. Now in India the Mahomedans, Christians, Parsis, Jains, Buddhists, Brahmos and other advanced Hindus regard marriage in the same light. And still there is no Civil Marriage Act to enable them to intermarry: the result being that they are denied their birthright to marry whomsoever they like, because the Legislature has not enacted a law for the performance of civil marriages similar to those which are to be found in all other countries. So far as the Christians are concerned, this anomaly has been removed by the Indian Christian Marriage Act (XV of 1872) S. 4, which legalizes a civil marriage between a Christian and a non-Christian. But it is a privilege of a Christian and not a non-Christian, since one of the contracting parties to the marriage must be a Christian. In other cases, then, the position is this: Suppose a Jew wishes to marry a Mahomedan, there is nothing in their religion or their personal laws to prevent such marriage, but since a Mahomedan *Kazi* will only marry a Mahomedan, and

a Jew a Jew, there is no means for the performance of such marriage, and even if the priests of the two communities were to agree to solemnize it, there would be practical difficulties as to the ritual which should bind the contracting parties. In other words, the ecclesiastical church does not provide means for the making of secular contracts. But if the parties in our illustration repair to any part of Europe the civil law will assist them to register their contract and a marriage so contracted will hold good everywhere. They need not in fact go so far; for, since the ships on the high seas are supposed to be floating parts of their own country, such marriages are conceivable even beyond 3 miles of the Indian coast. And since the State Darbars of both Baroda and Indore have enacted Civil Marriage Acts of their own, it is possible to contract such marriage both in Baroda and Indore, though not in British India.

So far then as these communities are concerned, they have a just grievance in that they are free to contract such marriages in every country except their own. Why should India suffer from this serious territorial disability. A Civil Marriage Law for such communities would seem to be a necessity. And the only reason why the public have not so far clamoured for it is, that inter-communal marriages were so far few and far between, and the public opinion has not been so far roused to a sense of its own wrong.

Ignorance, religious and racial prejudice have kept all the Indian races apart, and the British Government, pledged as it is to religious neutrality, has studiously abstained from taking any action which might savour of interference with their religion, with the result that it has refrained from passing even a law which the civilized sense



of all communities elsewhere regards as common law, and as essential for its social progress.

An attempt in this direction was no doubt made in 1868, when Sir Henry Maine, as Law Member of the Government of India, introduced a measure similar to the Bill now before the Legislature. In a learned minute published in the proceedings of the Council of that year, Mr. Maine (as he then was) pointed out the necessity for such measure. But before it could be enacted Mr. Maine's term of office came to an end and he was succeeded by another jurist of eminence, Sir James Stephen, whose conservative instincts, however, rebelled against a measure for which, as he then opined, there was no public demand. Mr. Stephen argued the issue back to its origin and refused to enlarge its terms. The Brahmos of Bengal had asked for a civil Marriage Bill for the use of their own community because they had objected to contract marriages by following the idolatrous rituals of Hindu marriages, and submit to the dictates of the Hindu priestcraft. Stephen argued that as the Brahmos had moved the Legislature to pass a Civil Marriage Bill it should not be enlarged by its terms into a general Civil Marriage Bill in anticipation of public opinion. He also pointed out that, with the exception of a Maharaja (who was usually absent), the Imperial Council was then composed exclusively of Europeans, and was not representative of the people. It could not, therefore, introduce a measure of social reform, however necessary, without consulting them. The Select Committee appointed to consider the Bill readily yielded to this view and decided to confine it to the Brahmo and other similar dissenting sects. The followers of the other revealed religions were then to be excluded from the operation of the Bill. But how were the Hindu dissenters to be described—Hindus or Non-Hindus. The Brahmo leaders were consulted and they agreed that they had no

objection to, being classed as Non-Hindus and were ready to make a declaration to that effect.

The Bill was then limited to those "neither of whom professes the Christian or the Jewish or the Hindu or the Mahomedan; or the Parsi, or the Buddhist, or the Sikh, or the Jain religion". It was enacted as Act III of 1872.

But both the Legislature as well as those for whom the Act was intended had reckoned without their host. The term "Hindu" had nowhere been defined by the Legislature, and the question remained whether the Brahmos, Sikhs and the other Hindu dissenters, though they might call themselves Non-Hindus, were in reality Non-Hindus.

This question arose in 1908 in a case which went up to the Privy Council who held that a Sikh or a Hindu by becoming a Brahmo did not cease to be a Hindu. (31 C 11 at Page 33). This decision, since followed in other cases, has created a new situation by rendering the Act of 1872 obsolete so far as it was intended to apply to Brahmos and the other Hindu reforming sects. Brahmos and the rest must continue to perform marriages. They cannot conscientiously do so now under the Act, which requires them to sign a declaration that they are Non-Hindus. Such marriages as have since taken place under the Act must, of necessity, have ignored the view of the Privy Council and, in doing so, the contracting parties run a risk which might prove fatal to the enjoyment of their matrimonial rights and the legitimacy of their issue.

The situation is serious and called for the immediate intervention of the Legislature. But unfortunately the Legislature has refused to act. In 1911 Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu sought to revive Maine's Bill in the Imperial Council on the ground that the growing consciousness of the Hindu community would welcome such measure. This measure was opposed by Government who successfully resisted its reference to the Select

Committee. A somewhat similar fate awaited a narrower, albeit more controversial measure, which Mr. V. J. Patel introduced in the same Council in 1918. Mr. Patel's Bill was intended to legalize inter-caste marriages amongst Hindus. It is needless to state that the form in which both these measures were presented and defended aroused keen controversy from those champions of orthodoxy who represent the latent conservative instinct of the populace. The select Committee appointed to consider Mr. Patel's Bill took advantage of the coming reforms and recommended that it should be relegated for legislation to the reformed councils.

I was elected to one of these last year, and I took an early opportunity of examining the whole question with the result that my Bill drafted on the lines of Maine and Basu's Bills is once more before the Legislature.

That it is a measure of paramount national necessity will be readily conceded by those who have made themselves acquainted with the matrimonial laws of other civilized countries.

I have already pointed out that, of the population of India, a considerable portion consists of those who regard marriage merely as a civil union. There is no reason why these people should be deprived of the advantage of a civil marriage law.

Even amongst Hindus a large growing body of intelligent public opinion favours such measure. The reforming sects such as the Brahmos, *Prarthna Samajis*, Theists, and Theosophists would all welcome it. And so should those who are interested in the happiness of our children.

Hindu law regards marriage as a sacrament, but the results of this sacrament are serious to the women. Manu counsels the marriage of girls before they leave their cradles. Such marriages often lead to lifelong misery. If the husband dies, the wife is consigned to lifelong widowhood and lifelong torture from her husband's relations.

Happy marriages in the caste are becoming daily more difficult. The dowry scandal in Bengal has led many a girl to commit suicide.

The death of women in the Punjab had led to the wholesale conversion of castes. Everywhere the cry is that eligible husbands within the narrow circle of one's caste are limited and available only at a prohibitive price. Marriage has become a profitable industry with *Kulin* husbands. Its scandals are only too obvious to need expiation.

Intercaste marriages will, at least, open a door to competition. No one need marry outside his caste, unless one chooses. The measure only recognizes the theoretical equality of all men for which all India is, at the present moment, struggling.

It will assist the most orthodox of Hindus in that it will afford indisputable proof of marriage in every case where it is registered under the new Act. The Hindu law of marriage is uncertain and is mostly customary. Marriage customs vary in different castes and the law reports furnish many examples of cases in which the factum of marriage and the consequent legitimacy of the issue has failed to be proved for want of reliable evidence. The Civil Marriage Act will furnish an indisputable contemporaneous record of marriage of which every sensible person in Europe knows the value.

With the advance of education the necessity for registration of all marriages will soon become established. It is only a question of habit and I know my countrymen will readily avail themselves of the opportunity which this new Act of the Legislature will give them to perpetuate the evidence of a solemn act upon the proof of which may depend the honour and happiness of their own progeny and the preservation of their estates.

But the immediate advantage of such measure is not to be looked forward to in the number of intercaste or inter-racial matches, which are likely to be contracted under the Act; but rather as marking a stage in the intellectual advance of a



people for ages caste-ridden and priest-ridden, submissive and obsequious to the command of authority and oblivious of their own right to pick and choose their life-long friends.

But such is the social thralldom that even educated men shudder at the thought of a change involving their own emancipation, though they knew that the old order is wholly unsuited to the present requirements of society.

I have hitherto considered the measure as of first necessity to meet the requirements of those who view marriage as a social contract. I will now consider it as a measure of social reform. It is one of the fictions of law that every one is presumed to know law; but I doubt with all sincerity whether, in reality, even many professional lawyers know all about the law of marriage. That Mahomedans, Christians, Jews, Parsis, Brahmos, Buddhists and Hindu dissenters can intermarry with one another is an unquestionable fact; but it is equally unquestionable that very few intermarriages have in fact taken place within living memory. I have stated one reason for this communal exclusiveness contributed by Government, namely the absence of a Civil Marriage Act. But it is not the sole reason for communal conservatism is another. Take for example, the continents of Europe and America where international marriages are legal. But how often do such intermarriages take place. Even in the United Kingdom, we have small compact races, such as Englishmen, Welshmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen who, as a rule, do not intermarry. If they had so intermarried the four distinct races as such would have by now disappeared.

These facts must afford some consolation to those pillars of orthodoxy who apprehend a complete corruption of blood of their respective communities if the present Bill becomes law.

They need not be reminded once more that it is merely an enabling Bill and the popularity of

intermarriages must always remain a matter for communal consciousness, controlled by the ever gathering forces of education and to some extent modified by the law of supply and demand.

It is not in the actual result that the Bill is fraught with great potentialities. Its value rather lies in its recognition of the theoretical equality of all races and the possibility of intermarriages and inter-relationship between them. This will greatly reduce the natural inter-racial antagonism and tend to promote mutual sympathy. A few inter-caste and inter-communal marriages will also take place—mostly amongst the educated classes. And these will cement the bond of sympathy between the two castes and communities. At present our lives are spent in watertight compartments. We may have, it may be, our bosom friends amongst Mahomedans and Christians but our friendships cannot develop into alliances. Each race preserves its exclusiveness by a fancied notion of its own superiority. It is jealous of the progress of another race. These inter-warring races have for ages thrown India open to the attack of foreign powers. And India is as weak to day as it ever was before in its history. The fact that the British guns protect us from external aggression and internal strife is entirely due to the presence of a superior power the withdrawal of which will immediately bring into play those disintegrating forces which have made India a prey to foreign invasions. All lovers of our country must realize this essential source of its weakness. Nationalism means unity. Unity is not possible without the recognition of equality. Equality implies the enjoyment of that elementary freedom in the matter of food and friendship which is the birthright of every civilized being.

I have hitherto considered the question from the standpoint of the man—ignoring our other partner in marriage as if she had nothing to say.

In archaic society man, being the stronger, made laws to suit his own comfort forgetting the woman

who was regarded as a mere chattel. Her position in Hindu society is still little better. She is yoked to a man without any consideration of her feelings towards him. I think it is only due to her that she should be consulted on the choice of her life partner. But this is impossible under the present system and its reform in the direction I have indicated seems to be the only means of remedying the wrong from which women suffer. The want of education amongst Indian woman has hitherto kept them in a state of supreme subjection to man. The position of a Mitakshara widow is one of intolerable endurance, and the only hope I see for her is in the more rational treatment which the awakened consciousness to her wrongs might ensure. My little Bill may, I hope, do something, however remotely, to a better perception of women's rights and the betterment of their lot by giving them a voice in the selection of their life partners.

It is curious fact that the Hindus have no history and I am not surprised that we have profited so little from the teachings of history.

We are now listening to the patriotic cries of nationalism—but all these cries are hollow, artificial and insincere because they lack the backbone of that moral firmness and conviction which alone make such movements real.

I have no doubt then that my Bill will greatly strengthen the forces of nationalism and give to that movement a turn for reality, for want of which it must perish. But it will do more. It will add to the stock of individual happiness. Marriage involves a lifelong union, friendship and companionship, but how many marriages amongst us answer this test. Both Hindus as well as Mahomedans marry, their children young—wives are allotted to their sons by parental arrangement. They have no choice in the selection of their life-partners! Amongst Hindus their affinity is determined by an examination of their horoscopes by the family astrologer. But why not determine

it *ambulando*? The husband never sees his wife till it is too late. And a companionship forced on one is seldom enjoyed. When the husband and wife were both uneducated the former received the latter as a divine dispensation. But education has greatly altered the outlook. If the husband is educated he expects his wife to be educated also, and education amongst the orthodox is taboo. Educated men naturally look in their wives for other qualities than identity of caste and stellar affinity. They expect them to be help-mates and companions which is only possible if some form of courtship precedes marriage. True love not only laughs at locksmiths but also at caste restrictions. The growing tendency of the *intelligentia* is to follow the dictates of reason and the natural bent of one's mind.

True marriage implies a love-match. This is not possible within the narrow vinculum of the caste. The Civil Marriage Act will be a great social emancipator. It will add to the individual happiness by enlarging the field of selection by destroying the artificial barriers raised by religion, sect or caste.

And this will produce a national solidarity not otherwise attainable. It will transfuse a new life into the scattered and antagonising bodies and transfigure it into a new organic whole strengthening and solidifying the confused and chaotic mass into a homogenous whole.

An India so strengthened can challenge the world. An India so populous and yet so weak as she is at present as to be the target of every filibustering adventurer is a pitiable object; and all patriots recognize the fact, though they dare not wound the ignorant prejudices of the people, by daring to suggest the only true remedy which will revivify and strengthen it.

"Unite" says the patriot. But how to unite? Not by loud declamations about national grievances. Indians have in their long and chequered history suffered from greater and more intolerable



wrongs than they are suffering now. But how have they been able to defend themselves. In order that the nation should unite—there must be, first, a union of hearts and this is only possible when the Indians overthrow their parochialism and recognize the equality of all men.

Both Hindu and Mahomedan marriages are, in theory, polygamous, though the evils of polygamy are guarded against by the Mahomedans by fixing heavy—in many cases, prohibitive, dowries. The effect of registration of such marriages under the Act, which is strictly monogamous, will be a direct and an effective safeguard against polygamy.

It will further tend to minimize the evils of early marriages, since all marriages under the Act can only be contracted between parties who are both adults at the time of marriage. I need hardly dwell on the evil of early marriages and child widowhood. Those who still cling to this ancient usage need not feel alarmed at the advent of a reforming measure which will not interfere with their practice. But nevertheless it will set a new standard of social life which those who so desire may profit by.

One great effect of this measure of national reform would probably tend to improve our religion for a new nation will need a new religion. We can never reconcile political progress with religious stagnation. What is Hinduism?—I ask. Echo answers "What it is not." I hope I shall not be misunderstood. I write in no spirit of denunciation. But truth is truth and we can never advance unless we indulge in occasional introspection. Hinduism as we know it, is reduced to the observance of caste and the subservience to the Brahmins. Such Hinduism must die. It is now impossible.

The reforming sects which are getting daily more numerous are a protest against this social thralldom. The two great principles of Brahmoism are Monotheism and anticaste. And they are the underlying pivots of other reforming sects. Their fusion into a single body will greatly strengthen their value and power. My Bill will furnish one more link to unite them all.

Much of what I have said might perhaps pass unchallenged except by those stern and unbending religious Tories whose fanaticism and ignorance cannot tolerate any innovation however necessary. To them I cannot hope to convince. I address this only to those who will listen to reason—not to those who have stuffed their ears with wax lest they should be convinced against themselves.

Some of the former would welcome the measure but ask me to solve the question about succession.

Suppose, they argue, a Hindu boy is married to a Mahomedan girl, what law will the issue be subject to—to which I reply, such marriages are possible now and have in fact taken place. How many Hindus and Mahomedans have not married European ladies: what is the law of succession applicable to their issue and it will continue to be the law applicable to those who contract such mixed marriages under my Act.

The question of inheritance was solved as far back as 1850 by the Removal of Caste Disabilities Act under which the forfeiture of caste no longer entails the forfeiture of inheritance.

I do not wish to unduly lengthen out this article and I can only refer to my Hindu Code in which I have set out at some length the law of inheritance applicable to such cases. I can only add that Act 111 of 1872 has been in operation for some years and mixed marriages have been contracted for a large number of years but the law of succession has not presented any insuperable difficulties in practice.

The second objection which I have heard raised to my Bill is that it will undermine the purity of race and religion. I have already adverted to this objection before. The English, the French, the Germans, the Americans continue to be great nations in spite of their freedom of marriage and I do not see why our nationality should be any more in danger. It is true that, as in the case of other nationalities, our nationalism will tend to be more and more territorial and this is what every one desires.

A nationality based upon religion or caste stands upon very shallow foundation. That based upon the love of own's own country stands upon a foundation which time and distance cannot destroy. I hope my little Bill may tend to create such true nationality.

I have thus every reason to press forward my measure as launched in the true interest of the nation. To a large and important section of the community it is a necessity. To the rest it should be unobjectionable, if not useful. If passed it will afford certain evidence of marriage, promote love matches, reduce the scandal of dowry and marriage expenses, ensure better selection of mates, promote domestic happiness, reduce racial antipathy, create a new bond of mutual sympathy, consolidate the strength of the educated classes, ensure monogamy and discourage infant marriages, remove them from the baneful influences of middlemen and remove the anomaly that Indians are, in this matter, more free in all countries except their own.

# THE VALUES OF LIFE

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BY

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THE volume\* before us is an interesting disquisition on the values of life—not, as it may be supposed from the title, a treatise on Moral Philosophy. The values of the moral life also come in for discussion, as they should in such a scheme; but the moral values form only one class, like the other classes of values—Physical, Intellectual, Aesthetic and Religious. These classes cannot, of course, be treated each as wholly independent of the rest; physical values are necessarily related to intellectual and moral values and so on. But the fact of relatedness should be understood at its true worth; it would not follow that since physical values are related to moral, the former are valuable only in so far as they contribute to the moral life. In other words, our author is keen on maintaining the independent value of the several classes of values. He would be averse to any scheme of grading wherein certain of these classes are placed lower and the others higher in the sense that the lower are valuable *only* as contributing to the higher. Such an attempt is made only by people who hold strongly to a belief in the fundamental unity of all values and start their study of values, with the idea of this unity or whole. Prof. Widgery makes no such attempt, for he feels that all those who started with the idea of unity, have failed miserably in their attempts to get at or grasp the multiplicity (page 22). Whenever the latter has been recognised by such philosophers, it has had to be introduced from without. The proper starting-point for philosophy, therefore, is the multiplicity of experience. The manifold at least exists, and the manifold interests us. It behoves us to study it properly in all its details, before

trying to lump it all up into some Absolute; a more careful study of diversity may lead us to a more intelligible conception of unity.

It is not my purpose to go into the details of Prof. Widgery's treatment. What he has to say about the different classes of values is certainly interesting, and sometimes edifying. He has much to say about wholesome food and physical exercise, polygamy, widow-remarriage, prostitution and reduction of the birth-rate. His readers will certainly not find him dry and his practical suggestions are eminently sensible. It is his starting-point and its consequences with which I am concerned.

Prof. Widgery is an anti-Absolutist. The failure of Absolutism makes him start, as we have noted, from the multiplicity. Absolutism, as a theory, is discussed in the chapters on "Intellectual values" and dismissed as inadequate. As a necessary consequence of this, he also opposes the doctrine of the relativity of *goods and bads* in the sense that "they are both degrees of a homogeneous quality." The latter is the contention of the Absolutist, as against which our author insists that the bad is always positive. The Absolutist theory of error also goes overboard. Is it possible for any philosophy to start with the study of the bare particular? What, in the opinion of Prof. Widgery, are the sins of the Absolutist philosophy? What is his own account of error, evil or ugliness? Since he himself admits the necessity for some conception of unity, what is the nature of the unity his philosophy provides? These are the questions I propose to raise and discuss in this review.

I. In the first place, I may be pardoned for laying it down that the study of the bare particular is never possible. That surely is an elementary philosophical proposition. A scientific

\**Goods and Bads: Outlines of a Philosophy of Life*, by Prof. A. G. Widgery, Baroda, pp. xxiv., 318, 1920.



study of facts proceeds only in the light of some intelligible working idea or hypothesis. To embark on a mere study of the multiplicity (without any pre-conceived notions of unity) would be only to re-start the old Baconian erroneous method of Induction, in the realm of Philosophy. Every intelligent study of the manifold experience pre-supposes a more or less definite conception of unity from the very start. And the elaborate juggler's trick of extracting the unity at the end is not calculated to deceive anybody but the juggler himself. The process is, at every stage, parallel to the trick attributed to the Absolutist—that of importing the manifold from without and saying, HEY PRESTO! there it is in the Absolute. Prof. Widgery believes in a theistic conception of unity. He believes in the unity of values as a "type of life." Such a conception may be very valuable, but one does feel that it has been there from the very beginning, controlling his study of the values and that it has not come in at the end as the result of a merely disinterested study (should such a study be ever possible.)

II. The charge of starting with a conception of the whole cannot of itself, therefore, be a serious one as against the Absolutist. Our author must himself have started with such a conception. If he flatters himself he does not, one can only regret the self-deception. But the real difficulty of the Absolutist seems to be that, starting from the whole he is not able to get to the manifold or indeed to recognize it at all, unless he introduce it *ab-extra*. It would be worth while going into the argument a little in detail. "... though the relations of sensations and ideas to one another imply a mind in which they exist in relation, it does not follow that for minds to be in relation there must be a sort of all-embracing mind" (page 105). Into the merits of this contention one need not enter, since it will be sufficient to point out that from the Absolutist's point of view the very conception of relations and relata is riddled

with contradictions. The relation, says the Absolutist, has a tendency to do one of two uncomfortable things, on analysis; it either falls outside what is related, thus starting an infinite regress, or it infects both the terms related in which case the terms become adjectival to the relation, which is not what we mean when we say two terms are related. The only way to guarantee some measure of intelligibility to relations seems to be to conceive them as appearances of a supra-relational Reality. This argument strikes Prof. Widgery as, perhaps, unsatisfactory. But, I would submit, it cannot be met by merely pointing to the difference in the terms related in the two cases.

The concept of "activity" is for Prof. Widgery of prime importance; for it is that which reconciles *fact* and *value*. Absolutism fails, since it does not and cannot give adequate recognition to activity. "In history Absolutism as a theory has most often been associated with forms of mysticism which have been quietistic and passive." (page 100). Prof. Widgery is too good a philosopher to condemn a theory merely because of its past failures. He feels that Absolutism "is unable to acknowledge activity as real if only because there is no other to act upon." (page 100). That "activity" like force, cause, relation etc., is an appearance and is not *as such* real, I, as an Absolutist, do admit. But that ultimate reality should be conceded to these concepts as such, I, at the same time, fail to understand. So long as the individual cannot get rid of the feeling of *I and mine*, so long the other will also exist for him; and so far will activity also be real, both in itself and in its consequences, good or bad. Such an individual would be treated as having not yet realised the Absolute. And for the man who has realised the Absolute, action is unreal, not because it does not exist, but because it is no longer felt in its particularity; it is realised as contributory to the whole. Such a one sees action in inaction and inaction in action, in the language of the

Gita. That there can be or should be mere cessation of activity is no part of the Absolutist doctrine; and the repudiation of such a doctrine in the Gita is sufficiently emphatic. The quietism which Prof. Widgery complains of is not cessation or negation of activity, it is selfless activity. But any further exposition within the narrow limits of a review will serve no purpose and will perhaps lead to further misinterpretations.

III. It would be worth while to consider whether on Prof. Widgery's own showing the bads are not transmuted into goods. One may profitably turn here to the Aesthetic values. "...it is well-known that some combinations of sounds—discords—are generally judged to be ugly" (page 154). On Professor Widgery's contention that ugliness is *positive*, such discords can never become beautiful. I would like to know whether discords are or are not admired as beautiful in certain settings, whether Western music does not pride itself on the discords which it takes up and *harmoniously* blends into itself. I cannot claim to be a student of Western music, but I have been an humble admirer and I have certainly been taught to believe that discords serve their purpose in certain musical contexts. If that be so, I do not see how it can be maintained that they are positively ugly. There is no point in emphasising the positive nature of ugliness, unless by such positivity is meant resistance to assimilation in a larger, more harmonious whole. Such resistance I cannot trace in the aesthetic "bads" cited by Professor Widgery. If he will admit, (as he cannot but) that these bads can and do form elements in larger wholes or *goods*, the Absolutist and he can have little to quarrel about. Our author is constantly making admissions of the kind required. Writing about odours, he inclines to the view that they are felt as bad mainly when they occur in combinations or because of their associations. If the combina-

tions or associations could be varied, they might become pleasant. Is this very far from the admission that badness or goodness is a question of degree, that the wider and more harmonious combination is better than the narrower or less harmonious one? Yet another instance to remove all doubts. "...it may be maintained that regularity, uniformity, rhythm are not so much in themselves beautiful—they may even present a monotonous ugliness—but are such chiefly in relation to a controlling conception" (page 167). Is there not here a definite admission that the beauty of a controlling conception can transmute into itself what may otherwise be ugly? And is this not just what the Absolutist says of all the values of life?

IV. As a philosopher, Prof. Widgery feels called upon to exhibit some kind of unity running through all the values. One feels rather diffident about the capacity of his unity to unify in view of certain earlier utterances of his. "...The ugly" he says in one place "is the *sum total* of ugly objects" (page 125); and again "the moral universal of intrinsic goods is to be conceived as the *sum total* of all the intrinsic moral goods experienced by the *sum total* of related individuals" (page 192. Italics are throughout mine). Perhaps, I am oversensitive, but that a philosopher in a philosophical treatise should talk lightly about sum totals makes me feel very uncomfortable. What is meant by the sum total of related individuals? What is to be the unit or standard of measurement of individuality? And what can be meant by the sum total of intrinsic goods? Is not the expression suggestive of a mechanical aggregate of various goods—an expression recalling all the pitfalls and vagaries of the greatest happiness theory? Would not Prof. Widgery rather say that for each individual there is one good which is a system wherein all other *goods* are duly subordinated and systematised? Is it right to talk of such a system as a *sum total*?

Again, so long as there is a class of aesthetic



bad, bads which are absolutely incapable of becoming goods in any context, one may imagine a sum total of them constituting what we call the ugly. But if, as the Absolutist contends, and Professor Widgery half willingly admits, the aesthetic bads are not permanently bad, but are capable of being taken up as elements in an aesthetic good, how far is it right or profitable to treat these bads as having an independent possibly ugly existence of their own?

Perhaps, it is not worth pressing this point too much. I feel, however, that the expression *sum total* has not been, in Professor Widgery's case, due to a mere lapse. He contends that all the goods are all equally real and are so recognised in a theistic philosophy. No class of values conflicts either with other such classes or within itself. "The particular moral goods are not antagonistic to one another in their intrinsic nature. . . . Moral goods seem least of all likely to conflict with other goods. . . . Physical goods demand, as a rule, some moral control of the appetite and some will-power centred in industry. . . . Again, though the attainment of intellectual knowledge is not necessarily accompanied by moral goodness, the broadest and highest type of moral character is most compatible with a wide intellectual outlook. . . . The examples usually given (of the conflict between the aesthetic and the moral) suggest more often than not simply the need of greater emphasis on the moral." (page 283-284). That particular moral goods constitute, as such, a harmonious system, I am not prepared to admit. That the two aspects of the moral ideal—self-assertion and self-sacrifice—constantly tend to fall apart, is a doctrine which has yet to be effectually disproved. That the individual may and does choose what he thinks is the right course in every case, is no answer to the argument. The moral values do not constitute a system free from self-contradiction. And as for their not conflicting with other values, I feel Professor Widgery does not read his own lesson properly. Physical goods demand moral control of the appetites; but do moral goods demand

in the same way and to the same extent the realisation of physical goods? Is a moral good not compatible with a physical bad,—pain? One would even say that, in addition to being compatible, some moral goods actively demand the presence of physical bads; for the path of duty is not the path of least resistance, and physical bads, more often than not, constitute the resistance, on the way. Again, Professor Widgery himself admits that while a high type of moral character exists with a wide intellectual lock, a highly developed intellect does not necessarily co-exist with a good moral character. And in the case of the aesthetic values he says the examples suggest the need of a greater emphasis on the moral. To me the lesson seems fuller and more obvious. These values would seem to constitute a system regulated by valves, a system where the higher co-ordinate and regulates the lower, though the presence of the lower type of value is no guarantee of the presence of the higher. Physical and intellectual values may be realised, but their realisation does not carry with it as a necessary implication the realisation of the moral values. The Absolutist would read in all this only a confirmation of his doctrine of degrees of reality. But Professor Widgery has barred out that point of view and sticks to his *sum totals*.

When our author comes to treat of the unity of the individual life, he becomes almost Absolutist, at least, in his language. This unity which he calls a "system or type of life" would be the realisation of the greatest possible harmony and unity in experiences, short of the totality of all possible experiences. So far as this is intelligible to me, it seems to come to the same thing as the Absolutist's contention that inclusiveness and harmony are the test of the worth of any appearance, that an appearance is more true, more valuable, more real, the more inclusive and harmonious it is. Again, the Absolute is Truth, Beauty and Goodness, but it is not any one of these or all of these merely combined. And Professor Widgery's unity "is more than and different from the intellectual, or any particular side of life" (page 297). It would be interesting to know whether he abandons his philosophy of *sum totals* at least at this stage. If he does not, his philosophy is distinctly the worse for it.

# THE INDIAN SADHU

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BY

MR. DAMODAR PRASAD SAKSENA, M.A.

How sweet are looks that ladies bend  
On whom their favours fall!  
For them I battle till the end,  
To save from shame and thrall:  
But all my heart is drawn above,  
My knees are bow'd in crypt and shrine:  
I never felt the kiss of love!  
Nor maiden's hand in mine.  
More bounteous aspects on me beam,  
Me mightier transports move and thrill;  
So keep I fair thro' faith and prayer  
A virgin heart in work and will!  
—Sir Galahad.

THERE goes the surging mass of humanity in the Indian Bazaar! Some of the figures that move therein are after the pursuit of riches, others after fame, others after position and so forth. There are youths, old men, females and children. Each one of them has one hobby or another which, for the time being, wholly engrosses his attention. Most of these that pursue butterflies are destined soon enough to break down in despair after the object of their vain search has eluded their grasp or when it is found, but fails to bring satisfaction. Others are to find the thing sought yield a moment of delight but it is evanescent and slips off from their fingers no sooner than caught. So, there we find goes the Sadhu, the Sanyasi, the Brahmachari—pacing at a distance from the motley crowd, in one plain saffron coloured garb which wraps his body quite from head to foot. He wants no other set of clothing—this one piece is his sole suit. When he enters an habitation he enters the door of some honest householder and is always welcome to a loaf and some *dhal* which the poor inmate can always spare for the saintly man, India, his country, reveres. He sleeps under the dome of heaven and wants no other bed but green grass. From this seat he springs up at an early morning hour and after finishing his ablutions roams forth into the woods invoking, wherever he goes, the sacred name of *Shri Ram* and *Shri Krishna*. As for the fancies that occupy and excite the minds of the majority of the crowd spoken of in the

beginning, he thanks God he has none. His soul is pure and his mind serene.

Perhaps he has been a man of violent passions in his own day of youth, but this mad-cap frolic is now over and he has seen the futility of playing with all worldly toys, so that these dolls no longer claim his attention. Perhaps he has been a *Valmiki* and he has experienced a throb of delight at his success in strangling a rich passerby, until he has had the hermits' interview who has changed him from his former occupations quite. Perhaps he has been a *Bilwa Mangal* and has madly dallied with his *Chintamani* for many a pleasant day and night, until in the supreme Mercy of Providence his heart has grown sick of worldly Love and has come to centre itself on the Divine. Perhaps he has climbed up the turret some dark night, like *Tulsidas*, to his wife's abode and been sternly reprimanded by the pious lady for loving a creature of flesh and bone, rather than loving *Bhagwan*, the Lord of all. Perhaps he has been a mighty victor and has conquered lands and dominions, only to find in the end all his vaunted conquests slip away from beneath leaving him nothing but the remorse felt at death time by emperors like *Alexander* or *Saladin*: "When I am buried, carry my winding sheet on the point of a spear and say these words! Behold the spoils which *Saladin* carries with him! Of all his victories, realms and riches, nothing remains to him but this." Perhaps he has served his earthly master with unsparing devotion, but, finding himself cashiered in the end like *Wolsey*, has acquired the wisdom now of giving up the service and taking to serving the Divine Master alone.

So it is that we find him in that well known garb, in the garb of the Sadhu. He has passed through all those tribulations others of his species have still to undergo—oh painfulness, oh blessedness—and has eventually by the mercy



of the Lord been given the vision to look at things in their right perspective.

This is the Indian Sadhu—the most perfect, the best evolved product of the world's pain and struggle—best fitted, best prepared to move about and work. He alone knows how to think, how to feel, how to work. Others bungle and spoil. He works for the Lord and the Lord guides him at every step and prevents him from going astray.

Tennyson in the lines quoted above seeks to portray such a character. In a recent publication of Messrs. George G. Harrap and Co., London, entitled 'Warrior Saints' the author points out (in a short preface to the exploits of St. George and other Saint-Warriors) how all of us are 'Warrior Saints' ranged round the standard of Christ (or if we chose to call by any other name, of Mahomet or Buddha, of Shri Krishna, of Zoroaster—all of which as the writer, conceives, are different forms of expressing the same thing)—to do battle for the Lord against the Powers of Darkness and of Evil. It only behoves us to fight it out manfully and bravely and the day is assuredly ours. It well becomes us—us all who have followed the master in what he has said—'Take up the Cross and follow me'—to take up the cross of worldly suffering and bear our pain heroically for His Sake and attempt to do, on our small scale, what He in His glory did on the grandest. Verily in being crucified for Him do we establish our claim to being deemed worthy of bearing His Standard.

Sir Galahad is such a hero and knight. He is Purity Incarnate and seeks union with His Maker (which is what the pleasant writer understands by his vision of the Holy Grail—his cherished dream which he pursues and which he seeks about to accomplish) by doing His Work—taking up the cross and following Him. 'Taking up the cross' is the vow of Brahmacharya—the conquest over the Animal Self—which the Hero has most successfully accomplished and which in-

deed gives strength to his arm while striking down the evil-door for his Christ.

'My strength is as the strength of ten,  
Because my heart is pure.'

Brahmacharya is Purity and Purity is God itself. It is All-Wisdom, All-Strength, All-Hallowedness, All-Love. No other virtue can ever equal it in splendour. Where it comes all other virtues silently creep in. The roots for many a foul, filthy action of diabolical sin and shamefulness are cut down,—aye, are singed up never more to sprout up or grow; while it gives invincible strength to the merited possessor of this rare virtue wherewith to smile down his foes (who are, by the by, the foes of Faith, of Righteousness and of Truth) in the twinkling of an eye.

For thousands and thousands of years—for times out of memory and the recollection of all human beings—has this frail, feeble, wandering, tempest-tossed mind of man been cherishing and growing the animal propensities of his lower nature. They seem to have cast firm, almost ineradicable roots in the innermost soil and baffle all attempts at rooting out. It can be only by the grace of the Lord's,—revealed in and through the Guru—that the attempt can succeed. Let us pray—continuous—to the service of all Power and all Good that he grant our prayer in this direction to aim at success, so that we may be able to say with Galahad:—

All my heart is drawn above,  
My knees are bow'd in Crypt and Shrine,  
I never felt the kiss of love,  
Nor Maiden's hand is mine.  
More beauteous aspects on me beam,  
Me mightier transports move and thrill,  
So keep I fair through faith and prayer,  
A virgin heart in work and will.

*As under the new rules of the Postal Department Value Payable packets must also be registered, the total charges when the Review is sent by V.-P. P. will be five rupees and four annas. The cheapest way is therefore to send in the subscription of Rs. 5 (Indian) Rs. 7-8 (Foreign) in advance by money order,*

# THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF CEYLON

THE REFORMED LEGISLATURE AND ITS PERSONNEL.

BY MR. K. SATIAVAGISWARA.

IN the *January* issue of this *Review* it was pointed out that, at an Extraordinary Session of the Congress held on the 18th of December last, a compromise was effected by a resolution to participate in the elections under the Order in Council which flung upon the people of Ceylon a constitution which fell far short of the expectations of the island.

The elections, consequently, were held on the 21st of April. The results have been announced, and New Legislative Council is appointed to meet for the first time on Tuesday, the 7th of June next. Before describing the personnel of the new Council, it may be useful to summarise the features of the new constitution which the Order in Council referred to has brought into being.

The new law has created a Council consisting of 14 official members and 23 un-official members:—The official Members of the Council shall be the following ex-officio members:—The Senior Military Officer, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney General, the Controller of Revenue and the Treasurer, and nine other Nominated official members.

The un-official Members of Council shall be:—3 Nominated un-official Members to represent interests which, in the opinion of the Governor, have not been represented; one Muhammadan Member; two Kandyan Members; and one Indian Member—the last 4 to be afterwards elected; and 16 Elected Members, one for each of the 16 Constituencies that are created on a territorial basis, except for 2 European (Urban and Rural) Electorates, the Commercial Electorate, the Burgher Electorate and the Low-Country Products Association Electorate.

## FRANCHISE.

The franchise is extended and depends both on an educational qualification, *viz.*, ability to

read and write English, Tamil, or Sinhalese, and on a property qualification which may be *either* an annual income of not less than Rs. 600/: or the ownership of immovable property of the value of not less than Rs. 1500, or, the occupation as owner or tenant of a building of the annual value, in the case of an urban district, of not less than Rs. 400 and, if situated elsewhere, of not less than Rs. 200.

## THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

As regards the Executive Council, stated Lord Milner's Despatch, "His Majesty has been pleased to approve of the issue of Amending Letters Patent and Royal Instructions, under which it will be possible to reduce the number of Official Members of the Executive Council and to appoint un-official Members to the Council"; and the Governor is called upon by Lord Milner in the same Despatch to submit, as soon as the new Legislative Council has been constituted, "recommendations for the appointment of 3 un-official Members to the Executive Council."

## THE PERSONNEL OF THE NEW COUNCIL.

As stated in the beginning, the elections to the new Council are over, and the Council will hold its first meeting on the 7th of June next. The Council will consist of the following elected members.

1. The European Electorate (Urban):—  
Mr. Herbert Gordon Bois.
2. The European Electorate (Rural):—  
Mr. Thomas Gates Wright (since resigned)
3. The Commercial Electorate:—  
Sir James Thomson Broome.
4. The Burgher Electorate:—  
Mr. Allan Driberg.
5. The Low-Country Products Association Electorate:—  
Mr. Henry Lawson De Mal.
6. The Western Province (Division A):—  
Mr. William Rajopakshe.
7. The Western Province (Division B.):—  
Mr. Edward W. Perera.



8. The Town of Colombo:—  
Mr. James Pieris.
9. The Central Province:—  
Mr. Abraham Charles Gerard Wijeyekoon.
10. The Northern Province:—  
Mr. Ford Duraiswamy.
11. The Southern Province:—  
Mr. O. C. Tilakaratna.
12. The Eastern Province:—  
Mr. E. R. Tambimuttu.
13. The North Western Province:—  
Mr. C. E. Corea.
14. The North Central Province:—  
Mr. S. D. Krishnaratne.
15. The Province of Leva:—  
Mr. D. H. Kotalawala.
16. Province of Sabaragamuwa:—  
Rev. W. E. Boteja.

Which un-officials His Excellency the Governor intends to nominate to the Council, it is not officially known. Mr. P. Ramanathan, the Ceylon Member in the old Council, is rumoured to have been nominated to a seat; while, to represent the interests of the Muhammadans, petitions have been submitted to the Governor suggesting the names of Mr. Macan Maraikar, a well-known jeweller of Ceylon, and Mr. N. H. M. Abdul Cader, the Muhammadan Member in the old Council.

#### NOMINATED OFFICIAL MEMBERS.

In addition to the 5 officials who are, ex-officio Members of the Council, there will be 9 other Nominated officials, and the following have been nominated by His Excellency the Governor:—

The Hon. Mr. J. G. Fraser, C. M. G. the Government Agent of the Western Province; the Hon. Mr. F. Bower, C. M. G. Principal Collector of Customs; Mr. T. K. Chapman, Director of Public Works; Dr. D. J. Rutherford, Principal Civil and Medical Officer; Mr. E. Evans, Acting Director of Education; Mr. T. F. Gariom, Solicitor General; Mr. G. P. Green, General Manager of the Ceylon Government Railways; Mr. F. A. Hockdate, Director of Agriculture; and Mr. H. W. Codrington, Commissioner of Buddhist Temporalities.

"It will be noticed" says the *Ceylon Daily News*, while reviewing the nominations editorially, "that in the announcement these officials and not their offices were named, indicating that they

been appointed not by virtue of their

#### INCOMPLETENESS OF THE REFORM.

As was stated in the *Indian Review* for October last, the new constitution, the composition of which has been detailed above, was received with an outburst of feeling rarely disturbing the political horizon of Ceylon. A special meeting of the Ceylon National Congress decided to "boycott" the Council. What is it that made the new scheme so unacceptable to the people of the country?

The present moment in Ceylon; it is argued by the Government and those that see eye to eye with them, is a "transitional stage between direct Government by the Crown and complete Parliamentary control." There would seem to be a fear on the part of the authorities that the people of Ceylon are not quite fit yet for managing their own affairs; and under the influence of this fear, the Government have found it necessary, to quote the words of Lord Milner's despatch, "to retain certain safe-guards to ensure the maintenance of good administration and fair play as between all classes and races." Consequently the Order in Council gives the power to the Governor "to declare any bill, clause, amendment, resolution or vote before the Council to be of paramount importance, and, in any such case, only the votes of the official members will be recorded." Secondly, the Governor is given the power to declare that any bill, amendment, or resolution introduced or proposed to be introduced affects the safety or tranquillity of the island" and to direct "that no further proceedings shall be taken by the Council in relation to the matter."

The granting of these "reserve powers" to the Governor is the chief cause of discontent with the new law. The power to suspend nominated members, the time limit imposed on the utterances of members in the council, the retention of the principle of communal representation to the Kandyan, Muhammadans and

Indians, the creation of 3 un-official members to "represent such interests as, in the Governor's opinion, are not adequately provided for otherwise," the cloud of doubt that hangs on the question as to whether these 3 un-official members will also be members of the Executive Council, in which case the pious resolution of the Government to secure an un-official majority will be reduced to "a sham and a meddle"—these are some of the features in the new scheme that have created popular discontent. The last matter, the appointment of 3 un-official members, has already been brought to the notice of Parliament by Col. Wedgwood; while the reform party, and the Congress in particular, are anxiously awaiting the fulfilment of the promise to revise the constitution before the end of the year.

#### THE NEW COUNCILLORS: A HOPEFUL SIGN.

That the people of Ceylon justify their claims for a better constitution than has been granted to them just now, is seen from the most satisfactory manner in which the elections were held and the electors exercised their judgment. A new class of men have been returned to the Council. The names of Messrs. E. W. Perera, A. C. G. Wijeyekone, Ford Duraiswamy, and Rev. W. E. Boteju were not so well-known. But it is in their very selection that the various electorates have shown their discrimination, their independence of judgment, in fact, their political capacity. Mr. E. W. Perera, the member for the Western Province B Division had as his rival Mr. Donald Obeyesekere, with a great amount of wealth and influence to back him. But Mr. Perera, a lawyer, was only a "new man"—I mean, in the political sense,—but he had rendered his services to the people. He had, as early as 1909, served in a deputation led by Mr. H. J. C. Perera, another lawyer of repute in Ceylon, which pressed for reforms before Lord Crewe. He had later in 1915 gone to England to press the claims of justice at the Colonial

office in connection with the riots of 1915, the famous Gampola Perehera Case and the reform of the constitution. He had toiled hard at his task for four years in England, and after his return home, had identified himself with the Congress and moved, in the October session of the Congress, the resolution on "Non-confidence in the Governor" for reinstating the Kegalla Patrols who had abused their powers during the riots. "The results at the polls", says the Ceylon "*Daily News*" commenting on the election of Mr. Perera

"show that the Sinhalese are not an ungrateful race, that they are not a people carried away by the passing wind of sudden patriotism, that the flash of wealth cannot blind their eyes to the personal merits of candidates. Distinctions of caste and class have counted little with them. Judging wisely and well, they have cast their votes for the better man."

The story of the election of Mr. Ford Duraiswamy to the Northern Province seat also gives a lesson on the political capacity of the people. The contest was between Mr. Duraiswamy and Mr. A. Canagaratnam. An Honours Graduate of Calcutta, Mr. Duraiswamy was the leading lawyer of Jaffna and had identified himself with the Reform movement. He was one of the founders of the Jaffna Association, of which he is now the Vice-President. He had shown his capacity for sacrifice by withdrawing his candidature for a seat in the new Council, when the Congress decided on Non-Cooperation in October last. He had, however, a powerful rival to face in Mr. Canagaratnam, who enjoyed a vast influence as a journalist in North Ceylon. The fact that both the candidates enjoyed immense popularity is shown by the results of the elections, where Mr. Duraiswamy won 5836 votes, while his opponent came very near him by winning 4443.

The election of Rev. Mr. Boteja to the Sabaragamuwa province seat gives the lie direct to any assumption of the existence of religious animosities in the minds of the Sinhalese.



# HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE

BY

PROF. S. RAMASWAMI IYENGAR, M.A.

**I**N the long list of those who have laboured for the cause of Sanskrit learning and Indian research, no name is held with greater veneration than that of Henry Thomas Colebrooke succeeding immediately to the work done by that illustrious Orientalist, Sir William Jones. Colebrooke, by his writings and discourses, had placed the Indian public as well as the Government under a deep debt of gratitude. If those who had held high offices in this country during the past generation had but been inspired by the ideals and feelings of Colebrooke even to a small extent, if they had entered into sympathy with the people as he did, and tried to understand their culture as he had succeeded in doing, the history of Indian political agitation would have been quite different. The first to reveal to the European world India's ancient culture, Colebrooke has done greater services to our country than the array of distinguished pro-consuls who sat on the Viceregal Throne.

Colebrooke was born in London in 1765 and his father was Sir George Colebrooke, Bart. One of the most influential man of the times and for several years Chairman of the East India Company, young Colebrooke was of a retiring disposition, and quite early in life had acquired a taste and fondness for study. Educated privately at home, Colebrooke at the age of 17 possessed as much knowledge as might be expected of a graduate of a university. Being of a religious bent of mind he had hoped for an ecclesiastical order, but his father had persuaded him to accept a writership in the Civil Service of Bengal. His official career in India, both as a subordinate and a high servant of the Company having had to shape the internal policies of the Government, has been as brilliant as his learning and scholarship. Not that he fell in love at once with all that he saw in this country. On the other hand, his early letters to his father indicate that he was rather disgusted with his stay in India of which he spoke in even contemptuous terms. Then, at this time, parliamentarians were also

talking of a change in the Indian constitution with a view to end the political supremacy of the East India Company, Colebrooke was yearning to return home. "India is no longer a mine of gold" "Every body here is disgusted with it,"— It was in this strain that he was writing to his father, but a change soon came over him and in the plenitude of his love and regard for Indian culture, he retracted all these remarks. The first important appointment held by him was that of an Assistant Collector of Revenue at Tirhat. Here he stayed for 9 years spending most of his spare time in sports. But a shrewd father was persistently demanding from his son full information about the religion and literature of the people amidst whom he had to live and whose salt he was eating. Colebrooke not only played the truant but practically bamboozled the aged parent by making the latter believe that there was nothing worth learning in this land of the hot sun. According to him Charles Wilkins was "Sanskrit-mad," "Asiatic Miscellany" was a repository of nonsense" and 'the Institutes of Akbar' a dunghill in which, perhaps, a pearl or two might be found" There is a tide in the affairs of men and the time had not yet arrived for Colebrooke to taste the beauties of Sanskrit literature. Nevertheless, he continued to discharge his duties as Assistant Collector evincing great sympathy for the people. In 1789, while he was Revenue Officer at Purnea, he was deputed in connection with the Permanent Settlement question. After finishing his investigations, he put down his results in the shape of a work on the Agriculture of Bengal. This book of Colebrooke deserves to be studied by all Indian economists. Though a servant of the Company, he has dared to pass severe strictures on its commercial policy. He saw clearly enough the ruin of the cottage industries of Bengal as a result of English competition. The export of cotton-wool was highly injurious to the prosperity of the country and he pleads eloquently in his book on behalf of the poor whose trade had

been ruined by the monopolist policy of the Government.

"To a Government enlightened as that is by which British India is administered, it cannot be a trifling consideration to provide employment for the poorest classes. No public provision now exists in these provinces to relieve the wants of the poor and helpless. The only employment in which widows and female orphans incapacitated for field-labour by sickness or by their rank, can earn a subsistence is by spinning and it is the only employment to which the females of a family can apply themselves to maintain the men, if these be disqualified for labour by infirmity or by any other cause. To all it is a resource which, even though it may not be absolutely necessary for the subsistence, contributes at least to relieve the distress of the poor. Their distresses are certainly great and among none greater than among the many decayed families which once enjoyed the comforts of life. These are numerous in India and whether they be entitled to the particular consideration of Government or not, they have certainly a claim on its humanity." Colebrooke, continuing suggests that cotton yarn instead of cotton wool be imported to England as that would mean employment for the poor in India. Citing the example of Ireland which was allowed to import duty free into England linen and wollen yarn, he asks, why not India? Why discourage that of cotton yarn from Bengal by a heavy duty besides all other impediments which we have occasion to notice so often. That is plain speaking and Colebrooke hesitated long before he could be persuaded to publish his book on the agriculture of Bengal.

Colebrooke's first introduction to the study of Sanskrit took place in the 11th year of his residence in India. He realised more and more that, for a proper and intelligent administration of the country, a knowledge of Sanskrit was absolutely essential. He encountered great difficulties in mastering the language and twice abandoned the attempt. In the end he succeeded and continued his studies down to the time of his death. The knowledge that he had gained already was

soon utilized. Under the direction of Sir William Jones, a digest of Hindu Law was being prepared and Colebrooke translated it from Sanskrit. This might be said to be his earliest attempt in ancient learning and his fame as a Sanskrit scholar soon spread. In 1798, he was despatched to Nagpur on a special mission and though nothing came out of it, Colebrooke took advantage of his leisured stay there for two years by pursuing a varied and extensive course of study in Oriental Literature and natural sciences. The results of his studies are set forth in a series of articles contributed to "Asiatic Researches." Most of these articles were subsequently collected and published in two volumes by his son, Sir Thomas Edward Colebrooke, Baronet. We shall revert to the subject later on.

In 1801, Colebrooke was appointed to the office of the Chief Judge of the High Court of Appeal at Calcutta and in this congenial atmosphere passed on for several years, studying Civil and Hindu Law. Chief Judgeship in those days implied more leisure than now and Colebrooke found time to act as the unsalaried professor of Sanskrit in the College established for Civil Servants at Fort William in Calcutta. As a professor he did not deliver lectures but did more useful work by publishing a Sanskrit Grammar, editing a Sanskrit Dictionary, *Amarakosha* (1808), besides other works, such as *Hitopadesa* in 1804. This is quite in accord with his educational ideals. He was strongly in favour of the method of instruction by translations and ever anxious that study should be based on systematic principles. In 1805 Colebrooke was elevated to the situation to which he had looked during the past 10 years with alternate hope and indifference—to wit, membership of the Supreme Council. In this position, he remained for 5 years without losing his Chief-judgeship. At the end of the period he vacated his seat in the Supreme Council and having more leisure he once again took to literary pursuits. In 1810, he published his translations of the two celebrated treatises on the Hindu Law of Inheritance. Mention has already been made of Colebrooke's share



in the publication of the Digest of Hindu Law. This work, however, did not supersede the necessity of further aid to the study of the Hindu Law of Inheritance. With the sanction of the Government of Bengal he prepared his new treatise. It comprehended the celebrated treatise of Jimutavahana on succession which was cited frequently by Bengal lawyers by the emphatic title of *Dayabhaga* but included extracts from the still more celebrated *Mitakshara*, so much of the work as relates to inheritance. At the time of its publication Colebrooke was disappointed that this work which cost him more labour and time than any he was engaged in, did not get such reception at the hands of the public as it should; excepting a few statements of facts, Colebrooke's work has stood the test of time and is to-day respectfully quoted by jurists of eminence all over the Empire. Colebrooke, as will be seen from a review of his works, was a keen mathematician and a versatile genius. During the last few years' stay in India he interested himself in the question of the height of the Himalayas. Experts cast doubts as regards the claim of the Himalayas as the highest mountain in the world. Colebrooke thought differently and for 10 years had been gathering evidences—judges nowadays have to handle evidences of a different nature—that would strengthen his conclusions. He took a living interest in the investigations of specialists and, when the fame of the Himalayas was established finally, it was a constant source of satisfaction and delight to him. Colebrooke retired from India in 1815 and finally settled near London that he might follow better his literary and scientific pursuits. He contributed frequently on scientific subjects to the *Quarterly Journal of Science* and though getting old and worn out, maintained his intellectual vitality to the full. A man of strong memory, he had in his library a splendid collection of rare books and MSS; every one of which he had studied. This library which cost him £ 10,000 he subsequently presented to the East India Company deeming it more likely to be beneficial to Oriental science than it would if it were

to remain in the hands of an individual. Owing to constant reading, he became totally blind and died in 1836.

Colebrooke's fame as an Orientalist of the first rank is an abiding and undying one. His miscellaneous essays (2 Vols) published in 1872 by his son would alone entitle him to be considered the foremost Sanskrit scholar. It will be absurd to judge Colebrooke by the fulness of knowledge that we now possess or by the standard of literary and historic criticism that those who have been nurtured in the school of Colebrooke have, in later times, laid for us. At a time when, even among English scholars, literary criticism was unknown and when Indians naturally felt shy and refused to be communicative, Colebrooke was able to astonish the European world by his masterly and, what is even now considered, accurate exposition of Indian religious thought and philosophy. Nor the articles collected deal only with one branch of our national activities. Philology, Astronomy, Law and Mathematics claimed his equal attention. Of those articles dealing with the Indian systems of philosophy, says a French writer:—

“If ever memoirs deserved a complete and faithful translation, they are assuredly those of Mr. Colebrooke, that Indianist, so learned and conscientious, that *Vir nungnam Satī Landandus*, as he has been so justly styled by Dr. Stenzler in the preface to his recent beautiful edition of *Raghuvamśa*: for we do not hesitate to say that, without the excellent works of Mr. Colebrooke on the Sanskrit language and the most abstruse science of India—where he lived 30 years as a member of the administration, the knowledge so far complete of the language of these sciences and of the sciences themselves, might have been almost independently retarded in Europe. For only to speak of the essays on the philosophy of the Hindus, Mr. Colebrooke had read all the numerous works on that philosophy he had succeeded in procuring and it is from the methodical extracts and resumes from the works that he has composed his memoirs—precious models of exposition and philosophical analysis in

which the European scholar withdraws himself to allow us almost constantly to converse with the Indian writers, which secures for these abridged expositions of the philosophical systems of India the highest amount of confidence and accuracy possible."

Nor did Colebrooke rest content with the mere exposition of well-known systems such as the Sankya, Nyaya, Vaisheshika, Mimamsa and Vedanta systems. Thorough in his methods and systems of study, he was the first to give us on an enlarged scale an account of the various minor sects of India—a subject which, in our own day, has been admirably handled by Sir R. G. Bhandharkar. Colebrooke and Col. Mackenzie were the first to notice, in the pages of the Asiatic Researches, the existence and the tenets of the Jains. To their labours enthusiastically assisted later on by Buhler, Jacobi and Hoernle, Jainism owes its rehabilitation as one of the earliest home religions of India. These essays of Colebrooke then are justly considered as standards of reference on matters to which they relate. His essay on the Vedas published in 1805 made the Europeans acquainted for the first time with this most ancient work of the Hindus and the Aryan world. But the effect and importance of the discovery was unhappily marred by Colebrooke's assertion that the study of the Vedas "would hardly reward the labour of the reader, much less that of the translator." Colebrooke was the first European writer again, as has been pointed out by R. C. Dutt, who thoroughly inquired into the subject of Hindu algebra, arithmetic and astronomy and it is feared he is the last European to write on that topic with the confidence and authority of an erudite Sanskrit scholar.

Of his other essays we shall but mention their names. In 1795 he published in the IV volume of the Asiatic Researches an essay on the duties of a faithful Hindu widow, containing an exposition of the principles underlying the Sati, that was even then fast disappearing. Between 1795 and 1801 he wrote three essays on the religious ceremonies of the Hindus and of the Brahmans

about which owing to imperfect accounts that appeared in the press, wild notions were entertained. Colebrooke's account of the minor sects, the Charvakas and Locayaticas, Maheswaras and Pasupatas, the Pancharatras or Bhagavatas led Oriental scholars to a new branch of research in the religious history of the Indian people. In his "observations on the sect of the Jains, 1807, Colebrooke citing extensively from the writings of Greek authors had successfully established the priority of Jainism over Buddhism whose offshoot it was popularly conceived to be. Mr. Colebrooke was equally interested in the inscriptional history of our country. Five of his articles in the miscellaneous essays, Vol. II, are devoted to the study and interpretation of inscriptions found in the rocks of South Bihar, Delhi and other places. In the field of epigraphy, however, Dr. Fleet transcends other European Scholars. One of the founders of the Astronomical Society, Mr. Colebrooke from early days was assiduous in his mathematical studies.

Both as president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal & Director of the Royal Asiatic Society which he helped to found in 1823, Colebrooke has always placed only one ideal before the members, and that may be seen from the extract of a discourse which he made before a meeting of the R. A. S. in March 1823.

"To those countries of Asia in which civilization may be justly considered to have had its origin or to have attained its earliest growth, the rest of the civilized world owes a large debt of gratitude which it cannot but be solicitous to repay and England, as most advanced in refinement, is for that very cause the most beholden and, by acquisition of dominion in the East, is bound by a yet closer tie. As Englishmen we participate in the earnest wish that this duty may be fulfilled and that obligation requited and we share in the anxious desire of contributing to such a happy result; by promoting an interchange of benefits and returning in an improved state that which was received in a cruder form."



## BRITAIN AND INDIA

BY

LT. COL. SIR EDWARD W. M. GRIGG, K.C.V.O., C.M.G., D.S.O.,

THE subject of this paper\* was suggested to me by an eloquent and amusing passage in Birdwood's "Mahratta Plough." That essay, as many will remember, is a wonderful study of the life and methods of a village community in Western India. In the passage which set me to work on this paper, Birdwood is inveighing against our tendency to force western methods upon an eastern social organisation to which they are utterly strange, and he quotes as an example an attempt which he himself observed to introduce a steam plough into the agriculture of an Indian State. This is his description of the event:—

I remember a steam plough being sent to Jamkhadi, one of the Southern Mahratta Native States. It was led out festooned with roses and jasmine, like an Indian Bridegroom, into a rich regar field, and all of us who were called together to witness the prodigies it was to perform, were also wreathed with roses, and touched on our hands and foreheads with *attar*; and sprinkled all over with rose water. In a moment, with a snort, and a shriek, and a puff of smoky steam, the gigantic mechanism made a vigorous, loud-hissing rush forward, but, as was at once perceived, also gradually downward, until, after vainly struggling for a while against an ignominious fate, it at last foundered in the furrow it had so deeply delved into the soft, yielding soil; and then not all the king's soldiers, and all the king's men, nor all the servants of the incensed Bhavani [Athene Boarmia, the "Ox-yoker" here] the hereditary blacksmiths and carpenters from the neighbouring palatine village, could do anything with the portentous monster. Nothing could be done with it as a steam plough. It had been recklessly brought into a sacrosanct economic system wherein it had no place, except as another god; and another god it was at once made. As soon as it could be moved out of the field it was sided into the village temple hard by; and there its huge steel share was set up on end, and bedaubed red, and worshipped as a lingam, the phallic symbol of Siva; and there, I suppose, it stands an object of worship to this day."

The episode is tempting to the moralist, and Birdwood evidently enjoyed his opportunity. The English, he avers, do not sufficiently distinguish between the prosperity of a country and the felicity of its inhabitants. "That men do not live by bread alone," he says, "is one of the truest facts of life in India absolutely hidden from our eyes," and he concludes that "the deepest gulf before England is that we are ourselves digging by forcing the insular institutions

of this country on the foreign soil of India—India of the Hindus. That is the special lesson of the English steam plough laid up in divinity in the Jamkhadi State."

To anyone whose heart, like that of so many Englishmen, is always half in India, there rings a melancholy warning in Birdwood's parable. It reminded me of Spencer Walpole's summary verdict that "Centuries hence some philosophic historian will relate the history of the British in India as a romantic episode which has had no appreciable effect upon the progress of the human family." My object in this paper is to suggest some considerations by which that verdict should be tempered—or, as I myself hope, reversed. The subject is a large one and I can only attempt a footnote upon it, but I hope that some day this special theme will be taken up with greater knowledge and insight by some British or Indian historian. "In all struggles," once said Sir Charles Napier, "the meanest, if he does his utmost, is of use; the drum boy, eight years old, ought to imagine the battle rests upon himself and his drum." There are so many here to-day with far greater knowledge and experience of India than I, that I beg them to take that passage as describing the spirit in which I attack a subject meet for some far more experienced hand.

To begin with, it is necessary, I fear, to make a present to the critics of British rule in India of many errors of method and judgment aptly symbolised by the Jamkhadi steam plough. Our notions of law and justice, of education, of land tenure, and of popular welfare in general—not to present too large a list—have undoubtedly shown many signs of that mistake. Let us in humility accept the not unsympathetic verdict on this point of a very able Frenchman, M. Joseph Chailley, who studied our Indian system of government with laborious care. Here is his summing up of our legislation:—

"The intentions of the Anglo-Indian legislators were excellent, and their ideas just. They sought to endow India with a certain, and at the same time with a varied, legislation, which should permit of progress, sustain morality, and respect custom; and they have, in large part, succeeded. But they failed to realize that they were giving place too rapidly, and too largely, to the judicial conceptions and procedure of Europe, and they thus compromised the magnificent gift they were bestowing on India."

\* *The Common Service of the British and Indian Peoples to the World*: Sir George Birdwood Memorial Lecture at the Royal Society of Arts, April 22.

M. Chailley is probably on equally sure ground when he deals with our justice and our Courts of Law :—

The English have made the mistake of introducing—in the belief that they were working for progress, and following the dictates of their own conscience rather than the wishes of the natives—guarantees and formalities which involve cost and delays, and which are distasteful to all but a small class of the population."

And he sums up the consequences in a passage of much insight :—

"One is struck by the fact that in India generally, a condemnation passed by a British tribunal is not held by native opinion to involve moral degradation. I do not mean that even on the frontier the natives despise British justice; not at all. They consider it admirable, and prodigious; but not suited to them."

M. Chailley is probably right in holding that justice "will never again shelter itself under the oak of St. Louis," in India or elsewhere; but how many of our best district officers have longed, in common with their Indian fellow-subjects, that it might!

Land tenure and land revenue I shall humbly pass by. I suppose we are all agreed in lamenting that Cornwallis rushed in where Akbar feared to tread, and in rejoicing that his example was not followed by Indian Governors elsewhere. One feels that, in this problem, where British statesmanship is largely bound by its own acts, Indian statesmanship is free; and it is perhaps by Indian agency that necessary Indian revenues will be released for the benefit of the Indian people as a whole.

The defects of our educational system in India are a case in point. We can justly remember that our motive was high. The renewal of the East India Company's charter in 1813 contained the stipulation that a lakh of rupees should be spent on education, and when in 1815 the Company's Directors expressed some fear that education might create a political movement dangerous to British ascendancy, Lord Hastings, the Governor-General, replied that we could not betray our principles of government for sordid motives of that kind. Twenty years later Macaulay's arrival upon the Indian scene gave the final impulse and stamp to our educational aims; and there is no denying that in due season we have reaped a rich harvest of superficially educated young men floating discontentedly between two worlds

"—One dead,

The other struggling to be born."

The parable of the steam plough applies to this part of our record with special force.

But though this line of criticism may be true so far as it goes, I venture to say that it represents only a part, and that the lesser part, of the whole truth. Sir George Birdwood himself, who uttered the warning, would never, I am sure, have conceived of applying it to the whole results of British rule in India or of subscribing to Spencer Walpole's facile epitaph on the history of the three centuries which have passed since the seeds of British influence in India were first sown. How then are we to appraise the results of our rule? On the one side there are writers who assume that the steam plough represents all that a wise and docile India needs to ask, and that, where the steam plough has failed the failure is due solely to Indian prejudice and incompetence. On the other hand, there are those who believe with Mr. Gandhi that the steam plough has been a steam roller crushing down the real character and value of Indian life.

I am convinced that both these standpoints are essentially false. It is certainly for Englishmen to admit that in India, as elsewhere, they have sometimes let their passion for order and efficiency outrun the need for studying the standpoint and character of those to whom these western benefits are applied. "I always dread," wrote Sir Thomas Munro to Canning in 1821, "the downright Englishman who will insist on making Anglo-Saxons of the Hindus." On the other hand we may, I think, justly assume that the philosophic historian will not accept Mr. Gandhi's account of our influence on India without many reserves. It seems to me that neither side approaches the question in a manner likely to arrive at truth. The colonising Englishman is a tremendous power; but India was a country already great in history before the first English ship touched Indian shores. It had been the cradle of two of the five world religions; it had given birth to poets, statesmen, warriors and kings who take rank among the great men of all history; its foremost rulers had made their splendour felt not only in Asia, but in the Western world; it was a civilization, distinct from ours, as diverse as Europe in its peoples, and static perhaps in character, but the equal of Europe in many of the higher manifestations of human genius and character. Commonsense, if nothing better, should lead us to suspect that whatever the results of the close association of Englishmen and Indians during three centuries, that result cannot be attributed wholly to either one people or the other but jointly to both.



All work is of course conditioned by the material in which it is done. A statue carved in marble is necessarily different from a statue cast in bronze. An Indian garden is very different from a garden in the West. The eulogist of British achievements argues that it is not the marble or the bronze or the soil of the garden, but the genius of the sculptor and the skill and care of the gardener, that give the great result. He speaks as though the Indian peoples and the Indian peninsula had merely provided the material in which a heroic political and moral work has been wrought by British genius and efficiency. When I speak of the results of British rule in India as attributable to both peoples, I assign far more than the role of passive material to the Indian side. It seems to me as unjust to claim the whole credit for British genius as to deny its fertilizing and stimulating effect and to assert that but for British oppression the Indian genius would have flowered immeasurably in the past century. We hear too much of British achievement on the one side and of Indian wrongs on the other, because so much history seems to be written exclusively either from the British or else from the Indian point of view. When, in contrast to this, I suggest that the main achievement of India in the last century stands to the joint credit of both peoples, British and Indian, in a common account, I mean that Indians as well as British have been an active and essential element in the joint result. The real process has been one of close and constant interaction; it has been due in varying degrees, of which the Indian proportion has grown steadily, to the mind and spirit of both races. When the time comes to appraise the progress of India without racial bias or political prejudice, the philosophic historian will probably find it as hard to assign the credit of the achievement between the two races as to assign between two parents the credit for their child.

Let us endeavour to appraise briefly what the process has been.

I suppose that the final emergence of a conscious purpose in British rule in India may be assigned to the period immediately following the Napoleonic wars. It is quite true that Clive and Warren Hastings, to say nothing of their immediate successors down to Wellesley, often dreamt of an Indian Empire under the British flag and in some ways made the first beginnings of the structure which the 19th Century completed; but until the end of the Napoleonic Wars,

we kept our hold on India and took the successive steps by which it was enlarged mainly under pressure of our long struggle for existence with successive European powers. It was only when Napoleon was finally removed from the scene that we took the broad purpose of government in India quite clearly and consciously to our hearts.

What has been the specifically British contribution to Indian development?

In the first place let us do justice to the material side of our work, not all of which has gone the hapless way of the Jamkhandi steam plough. We can point without cheap pride to railways and telegraphs, to canals and irrigation schemes, to the extinction of much cruelty, to the protection of the weak against the strong, to the establishment of a fairer incidence of taxation, to the maintenance of security on coast and frontier and of peace (compared with earlier centuries) within, to the endowment of India for the first time with a system of popular education, and finally to the co-ordination of administration throughout India under a single controlling power. No Asiatic State began to walk this road for half a century after we were well launched on it in India, none has even approached the same high state of organization except the island Empire of Japan. In Persia, in Asiatic Russia, in China, in the Dutch East Indies, what is there for comparison? Russia and Holland were the only European Powers with Asiatic possessions at the close of the Napoleonic wars. We need not fear to have the progress of Asiatic Russia or of the Dutch East Indies from 1815 onwards contrasted too favourably, decade by decade, with Indian progress in British hands. Still less need we fear the contrast of Indian development with that of Persia or of China, racked by European feuds and rent by faction and incompetence within.

And here again, in a more important matter than before, I take leave to question the parable of the Jamkhandi steam plough. Birdwood pointed with great truth to the fact that the prosperity of a country is no infallible measure of the felicity of its inhabitants. If our gift to India had been a gift only of material things, it would be hard to deny that we were disturbing a social organisation of almost immemorial antiquity for little real advance in human happiness. But who can suppose that it lay in our power to arrest the contact of East and West? The contact was fore-destined, inevitable. India tasted it in its unregulated and competitive form all through the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. If we had abandoned India after the Napoleonic Wars, when the purpose of government first took clear and conscious shape, she would have fallen back an easy prey to the very evils from which our emergence as the predominant power saved her.

Contact between East and West was inevitable. Nothing could arrest the eager and acquisitive spirit of the European pioneers. India lay right across their path, an Eldorado of the Orient, whose wealth was already proved and known. If the British Government had withdrawn, exploitation so far from losing momentum would have gathered it; and in due season, after another era of commercial and military adventure conducted by private enterprise, the British Government would have stepped in again, not because it wished it but because it had no choice.

Let us admit, then, that European methods and ideals could not have been averted, were they desirable or not. Let us admit that in the zeal of their efficiency the British rulers of India often attempted to go faster and further than was wise. Let us admit that with the material benefit there came new ideas and standards, new methods of justice, new codes of law, profoundly unsettling to the social organisation of the East. Was there really no gift to India in all this except disturbance and unrest?

The answer is surely not in doubt. With our new mechanism of life, with our railway and telegraphs and canals, even with our steam ploughs, we brought to India the great endowment of our own political history, our hard-won knowledge and experience. On the material scaffolding of our Western system of government there has gradually grown up a mental and moral structure which could not have come into being without its aid. There lives and moves a spirit in India to-day, which is Indian through and through, for race-consciousness is of its essence and self-reliance its dearest aim—but that spirit could not have come into being without the mental and moral assimilation of British ideals, sown by British rule. Indian nationalism has a British no less than an Indian parentage. We have given India the communications and the government which have made a nation out of its warring races and states. We have started the impulse which is surely, though very slowly, bridging on the secular side the deep gulf between the creeds. We have sown the ideas of civic responsibility and self-government which are rising now in a mighty harvest all across the Indian scene. We have

given this nationalism its language, our language, the only language in which all races of India can communicate and in which their common ideals can take shape. The Indian nationalism of our time is not only the product but the justification of British rule.

We can afford then to let our critics disparage the high Roman fashion in which we have often pursued our aims. We can afford to acknowledge all those errors of method, judgment and understanding which are summed up in the Jamkhandi steam plough. Modern India stands to our credit, whatever may be our mistakes. The keel and ribs of that new ship, the Indian nation, were laid and riveted by British shipwrights, building with conscious purpose, though even the most far-seeing builded more greatly than he knew.

So much for the British side. What is India's share of parentage? I am convinced that Indian mind and feeling have been a strong modifying force in the whole process of development. It seems to me a complete mis-reading of the past century of Indian history to suppose that the reaction of India to British rule has been merely the passive reaction of material to a moulding hand. I will try to show why.

In the first place it seems to me essential to recognize that British rule in India would have collapsed at the Mutiny, never to be restored, if it had not enjoyed not only the blind acquiescence of the masses but the reasoned support of the higher ranks and castes of the Indian people. Foreign government might have been forced upon India for a time by the power of superior organization for war; but it would have dealt everywhere with sullen folk, breaking into sporadic revolt and seamed with violence. That has not been the history of British rule. The real Mutiny touched only a strip of Northern India, and even so our moral and fighting power could not have saved the Raj but for the support of a majority of the Indian princes and governing classes, who held firmly to our side. Behind British rule there looms, and has always loomed, the prestige of a great people, who, time and again, have proved their mettle in Indian wars and whose power encompasses the earth. But this prestige has stood behind the British Raj in India only as the ultimate power of the State stands behind the law in England. It has been a moral power, and the government based upon it has been willingly accepted, with few exceptions, because, on the whole, the feeling and the reason of the Indian people have been steadily upon it.



side. Let us make no mistake. Indian allegiance to the Raj has been given, broadly speaking, as a reasoned and contented choice. It was so given because those who ruled India before our advent, and those who, under British rule as before it, governed the religious feelings and primitive ideas of its inarticulate millions, broadly approved our character and saw virtue in our aims. But for that reasoned acceptance, which carried with it an almost universal readiness to co-operate, British rule in India would already be a dream of the past. "The Indian people," says Sir Alfred Lyall, "were from the beginning, so far from objecting to the English dominion in India that they co-operated willingly in promoting it." Nor is that true only of the British conquest. The measure and capacity of Indian co-operation grew steadily from the first opening given to Indian ability by Lord William Bentinck in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century right up to its close, when the nationalist movement began to gather strength.

During all that period Indian feeling and Indian opinion exercised an increasing influence upon our policy. The rapid series of annexations, which culminated in the annexation of Oudh, just before the Mutiny, so seriously affected Indian sentiment that they were undoubtedly one of the contributory causes which carried the Sepoy Army into rebellion. As I have already said, Indian loyalty on the whole stood firmly to our cause in that crisis; we should not have weathered the storm, if it had not. But we were wise enough to heed the warning, and call a halt to the policy of annexing Indian States. I do not think that Dalhousie's doctrine of lapse regarding the succession to Indian thrones has ever been revived since that time.

That is only one example of the direct influence of Indian feeling on high policy. An even more important one may be found in the gradual admission of Indians to posts of trust, and more slowly still to posts of responsibility, in Indian Government. It is perfectly true that the wisdom and justice of this course was preached from very early times—early in the Nineteenth Century, for instance, by men like Sir John Malcolm and Sir Thomas Munro.

"We ought to look forward to a time," wrote the latter as Governor of Madras in a Minute dated April 27th, 1827, "when Natives may be employed in almost every office, however high, and we ought to prepare them gradually for such a change by entrusting them with higher duties from time to time in proportion as experience may prove their being qualified to receive them."

Every time that a native is raised to a higher office than had been filled before by any of his countrymen, an impulse will be given to the whole establishment."

"It is the policy of the British Government," he says elsewhere, "to improve the character of its subjects, and this cannot be done better than by raising them in their own estimation, by employing them in situations both of trust and authority."

It is well worth remembering that these are the words of a soldier with profound experience of Indian warfare no less than of Indian administration. The last words come from some Memoranda dated 1812 1813.\*

I cannot resist one further quotation. It is from his "Minute on the State of the Country and the Condition of the People," dated 31st December, 1844†:—

"When we reflect," he writes, "how much the character of nations has always been influenced by that of Governments, and that some, once the most cultivated, have sunk into barbarism, while others, formerly the rudest, have attained the highest point of civilization, we shall see no reason to doubt that, if we steadily pursue the proper measures, we shall in time so far improve the character of our Indian subjects, as to enable them to govern and protect themselves."

That was written over a hundred years ago, and who shall say that the faith in it is not being justified?

The faith in India, held by many of our greatest in the Indian Services throughout the century—though, after the Mutiny it suffered a bitter relapse—is in itself the most cogent testimony to the influence of Indian mind and character upon the ideals of British rule. I could quote much from civilian and soldier alike in the same undebating vein. But the faith of many Englishmen would not have availed against the resistance of their more conservative brethren, had not a constant and increasing pressure for employment in places of trust been maintained by Indians of weight. Every efficient service is hostile to change, and no human organization likes to be overhauled when it is running well. The fitness of Indians for an increasing share in the government of their country was progressively established, and they owe to themselves their success in obtaining it; for it was they who won it, not we who gave. The laurels of that achievement are for India, and only a small minority of Englishmen have any share in them.

I am expressing no sympathy with lawless agitation when I point to the great experiment launched this year as the culminating example of

\* Gleig's *Life of Sir Thomas Munro*, Vol. II., p. 259.

† Ibid. Vol. III., p. 388.

the growth of Indian mind and character during the past century. We are a conservative people and we make changes in our system only in response to an effective demand for them. It is quite certain, however, that mere sedition would not have moved us to such innovations. We have recognised, and rightly recognised, a powerful but constitutional demand from an educated minority as representing the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people, and now we may justly look to the governing classes in India to support us in arresting sedition which aims at the basis of all government. They have not failed us at need in the past; I do not believe they will fail us now. The great mission just completed by the Duke of Connaught as the representative of the King-Emperor, and the truly understanding note of all his public utterances during the tour, are the surest of all signs to India that the Empire is with her in the loyal aspirations which the new system of government has been devised to fulfill.

The capacity of Indians for high and responsible office under the Crown must be proved by their success in bearing it; but we may look for it with even greater confidence after a century than was shown by Sir Thomas Munro. That the land which bred Asoka and Akbar has statesmanship still in its veins is proved, I think, by the record of many Indians in public service or in public life during the last fifty years. Every Anglo-Indian administrator can think of instances known personally to him, though the best have hitherto served mainly on the judicial side of the Indian Services. I will mention two only amongst those who have figured prominently in public life—Sir Syed Ahmed and Mr. Gokhale—neither of whom ever held an official post. A Mahomedan and a Brahmin, they represented widely different strains in Indian history; but they had a common faith in Indian character and a common yearning that it should prove and be approved as fit for the control of its own affairs.

Nor let us forget that Indians have already shown their organising power in the foundation of industries on Indian soil. This is one of the greater fields of expansion and activity just opening before the Indian people, and their pioneers have had to overcome much doubt and criticism, as well as that strong distrust in all schemes of exploitation which has marked the British official in India ever since the covenanted service first came into being. I do not know whether such great Indian enterprises as the Tata steel and iron works have yet emerged from the struggling stage;

there are times in which industry everywhere has to battle hard for life. But whatever their position, those enterprises are striking testimony to what may be expected of Indian brains and character in this century.

I spoke a few minutes ago of what the English language has done for India. Let us acknowledge that Indians are already repaying this debt. Our language has been permanently enriched by the translations from his own poetry published by Rabindranath Tagore; and there are other English works by Indian writers which promise a new vein in English literature. It is pleasant to see that Mr. Fisher, the Secretary for Education, has written a preface to the English poems of Toru Dutt, a gifted young Indian poetess who died very young, collected and re-published by the Oxford Press in the last few days.

The Indian mind has already proved its keenness and its strength in literature, in philosophy, in politics, in law and in industry. There is yet another branch of intellectual activity, distinctively European hitherto, in which the patience and peculiar subtlety of Indian intellect promises great result—I mean, in all forms of scientific research. I believe that Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose already stands very high amongst Fellows of the Royal Society in his contributions to our knowledge of the life of plants; and there will without doubt be many Indian men of science no less talented and industrious to follow in his steps.

I have been seeking to summarise the contribution which Indians have made to their progress under British government during the last century. Let me quote in conclusion an Indian poem from Tagore's *Gitanjali*, since it expresses with touching eloquence the deep yearning and the true character which has brought Indian nationalism to birth as a living and inspiring faith in the present century:—

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come out from the depth of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;



Where the mind is led forward by thee into  
ever-widening thought and action—

Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let  
my country awake."

If the soul of a people is in its songs, those are  
accents rich in promise for Indian nationalism.

I have tried to analyse the distinctive contributions of British and Indian genius to Indian progress during the past century, and to indicate how striking in its results that joint achievement is. Where British genius has greatly led and inspired, Indian genius has greatly responded and flowered. It is amazing to look at what our joint achievement, the work of a century, means.

In their wonderful union, with all its felicities and with all its pains, the British and Indian peoples have been the pioneers in grappling with the fundamental problems which arise out of the contact between East and West. That problem is now solved. In some ways it grows ever larger as its phases succeed each other and the contact becomes more close; but the peaceful development of India to the point which she has reached to-day, and the increasing response of her leaders to the call for statesmanship in their ranks, is full of promise for the even greater tests which she has still to undergo. The East is static no longer; it is moving faster than the West. But the progress of India in the past century has placed her peacefully in the van of Asiatic States, with no equal in development except Japan: and that fact stands greatly to the credit of her own people as well as ours.

The association of the British and Indian peoples has wrought yet another wonderful result. In spite of their vast diversities, the States and peoples of India have been moulded into one people, owning a common loyalty to one Throne, and moving rapidly towards the recognition of a common destiny. The diversities still exist; but there has never been in Indian history before so wide and comprehensive a sentiment as that which makes the States and Provinces one in fealty to the King-Emperor's Throne. Those who looked forward to the growth of self-government in India a century ago never dreamt that such a destiny could dawn on India as a united whole. The path to be trodden is still difficult and long, but who shall say that the way will not be kept and the goal attained?

There are many elements which must be combined to ensure success. In the first place the issue is not yet in sight when Indian unity and democracy can be maintained without the strong

moral fibre of the British Raj. The British Services in India, too, are still the essential cement of the Indian polity; and little true advance will be made unless co-operation is greatly developed between the Indian leaders now taking up the tasks of government and that essentially British system of administration, the purest and most disinterested the world has ever seen. All agitation directed against the structure of our rule, attacks, not only the British Empire, but the foundations of Indian nationalism itself, which cannot reach its goal without our protection and our help. There are, of course, elements of danger which are manifest to all; but co-operation has been loyally invited, and it is being as loyally given. In that mutual loyalty of British and Indian administrators, inspired by a common allegiance and a common aim, lies the great hope of our time. Much also must depend upon the Indian Princes, who rule one-third of the soil of India and one quarter of its people. They have to deal with problems of their own, and the policy of British India must always be so shaped as to keep them willing partners in the movement towards self-government of India as a whole. In all these things it is for the British Raj, which has called a new and united India into being, to maintain the structure of unity until Indians can maintain it for themselves.

But while the Raj maintains the structure it has built, the inspiration of Indian policy must pass increasingly to Indian mind. Indians are entitled to demand a government closely identified with Indian feeling, quickly responsive to Indian impulses, Indian in its character and aims, and as completely in sympathy with the Indian people as are all British Governments with their own peoples in purely British lands. They are entitled also to desire, as they deserve, a status in the councils of the Empire, and an influence upon its policy, in keeping with India's importance and worth as one of the great Dominions of the Crown. I spoke just now of united India as a ship wrought by British ship-wrights, who have laid the keel and riveted the frame. Shall I be straining a metaphor too far if I say that Indian nationalism will now be the driving power in the engine-room, while Indian statesmanship shares equally with us the directing power upon the bridge?

There are people who honestly doubt whether such changes can or should be made; but do they think that the world stands still? It was once reported to Carlyle that Margaret Fuller, after

much turmoil of soul, had decided to accept the universe. "Gad!" said Carlyle, "she'd better!" There is a salutary moral in that tale.

For, after all, the main arguments against political development in India are arguments which have been used in vain against political development everywhere. Aristotle remarks very sagely somewhere that the only way of learning to play the flute is to play the flute; and the saying applies completely to the training of citizens for responsible government. Let us not forget that the spread of political responsibility is proceeding faster in the world than ever before.

"The influences," says Lord Bryce, in his just published book on modern democracy, "playing on the mind and habits even of a backward race are now unceasing and pervasive. There is more moving to and fro, more curiosity, more thinking and reading. Changes which it would have needed a century to effect may now come in three or four decades. Superstitions and all else that is rooted in religion hold out longest; but the habits of deference and obedience to earthly powers can crumble fast, and as they crumble self-reliance grows. Thus the capacity for self-government may be in our time more quickly acquired than experience in the past would give ground for expecting."

No doubt that in this process Western institutions will be adapted and perhaps entirely transformed. There is no reason to believe that the West has any longer a monopoly of the secrets of political growth. With all its virtues, the close association of our Government with the people through district officers has been increasingly impaired; and there was need of some new elixir to vitalize it and bring it once more into touch with the springs of Indian life. That is for Indian statesmen to achieve. They have the opportunity, and with our co-operation why should we doubt that they will use it, in the long run, both wisely and well?

I heard an Indian story once of a village girl whose lover was taken from her to

the court of an Indian Prince. Often he begged to be allowed to return home; the Prince was obdurate. But his prayers continued; and at last the Prince grew weary, and sent him back to his own people—having first cut off the flowing hair and beard which were his pride. The girl came out along the road to meet her lover when he returned; and as she went, she prayed to Kali that she might make no sign of repulsion on seeing him so disfigured and maimed. And Kali sent a storm with thunder and a fierce lightning-flash, and as the girl turned from her prayer she heard her lover's voice in the road, and suddenly feeling his arms unseen around her, she knew that Kali's lightning had struck her blind. The story does not end there. In due season the girl's blindness was healed, but the healing came slowly, and when at last her sight returned, behold! her lover's hair and beard were beautiful once more.

I do not want to press the moral of that tale too hard. But there are those who feel that they cannot bear to see the face of the India which they love disfigured by change; and perhaps, if they will pray as that girl and work for India still, their eyes, when they are opened, will not behold the havoc and ruin which they have feared.

I have travelled a long way from the Jamkhandi steam plough. Let us forget it with a smile, sacred, bedaubed and derelict in the Jamkhandi State. The truer parable, as I believe and would have you believe, is that of the ship—His Majesty's Ship "India," the pride of two great peoples, British in her framework, Indian now in her driving power, taking the waves upon a new commission as momentous for herself, the Empire and the world as any yet entrusted to his British or Indian subjects by the King-Emperor.

# LORD SINHA'S

## SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

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## 380 THE INTERVIEW AND THE SEQUEL

Mr. Gandhi's interview with Lord Reading had been looked forward to with considerable interest all over the country. Striking results were expected of it. In spite of many surmises of reporters, the public should be guided solely by the statements made by Mr. Gandhi and Lord Reading on the nature and effects of the interview. The interview was originally arranged by Pandit Malaviya who suggested to the Viceroy that he should see Mr. Gandhi. There were not one but many interviews. Mr. Gandhi soon after the interviews spoke of them as "both successful and unsuccessful." The Viceroy heard him "patiently, courteously and attentively" and Mr. Gandhi took the opportunity to explain fully the three claims, the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swarajya and also the genesis of Non-Co operation." "There was no finesse or manoeuvre about it" said His Excellency speaking of the interview, "it seemed to be a plain and straight-forward arrangement." "These interviews," he said again "produced at least this satisfactory result, that I got to know Mr. Gandhi and he got to know me." There were "full, free and frank discussions" and the mutual understanding between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi "was in itself no small gain." The question of non-violence was also discussed, says Mr. Gandhi "and it appeared to me to be common cause between us." The immediate, specific result of the interview was the statement published by the Ali Brothers which we print below. While the Viceroy's interview with Mr. Gandhi has on all hands been commended as a wise and statesmanlike procedure, it is regrettable that attempts should be made in England to discredit it. One, Commander Viscount Curzon, is reported to have affirmed in the Commons that Mr. Gandhi is publicly giving out that Lord Reading is sympathetic to Non-Co-operation. We in India knew nothing of this. And we wonder where the gallant Commander got the news from. Mr. Montagu however was able to say that "Mr. Gandhi had honourably fulfilled the conditions under which the interview was held."—[Ed. I.R.]

### I. The Ali-Brothers' Apology.

The following statement, under the signatures of Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali, was issued to the press on May 29.

Our friends have drawn our attention to certain speeches of ours, which, in their opinion, have a tendency to incite to violence. We desire to state that we never intended to incite to violence and we never imagined that any passages in our speeches were capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them. But we recognise the force of our friends' argument and interpretation. We, therefore, sincerely feel sorry and express our regret for the unnecessary heat of some of the passages in these speeches, and we give our public assurance and promise to all who may require it that, so long as we are associated with the movement of Non-Co-operation, we shall not directly or indirectly, advocate violence at present or in the future, nor create an atmosphere of preparedness for violence. Indeed, we hold it contrary to the spirit of non-violent Non-Co-operation to which we have pledged our word.

### II. The Government's Communique.

The Government of India published the following Press Communique on the 30th May.

In view of the publication of these expressions of regret and promises for the future, the Government of India desire to make it known generally that they had decided on the 6th May to prosecute Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, for certain speeches delivered in the United Provinces during the last few months. These speeches, in the opinion of the Government of India, were direct incitements to violence. The immediate object of the Government in determining to enforce the law on the present occasion was to prevent incitement to violence and preserve order. After the decision to which reference has been made was reached, it was urged on the Government that their immediate object could be obtained without

recourse to the criminal courts. The Government consequently, owing to the statement now issued over the signature of Messrs Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, have decided to defer from instituting criminal proceedings against them in respect of those speeches so long as the solemn public undertaking contained in the statement issued to the press is observed. Should the conditions of this undertaking not be performed, the Government of India will be at liberty to prosecute them for their past speeches. It must not be inferred from the original determination of the Government to prosecute for the speeches inciting to violence that promoting disaffection of a less violent character is not an offence against the law.

### III. The Viceroy on the Statement.

In the course of his speech at the Chelmsford Club on May 31, His Excellency referred to the interview in the following terms:—

As you may be aware, the result of these visits and discussions was that Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali have issued a public pronouncement, which, doubtless, you have seen to day, expressing their sincere regret for certain speeches that they had made inciting to violence and have given a solemn public undertaking that they will not repeat these speeches or similar speeches so long as they remain associated with Mr. Gandhi. (Hear, hear)

I do not want to discuss this matter at any length. I merely refer to it as showing that the interviews were not entirely fruitless because, so far as the Government is concerned, we achieved our immediate object, which was to prevent incitement to violence. I have had occasion once before to say that it almost always reacts with fatal effect upon those who are most innocent. (Hear, hear.) We, as a Government, have a duty to perform. We have to protect those who may be thus led away and we, therefore, had determined to take steps in order to vindicate the law, to maintain its authority and to prevent the recurrence of any further violence.

#### IV. Mr. Gandhi's Views.

In a note on "The Brothers' Apology." Mr. Gandhi comments as follows in the *Young India* of June 1 :—

As soon as some friends brought passages in some of their (the Ali Brothers') speeches to my notice, I felt that they sounded harsh and seemed to be capable of being interpreted to mean incitement to violence. The air was thick with rumours of their arrest. No Non-Co-operator can afford to go to prison on a false issue, certainly not on a denial of his faith, i.e., non-violence. I felt at once that I should draw their attention to the passages and advise them to make a statement clearly defining their position. \*

My "alliance" with them, as our friendship has been called, is based upon my belief in their strict honesty, frankness, fearlessness, courage and humility. I know that they are among much-maligned men in India. All kinds of motives are attributed to them. They are said to be making me their easy tool. Time, I am sure, will disprove all these charges. But it was necessary that no hasty expression of theirs was used against them to damage their character or good faith. Nothing can be more hurtful to an honourable man than that he should be accused of bad faith. It was in order to safeguard them, in so far as it lay in their power, against any such imputation, that I advised them to make the statement now published. In my opinion, by making it they have raised the tone and prestige of the Khilafat struggle they are leading. They have set an example to other workers. We are not to seek imprisonment out of bravado. The goal is the gateway to liberty and honour, when innocence finds itself in it. The statement is a warning to all of us, that we who are fighting the battle for freedom and truth, must be most exact in our language.

#### V. Mr. Mahomed Ali's Explanations.

Presiding over the Khilafat Conference at Broach on June 3, Mr. Mahomed Ali referred to the Viceroy's speech and said :—

He knew of no speech of his or his brother's, in which either had incited anyone to violence. Nor did they know of any speech which they had undertaken not to repeat. Their public announcement had been worded in the clearest possible manner, and no one was entitled to read into it a meaning that it did not contain. They had certainly expressed regret for the unnecessary heat of some passages in some speeches of theirs, to which some friends had drawn their attention, and they felt convinced that they owed it, not to this Government which had still to make amends for the Jallianwala Bagh and the Crawling tale, but to the non-violent non-co-operation movement, which was as pure as it was powerful and to which they were as deeply attached as their dearly beloved leader, Mahatma Gandhi himself. His object was that they should publicly express their regret even for the heat of some stray passages, which it was contended that some people could interpret as an incitement to violence.

Unlike the Government they had no personal prestige to maintain, beyond the prestige of truth and they could not sacrifice honesty and justice at the heathen altar of personal prestige.

#### VI. Hakim Ajmal Khan's Statement.

The publication of the Ali Brothers' statement and the Government's explanation led to a persistent controversy in the press. Some interpreted the apology as a climb down while the Non-Co-operationists re-affirmed their confidence in Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers. Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. M. A. Ansari issued a statement to the press on June 7 in which they declared :—

We regard it a privilege to declare that Mr. Gandhi possesses the fullest confidence of his colleagues and the followers in our province.

We have been pained and surprised to note that, in Moderate and Government circles, an attempt has been made to characterise the honest and candid declaration recently issued by the Ali Brothers as an apology tendered out of fear of prosecution, but the fact remains that, if there is one charge of which the worst enemy of the Ali Brothers, cannot successfully accuse them, it is want of courage. Their expression of regret for any heat of speech appears to us to have been dictated by motives the reverse of those, directly or indirectly, imputed to them by pettifogging journalists or in higher quarters. They have proved the honesty of their purpose and profound loyalty to the cause of their country and religion by publicly repudiating the distorted interpretation put upon some of their speeches, and what is being referred to as an undertaking not to repeat the offence of which the Government intended to take legal notice appears to us simple and straight forward reaffirmation of their faith in non-violent Non-Co-operation.

So far from humiliating themselves by doing so, we feel they have won the admiration of all thinking men by adopting a course which only honesty and courage could inspire. They have gained a higher place in the estimation of their co-workers and associates.

#### VII. Mr. Gandhi's Latest.

Mr. Gandhi reverted to the subject in the *Young India* of the 8th June. In an article criticising H. E. the Viceroy's speech at the Chelmsford Club Dinner, Mr. Gandhi wrote :—

If His Excellency, in my humble opinion, was hardly happy in his statement of the "fundamental principle of British rule," he was, I fear, even less so in his reference to Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali. I recognise that he has been exceedingly cautious in his speech. He has attempted not to wound susceptibilities. As a matter of fact, there was no question of wounding susceptibilities. He need not have spared the Maulanas where they might have erred. The statement made by the Brothers was instigated by me and me alone. It is an apology tendered to friends, and not to the Government. It is made not to evade prosecution, but to put themselves right with their own conscience and with their friends. The assurance to them, therefore, that there would be no prosecution so long as they abided by their undertaking, was gratuitous, if not offensive. Lord Reading's Government is free to take up prosecution against the Brothers at any moment they choose.



BY

· PROF. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

THIS little book purports to outline a general picture of India's intercourse with her neighbours at the dawn of history, but giving only such results as may be safely regarded definite and certain and not fanciful or conjectural. From about 700 B. C., it is fairly certain that an active sea-borne commerce sprang up between Babylon and the Farther East; and India had a good share in it. The overland routes were not impracticable; but commerce in this direction was from hand to hand, tribe to tribe, fitful, rare, uncertain and confined to articles of small bulk and great value. The maritime intercourse between India and Egypt was insignificant before the time of the Romans and was carried on mainly by the Arabs. Pliny's survey is invaluable to us in this connection and to a lesser extent the *Periplus*. From the time of Hecataeus the Greeks knew something of India; Herodotus gives many myths and facts about India; and Alexander drew the East nearer to Hellenism. Greek influences enriched the Indian plastic arts and some Greek words seem to have crept into Sanskrit, e.g. Kalinos, Surige. The jargon found in the recently unearthed papyrus of Oxyrhynchus is touched upon. The influence of Buddhism upon early Christianity was such that Prof. Sylvain Levi exclaims: "It looks as if the whole universe moved under a common impulse to a work of salvation under the auspices of Buddhism."

In Central Asia, Eastern Turkestan became the bridge on which Indian manners and customs and above all Indian religions passed both to Turkestan and Central Asia. When the Chinese lost the highway of the Tarim Basin, they opened intercourse with India mainly through the seas. Prof. Hirth believes that Canton was the cradle of the foreign trade of China ever since the third century B. C. From an unauthenticated account we hear that Indian Buddhist missionaries had

entered China as early as 227 B. C. Brahminism seems to have made its way from Orissa by sea to Indo-China; and it is a moot question whether South India was the starting point of this movement. The Champa Kingdom and all the region from Upper Burma to Cochin-China are strewn with countless temple ruins with rich ornamental sculptures and Sanskrit inscriptions. The magnificent temples of Angkor Thom and Angkor Wat built, from the evidence of inscriptions, in A. D. 825 show the influence of the gods of Brahminism and the beautiful legends of the Ramayana. The latter temple is bewildering in its complexity. The script of Cambodia resembles that of the Pali of Ceylon. About 700 A. D. Northern Buddhism made an unobtrusive entrance into Cambodia. Indian civilisation profoundly impressed the culture of Indonesia also. Buddhism has left its mark on the most glorious epoch of Javanese history; but Brahminism has shown greater vitality and has not yet been entirely rooted out. In the eighth century Hindu immigration into Java was very great; and Indian influence again revived there in the 15th century. Brahminism has defied successfully immigrant Islam in the Island of Balin. Even in Borneo there are remains of Hindu buildings and idols.

Hindu thought and culture have thus, opposed to common assertion, sought for geographical expansion from China to the Mediterranean, from Yarkand to Madagascar.

This monograph is succinct and so far, the subject as a whole has never been dealt with in any single work. The book is largely based upon pioneer works in the field, like the works of Dr. J. W. McCrindle, Dr. H. F. Helmolt, Dr. Firth, Sir Gaston Maspero, Dr. Kern and Dr. J. Groneman and others. This branch of Indology has also some recent forerunners like Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, Dr. R. K. Mukerjee; and disquisitions on this topic are bound to become more numerous and extensive in the immediate future.

\* *India as known to the Ancient World*, by Dr. G. N. Banerjee—Oxford University Press, 1921. pp. 73.

## MONTAGU'S SPEECHES ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

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# THE REFORMED LEGISLATURES

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## THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

### ALLOWANCE TO MEMBERS.

At the last session of the Assembly there was a heated debate on the position and allowances of its members as compared with those of the members of the Council of State.

H. E. the Governor-General in Council is now pleased to prescribe the rate of daily allowance admissible to the members of the Legislative Assembly at Rs. 20. This concession will have retrospective effect from the date on which members became entitled to draw the existing rate of Rs. 15 a day.

### THE PRESS ACT.

The Press Act Committee has concluded recording evidence and is now busy drafting its recommendations, which are expected to be ready by the end of the month. More than seventeen witnesses have been examined in all. The majority of witnesses are generally understood to have pressed for total repeal of the Press Act, with such modifications of the ordinary law of the land as would secure proper safeguards against sedition in the press.

### REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION.

The Committee on the Repressive Legislations begins work shortly under the presidency of Dr. Sapru, Law Member.

### IMPERIAL FINANCE COMMITTEE.

The Standing Finance Committee of the Legislative Assembly met at Simla on the 30th May and the succeeding days to consider the lump provisions in the Budget concerning which the Finance Member had given an undertaking in the As-

sembly to the effect that, except in cases of urgent necessity, no expenditure would be incurred against these provisions until the Finance Committee had had an opportunity of expressing their opinion. Mr. Hailey, Finance Member of the Government of India, presided. The following members were present:—Rao Bahadur T. Ranga-chari, Rao Bahadur Jadunath Mazumdar, Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali, Chaudhuri Shahab-uddin, Messrs Cotelingam, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Joshi, Kabraji and Sirkar.

The Committee first considered the list of lump provisions against which expenditure was already being incurred. The majority of these were accepted, but in some cases further information in support of the expenditure was desired.

Among the important items passed were provisions for the reorganisation of the Commercial Intelligence Department, the appointment of a Trade Commissioner and an Indian Assistant, expansion of the forest research institute at Dehra Dun, reorganisation of the Survey of India, the Imperial Tanning Institute at Calcutta, the School of Mines and Geology at Dhanbad. Of the supplementary grants approved may be mentioned the provision of 3 lakhs and odd towards quarters to orthodox members of the Legislature at Raisina and one lakhs and odd for a temporary Chamber for the Council of State at Delhi.

The Committee expressed their inability to agree to a proposal to give a grant of Rs 5,000 towards the expenses of the publication of a history of the Press in India.

## PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES

### Bengal.

#### BENGAL CHILDRENS BILL.

The text is published of the Bengal Children's Bill, 1921, which is proposed to be introduced at the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council to be held on the 4th July.

The present Bill has been prepared in order to provide for the custody, trial and punishment of youthful offenders and also for the protection of children and young persons. It follows the lines of the English Children's Act of 1908, but its operation is confined to boys. It proposes that no boy under the age of 12 years shall in any circumstances be sentenced to death, transportation or imprisonment for any offence and it seeks to substitute educational treatment for penal measures in the case of older boys convicted of an

offence. The Bill provides for the abolition of the Reformatory Schools Act, 1897, so far as Bengal is concerned. Provision is made for the establishment of reformatory and industrial schools by the Government and for the recognition of similar schools under private management. The broad distinction between the two classes of schools in addition to the difference in age of the inmates is that the reformatory schools are intended for actual and the industrial schools for potential offenders. It is provided that neglected children may be sent to the latter. The Bill also provides for the establishment of juvenile courts and lays down the different methods of dealing with youthful offenders brought before such courts. It also enforces the responsibility of parents and guardians for their good conduct.



### Madras.

Mr. T. Sivasankaram, M. L. C., has given notice of some interpellations and resolutions to be moved by him at the ensuing Session of the Council.

The interpellations refer to different departments. Mr. Sivasankaram asks about the duration and expenses of the Governor's tours, about the possible retrenchment in the Abkari department; and about the improvement of irrigation facilities in Anantapur, Bellary and Kurnool. He asks if subsidies to local boards towards elementary teachers have been withheld. In another question he protests against the practice of making the accused stand during long trials in Mufasil Courts.

The resolution touching famine relief which he proposes to move runs as follows :—

This Council recommends to the Government that steps may be taken to revise the Famine Code, (a) raising the aim of famine relief from one of 'averting the loss of human life' to that of 'maintaining healthy persons in health' so that when bad season is tided over they may be left in fit condition to resume their usual avocations, (b) altering the basis for calculating the wages both during test and relief periods to suit the higher aim indicated in (a), (c) providing relief on less rigid scale in favor of dependants, particularly of children, as an economic measure, (d) relaxing the standard of task work both during test and relief periods in view of the deteriorating health conditions among the people living in famine zone, (e) fixing a minimum of the area to be served by relief measures out of the total extent declared as affected and (f) devising a system of insurance against distress in favour of individual raiyats in the famine zone area.

### Behar and Orissa.

His Excellency has accepted the resignation of Babu Krishna Prasad Narayan Singh, of Hardi, of his seat in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council, as a representative of the West Muzzaferpur non-Muhomeidan constituency and has called upon the voters to elect a member for the vacancy before the 2nd July.

### The United Provinces.

Rai Sita Ram Sahai, M.A., LL.B., M. L. O., has given notice of the following resolution :— This Council recommends to the Government that eight posts of District and Sessions Judges which were long thrown open for members of the Provincial Judicial Service, be not reduced in number, and two direct appointments to District and Sessions Judgeship from among the members of the Bar be made independently of the Service.

### BURMA.

Burma has always complained that she has not been treated fairly in the matter of the Reforms. It is therefore some satisfaction to learn that the Second Report of the Standing Joint Committee on Indian Affairs recommends that the Government of India Act be applied to Burma and the necessary legislation passed without delay.

It is interesting to read in this connection that at the 41st annual Burma Dinner at the Princes Restaurant, Sir Harvey Adamson, Chairman, said that he was glad to see that the first step towards the reform of Burma was settled. He hoped that the franchise and the division of reserved subjects would also be completed shortly. It showed that Burma would not be placed on a lower level than India, and that would allay much disquiet and cause the young Burmans to settle down into that sanity which used to characterise him before Mr. Montagu came along.

### CEYLON.

Since the article on the New Constitution of Ceylon (page 365) was received, the first meeting of the Ceylon Legislative Council has been held on the 7th inst. The members having taken their oaths, His Excellency delivered the inaugural address in which he spoke of the responsibilities of the New Council and hoped that "the power now entrusted to them will be wisely used." He further said :—

In order to dispel many doubts that seem to have arisen in regard to the Constitution now in force, I desire to state here to-day that all those responsible for the framing of this Constitution were anxious that it should be clearly understood that it did not lay down the last word in political advancement for this Colony, but rather that it should be considered as a stage on the road to further things and that by watching results of the working of the present Constitution we might be able to build up a Constitution for Ceylon suited to the genius of its people and to the conditions obtaining in this country.

His Excellency then referred to certain projects in connection with Railway extension, and the University College in which he was specially interested and he asked the Council to extend their support to him. He concluded with a word of congratulation to Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan who was recently Knighted.

The Attorney-General moved that a Select Committee be appointed to revise the Rules and Orders of the Council.

The Council was adjourned to the 14th.

## Practical Swaraj.

Mr. W. W. Pearson contributes an interesting article on the above subject to the June number of the *Modern Review*. He discusses the claims of India to attain Swaraj and suggests certain valuable ways and means to reach it. He starts with a preliminary observation that Swaraj is already in existence in India. "Wherever a man or a woman refuses to be enslaved, wherever inner freedom and self-mastery are highly valued, there we have true Swaraj."

This spirit is already discernible in India. But, says the writer, it is productive of dangers unless it is accompanied by fruitful ways and methods to attain the desired goal. Positive work and an unbounded confidence are quite essential. But this confidence must be expressed in co-operation.

Non-Co-operation with the present Government is undoubtedly necessary as a preliminary act for freeing ourselves from the fettering shackles of the past, but "to be positive is always better than to be negative."

To build up this new civilisation of India, according to Mr. Pearson, the people of India should so work that their external life corresponds, in some measure, to their internal dream.

Dealing with the methods to attain Swaraj Mr. Pearson is of opinion that the means lie in economic and educational lines and not on political.

He cites the case of Ireland and shows that the strength of the Irish movement lies in the agricultural industry. So in the case of India the same might hold good. In the opinion of Sir Horace Plunkett the Co-operative movement in Ireland has procured the Irish people Self-Government.

Wherever in Ireland a Co-operative Society has been started there we see that farmers are able to do things which as individuals they would have found it impossible to do.

Such Co-operative organisation has brought about the much needed union in Ireland. There is absolutely nothing to prevent such organisations being formed in India. The writer sees signs of such an awakening in the co-operative organisations at Shan'aniketan, Bolpur and their influence is bound to radiate throughout India. He concludes eloquently:—

Wherever such an experiment is started there would be an expression of practical Swaraj, for there we would have men trained in that spirit of independence which is the only real independence because it is the independence of the spirit.

## Foreign Exploitation.

Mr. St. Nihal Singh, in an article on "the Intensive Industrial and Commercial Exploitation of India" in the March issue of the *Wealth of India*, points out two very serious dangers which Indian industries may be put to in the near future.

The first is the severe competition between America, Japan, Britain and Germany to capture Indian trade. During the war Japanese and American imports increased very much and now that the war is over, British traders are anxious "to dislodge their competitors from the field. Besides there is Germany which will soon enter the field.

Such a competition may not only hamper the existing industries of India but also handicap her rapid industrialisation. This will come not merely from the ex-enemy countries. To Britain India is the chief market and she, like other impoverished European countries, will make an intensive effort to recapture the Indian market and, if possible, to extend her Indian business even beyond the pre-war standard.

To meet this situation the writer says that we will have to use political weapons.

In principle we have been conceded the right to employ the political weapons that would enable us to conserve and to develop our own resources—rights no whit inferior to those enjoyed by the Dominions and Great Britain herself. As the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill stated in its Report: "Whatever be the right fiscal policy for India, for the needs of her consumers as well as for her manufacturers, it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa."

The test of British honesty of intention lies in the way in which Indians are permitted to take the fullest advantage of this doctrine, irrespective of who is hit by the means adopted.

The second danger is the possibility of foreign capitalists opening mills and factories here in India and competing with the already existing industries.

Serious complications will arise if there was anything like a concerted move upon the part of non-Indian capitalists to set up mills and factories in India—especially if those capitalists belong to the race which dominates India.

It is yet too premature to prophesy that any such movement is likely to take place. But if Indians are wide-awake and energetic, indigenous enterprises can be so conducted that no outside capitalist can possibly have a chance of successfully competing. In their own country, Indians ought certainly to be able to produce more economically than any outsider who sets up there.



### Reconstruction in Japan.

The Rev. J. J. Bryan, writing in *the East and the West* (April, 1921) laments that Japan should still be predominantly material only and regard as mere pretence the idealist professions of the League of Nations and the preachers of Christianity. The suspicion of occidental motives is inherent in Japanese psychology and is instilled into the mind of the nation from childhood. The nation is not taught, nor knows anything, of fundamental righteousness.

The bane of nominality runs all through Japanese civilisation. To have the name of the thing is confounded with having the thing itself. The rights of the "under dog," in Japan are in the Constitution and laws of the country, but there only. Japan is nominally a constitutional country, but really a feudal country. The people are free on paper, but not in fact. Parliament is elected by electoral vote, but the party in power is always returned at the polls. It is an elected assembly, but elected by some four million voters out of a population of nearly sixty millions. The nation has practically no voice in the government of the country. The press is nominally free; but it is promptly suppressed should it print anything offensive to the Government of the day. Religion, too, is nominally free, but all school children have at times to present themselves for worship at the national shrines. The Japanese as a people are constantly pestered with artificial duties for which there is no authority beyond the dicta of officials, often no higher than some ignorant member of the police force. Right adheres not in law, but in the arbitrary will of officialdom. Is not this Prussianism?

Reconstruction in Japan means that reform should come really from within which involves a certain preparation of mind, soul and character, a correct national point of view to begin with and an appreciation of things that really count. The new Japan demands a more liberal and effective education, an extension of intelligence and ability among the masses, a regeneration of national motives and a new ideal of righteousness and peace.

If Japan is wise she will not wait for her people to force the reforms now crying for realisation. She will provide adequate education, both moral and spiritual, from which all true improvement must come. Inefficiency of moral education is Japan's danger. \* \* \* Japan needs schools in which teachers and text-books alike exemplify the fundamental principles of character that make individuals and nations good and great. With this new spirit breathing through her education and thence through her civilisation, Japan will succeed in righting the wrongs that now threaten to prove her undoing.

### The Hindu Theory of the State.

Prof. B. K. Sarkar, writing in *The Political Science Quarterly* (March, 1921) explains the particulars of the differences between the State and the Non-State according to the ancient Hindu thinkers; and also tells us what they thought of the processes by which the pre-statal condition developed into the statal. The Hindu conception of the Non-State was identical with the conception of Hooker, Hobbes, Spinoza and other European thinkers. The Ramayana, the Manu Samhita, the Mahabharata and the Matsya Purana all speak of the *Matsya-Nyaya*, or the logic of the fish, in which people devour one another like fishes as the essential condition of the Non-State. This conception found an important place in the exclusively political treatises also, like those of Kautilya and Kaman-daka.

This theory of the Non-State or the State of Nature has had important bearings on other doctrines of Hindu political philosophy. In Raghunatha's fifteenth-century *Lankika-Nyaya Samgraha* we find the logic of the fish coupled with the logic of the monsters—*Shunda-upashunda Nyaya*. The logic of the fish arises under a double set of conditions, first a conflict between a powerful and a powerless unit and next the crushing and the obliterating of the latter. The Non-State has always been identified with the negation of morals and manners, the nullification of property, the very antithesis of law and justice.

Two inseparable accidents of the Hindu theory of the State are (1) the doctrine of *svatva*, one's ownness—*proprium* or property and (2) the doctrine of *dharma* (law, justice and duty). Behind them both lies the doctrine of *danda* (punishment, restraint or sanction). The absence of *danda* is tantamount to *Matsya-Nyaya*. The whole theory of the state thus consists of two formulæ

- (1) No *danda*, no state
- (2) (a) No state, no *dharma*  
(b) No state, no property.

*Danda*, as interpreted by Manu, is obviously the very principle of omnipotence, comparable to the *majestas* of Bodin or the *summa potestas* of Grotius. A ruler in office personifies this *danda* but the ruler as a person is subject to it and thus it is a two-handed sword. It would smite the king who would deviate from his duty.

## Vernaculars and Universal Education.

Mr. J. N. Farquhar, writing in the June issue of the *Young Men of India*, discusses the value of vernaculars in their relation to Universal Education in India. He first gives a survey of the general history and the present position of the various vernaculars, the most important of which he groups into four distinct classes, Dravidian, North Indian, Indo Chinese and Urdu.

"Now each of these Vernaculars has a literature; and Tamil, Kanarese, Bengali and Hindi have each a very large and varied literature. In addition to the great Vernaculars, several of the minor languages, notably Kashmiri and Assamese have also each a valuable literature."

There are, also, a great many minor languages in use in India. They are, by no means, negligible, for taken all together, they represent many millions of people.

"And if all the children of India are to learn to read and write, schools will have to be established in which these languages will be taught. But there is a further fact to be noted about them. A considerable number have already been reduced to writing, mostly by missionaries; and in each of these there are at least a few school books. On the other hand, there are many of these tongues which have never been reduced to writing at all. So, in their case, a great deal will have to be done before even the most elementary education will be possible in them."

After discussing the position of vernaculars and their literature in their relation to the Indian classical languages such as Sanskrit, Pali &c., and English, the writer asks, are the vernaculars ready for the task of spreading universal education in India? He says that it is clear that universal elementary education and also certain forms of middle school training can be given only in the vernaculars. He gives three points which must be considered in any scheme of universal education through the medium of vernaculars. First the language should have developed a standard form of speech *i.e.*, the educated men should be agreed, in the main at least, as to the vocabulary, the spelling, and the grammar which they recognise as correct. Secondly, there should be a considerable number of *educational books*, written in prose in the standard form of the language. Thirdly the persons engaged in the task of fulfilling the two requirements mentioned above should be men *who are saturated with the older literature*.

Discussing the use of vernaculars for High School and University education, he says that higher education cannot be altogether healthy

unless it is given in the vernacular and its use is, as in the case of elementary education, "limited only by the limitations of its educational literature."

The writer, after pointing out that the preparation of University text books is a hard task, quotes the case of Europe adopting the vernaculars to University education and displacing Latin and declares that the task of writing University text books can be successfully accomplished.

As regards the position of English, the writer says that, in the present circumstances, a knowledge of at least one European language would be quite indispensable for a thorough University training and for various reasons he prefers English "as a channel of communication through which Indians may keep in touch with European knowledge, invention, organisation, culture and business."

Can any one Vernacular take the place of English and be the language of all education throughout India? The writer answers, No. The chief languages are too virile and deep-rooted to be supplanted by any neighbouring language.

It seems hopeless to dream that Tamils or Telugus will give up their own language and adopt Hindi or Bengali and similarly hopeless to expect the Marathi or the Bengali to give up his own tongue and speak Tamil or Kanarese.

## Naval Magalomania.

*The Edinburgh Review* has a striking article on the naval magalomania in England and America. There was a time when Englishmen stood for two keels to one, and the rivalry has gone with a reckless disregard of the finances. Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge discusses the possible world rivalry in the future as he contemplates the gigantic programme in the U. S. A.

"The United States have now a shipbuilding programme which, if carried out would put the British Empire in the second position as a Naval Power—unless we too engage in a programme equally comprehensive. If we are to do so we shall be compelled to incur pecuniary expenditure that can only be characterised as gigantic; and this too at a time when our ability to meet it is more than doubtful. Reduction of expenditure, not increase of it, is the pressing need of the hour. The costly "building ship competition with Germany in the eight or ten years before the war produced "capital ships" with which every one is now disappointed. Is there another competition of the same kind in front of us?"



### Civic Survey.

Mr. Raymond Unwin contributes an interesting article on the subject of Town Planning to the April and May number of the *Local Self Government Gazette*.

He begins with the preliminary observation that "we live in an age that cares more about doing things than about discovering which things are worth doing" and the statement has a practical bearing on the development of cities and Town Planning generally.

That the city plays an important part in the history of a country is clearly proved by the examples of ancient Greece and Rome and that fact has been acknowledged by no less a person than Professor Geddes, the expert in Town Planning.

Mr. Unwin opines that, during the last century, attention has been unduly concentrated on the National or Imperial unit and on National culture to the detriment of the development of the city. This fact has led to serious results. These grave results are seen in the vast numbers of mankind who suffer from the squalor of congestion, and live lives of a wholesale stereotyped pattern, utterly devoid of interest, individuality and beauty.

Attempts are now being made by experts in Town Planning to control the density of the population and guide the city development in the best interests of the community. The town planner who undertakes such a task is bound to meet with enormous difficulties. He cites a number of these and suggests ways and means to overcome them.

A preliminary inquiry of a city is essential to adequate Town Planning. He divides such a survey into several sub-divisions. First he begins with "speculative investigation" as he calls it. Such an investigation seeks to discover causes of known results or to trace the results following from known conditions by careful investigation and comparison of the effects which follow from the prevalence in varying degrees of those conditions.

Then he examines the existing conditions of the towns. He cites seven factors which a town planner should take note of in the investigation of a city. They are: (1) The physical conditions and characteristics of the area (2) The distribution of buildings of different characteristics serving different uses. (3) The distribution of open spaces. (4) The condition and distribution of the existing population. (5) The movement of

population etc. (6) Death rate, due to diseases etc. (7) Distribution of land values.

He then gives suggestions for map making. Dealing with the effect of Town Planning on land values, he says that remarkable results have been achieved in American cities where improvement in Town Planning was largely paid for by special assessment on the land benefitting by it. The guiding and constraining effect of Town Planning considerably alters the distribution of the increment value.

The writer concludes with the following pregnant observation:

We have to recognize in short that the city is a very complex human community which exists to secure fuller life to its citizens.

### England's Mission.

Sir Philip Gibbs, writing on "the Risk of Civil War" in the pages of the *Review of Reviews* for May, says that the state of the world and of England needs the remedy of wisdom. And what is the wise course now that the world is threatened with bankruptcy and ruin?

Only by the general renunciation of Allied war debts, the rapid disarmament of European nations, a more reasonable attitude towards German reparations, the washing out of hate and vengeance, and a general helpfulness among all the peoples of Europe with a free intercourse of trade, may we see again anything like our old prosperity, and even then not for a long time. If we neglect these larger necessities of our life as a people dependent upon world commerce, and quarrel over the rags and bones of our little national reserves, ranging class against class, and trade against trade, and interest against interest, we are doomed. Our pride and our place will have passed from us—quickly—as now they are passing.

Sir Philip continues that in four and a half years of war England spent as much as in two and a half centuries before. That has destroyed the reserves of England's wealth and left her in debt.

Our paper money is mainly a promissory note on the future—our future industry. *We are all going to be poor*, and we must face that poverty with dignity and courage and resignation, sharing it according to our scale of wages and the quality of our work, and insisting that no man or woman shall fall below the level of subsistence, whatever that may be. That settled, without violence, which will not help at all, let us lead the way in Europe (not forgetting Ireland) to an economic union, or at least to an economic liberty, abolishing the menace of war, the frontiers of hatred, the barriers of trade. That is idealism—the message of the visionaries through many ages! Now it is the hard realism which alone can save us.

### Education of Girls.

In an article entitled "A few problems in the education of girls" in the April number of the *Business*, Mr. Gauranga Nath Bannerjee, M. A., points out that the following are the main factors which affect the higher education of women in India. i, Too early marriage, ii, too early child-bearing; iii, the *Zenana* system, iv peculiar social structure and environment, & v; depressed economic conditions of the middle classes.

Education for women in India would, says Mr. Bannerjee, naturally fall under two categories.

For women who wish to prosecute their studies regularly in schools and colleges, preparing themselves for the University examinations, we suggest that there ought to be a separate arrangement for instruction, with courses of study specially adapted to the characteristic needs of the Indian women. For instance, a graduated course in domestic economy, in the management of household, cooking, principles of hygiene, child-psychology, aesthetics, fine-arts, etc., should form a part of the University curricula for women, in lieu of certain abstract and abstruse technical and scientific subjects such as, advanced mathematics, technology, chemistry, geology, astrophysics, etc.

For women living under the *zenana* system, who, owing to special, social and economic reasons, cannot attend a course of study in public schools or colleges affiliated to the University, propose that a special course of instruction suited to their peculiar needs and adaptabilities should be inaugurated, and for this purpose strictly *purdanashin* institutions should be established, where such a course could be completed within eight years, beginning with their sixth year and ending with their fourteenth.

The vernacular of the province ought to be the medium of instruction in the case of girls and women, and naturally, examination also should be conducted in vernacular.

### Sir John Simon's Challenge.

Sir John Simon, writing in the *Pilgrim*, the theological quarterly, issues "a challenge" to democracy and organised religion regarding military matters.

He says "the part which is played in the next few years in the crusade for peace by those who, six years ago, on the grounds of moral right, encouraged and stimulated war, is going to be the test by which democracy will judge the value of its leaders.

"There were many devoted and self-sacrificing chaplains and lay-workers in the Army of war. Are we now going to have equal devotion and self sacrifice among a host of chaplains to the League of Nations?"

### The Creative Power of the Japanese.

Writing in the April number of the *Japan Magazine*, Dr. Toshio Nogami says that there are two schools of thought regarding the genius of the Japanese. One school holds the view that the Japanese are skilful in imitation and that they lack originality. The other, more pessimistic, holds that the Japanese are a second rate nation that will remain for ever an imitator of foreign civilisation.

The writer is inclined to think that Japan has done her best for the past 50 years to imitate Western civilisation. The Japs have imitated everything Western and the imitation is so thorough and complete that everything national has vanished from the "land of the rising sun." The fact that they have copied the West does not however testify to their lack of creative talent.

Force of circumstances induced the Japanese to go to the West for imitation. There was no other alternative.

"Generally speaking, Japan's imitation of Western civilisation has been the right thing; and this has rescued her from the brink of ruin and brought her to the present prosperity."

On the other hand it may be easily shown that the Japanese have seldom lacked originality.

The first are the works of those lady writers who appeared in the Heian period. Murasaki Shikibu's *Genji Monogatari* and Sei Shonagon's *Makura no Soshi* appeared in the 10th century of the Christian era. Did any such splendid works appear in England, France or Germany in those days? It must be said to be a wonderful thing that in so remote an age such great works were written by Japanese women, who are generally considered to be inferior in education and intellect to Western women.

Another noteworthy feature is the development of civilisation in the Tokugawa period. This civilisation was produced quite independent of any foreign influence. In the Meji period Japan made great progress in military, naval and in educational matters.

Dr. Nogami, in conclusion, defends imitation and is of opinion that imitation is not always inferior to creation. He cites several examples to illustrate his statement. He concludes:—

In fact, it is not proved that the Japanese lack originality. The idea is based on some very superficial observations, and a conclusion hastily drawn.



### Modern Industrial Methods.

A correspondent, writing in the April number of the *Indian Industries and Power* on the above subject, draws an interesting comparison between the Far Eastern countries of China and Japan on the one hand and India on the other in respect of their application of modern progressive methods to their industries. The puzzling combination of materialism and fatalism in the mental structure of the Chinese invests their enterprises with an *elan* which is a guarantee of success and should prove of inestimable value in times of crises. There is little of that vague dreaming about the dead past in China which is so common in India; the materialism of the Chinese mind enables it to project itself vigorously into the future. Hence in China one never hears of yearnings to return to any golden age; the schemes are all of creating one in the present.

He extends the contrast and asks what will be the relation of India to China and Japan in respect to their industries. In his opinion China will be an even more formidable rival to India than Japan.

He takes the case of China and gives several examples to show her progress in such industries as knitting and weaving, and shipbuilding. Incidentally he remarks that, in regard to steel industry, India should be able to make as great a progress as China or Japan inasmuch as India has her own steel while they have not.

The writer then compares the Chinese, Japanese and Indian workmen. The Chinese he says, show a more meticulous care in their work than the Japanese or the Indians. The Chinese workman is intelligent and efficient. In his view Indian Trade Unionism will have to be revised if it is to meet China on equal terms.

He also examines Japan and cites the various industrial undertakings that are set on foot as, for instance, the Electric Railway to serve the suburbs of Tokyo which is under construction. Arrangements are in progress to purchase the Tokyo Electric Light Company. Schemes for road construction are laid out. Side by side with this the Shipping Industry has made considerable progress. In conclusion he says:—

Neither of the two Far Eastern countries has, apparently, any intention of reverting, as Mahatma Gandhi suggests in the case of India, to the ancient glory of the handloom and, presumably, scalp-hunting. Both believe in the watchword of progress and are preparing for a new age of industrial expansion.

### Co-operation and Politics.

In an article on the subject in the current issue of the *Agricultural Journal of India*, Mr. R. B. Ewbank, I.C.S., late Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, traces, in detail, the history of the British Co-operative movement in its attempt to meddle in politics. The traditional policy of Co-operative Societies in England has always been strict neutrality in politics.

"They only abandoned their traditional policy under the stimulus of concrete disabilities which were handicapping their business and which they believed themselves unable to remedy without direct political pressure. They were not seeking any preferential treatment for themselves. But they insisted that they were entitled to equality of treatment with other trading agencies, and they suspected that, under a democratic Government, which is always more or less susceptible to pressure from outside, they were being covertly attacked by hostile interests plotting to undermine their prosperity. They claim to have gone into politics not as a measure of attack in order to gain further advantages for themselves felt and feared on a larger scale, but as a measure of defence against an insidious attack originated by their enemies.

In the same way, the writer says, the Co-operators in India should hesitate to abandon political neutrality until they are driven to it by definite grievances arising from political or administrative action, and until they are sure that the representations submitted by them to the proper authorities are not being dealt with on their merits.

In India societies occupy at present a distinctly privileged position under the special protection of Government. They have much to lose and it behoves them to tread delicately. At the same time, on particular political questions, especially those in which their own interests are directly affected, it seems clear that they have a right to make themselves heard and that their views might be of great value both to Government and the public. It would probably be inadvisable, for the sake of securing their general neutrality on the wider issues of party politics, to debar individual societies, or any organization capable of representing the movement as a whole, from discussing such questions and placing their considered conclusions before Government, the Legislative Councils, or the public.

### The Arya Samaj

The Rev. Mr. Stokes, in the pages of *The Vedic Review* for April, pays a tribute to the great services of the Arya Samaj which, in spite of the rancour and prejudice with which it fights its opponents, has done so much for the uplift of society.

Fully recognizing the wonderful basal truths in the Vedanta Philosophy of life, and being convinced that there can be no true interpretation of existence which does not take into account certain vital aspects developed by that very noble school of thought, we may still feel that its development along certain lines has not been consonant with the best interests of the race.

As long as the life of active service is considered a life entangled in illusion, as long as the reality of individual existence is disputed, as long as joy and pain, birth and death, ignorance and learning, poverty and comfort, are held to not really exist, it is obvious that the best and noblest minds will not stoop to pay them attention. As a disciple of *Reality* as regards what we ordinarily call "Life" in its manifold manifestations, I am convinced that in laying stress upon the essential reality of the Purusha and in asserting the reality of *personality* and of the obligations of the individual to society, the Arya Samaj has rendered India a vital service.

Then as regards its social work the writer says as follows.—

In the North its schools are to be found everywhere and one of the best colleges in the Punjab is entirely its creation. The Gurukula at Kangri, and others like it stand as beacons in an age of materialistic superficiality to remind us of the beauty of simplicity. In plague and famine their workers are well to the fore. Most important of all their activities we might hold to be their efforts for female education and for the amelioration of the lot of the widow, and the removal of her disabilities. One might add that the pressure exerted by the Samaj toward the simplification of rites and reduction of expenses attending them is also highly important.

In the matter of political advancement, its services have been equally great and noteworthy.

No nation can advance politically until it attains a certain degree of self-consciousness. The Vedanta influence did not of course tend to encourage this. One could hardly be expected to grow enthusiastic for an illusion. The member of the Arya Samaj believing all their hearts in the reality of an Indian people have developed in themselves and those about them a pride in the India of the past, and a belief in the great destiny of the India of the future. In this respect their political value is not less than that of other important bodies. Moreover their educational work has its important bearing on political advancement.

### Education for Soldiers' Children.

Mrs. G. H. Bell, writing in *the Army Quarterly*, explains how the question of schools has been a continuous difficulty to Indian soldiers. The Esher Committee's Report devotes a considerable space to a pronouncement on the attitude of Indian officers towards the education of the rising generation. The sons of Indian officers deserve, but cannot, owing to its costliness, afford an education at Sandhurst which is open to the sons of wealthy zemindars. The Army at present has no traditions of learning. Round the villages of the soldiers are simple primary schools; near their hamlets or beyond walking distance and so out of reach of all save boarders, are middle schools. And in the minds of the soldiers there is now an urgent demand for the education of their children. To meet this situation Government has now sanctioned the establishment of an institution for the education of sons of Indian officers, to be called the Kitchener College, and has also made provision for the education of orphans and children of all Indian soldiers of all ranks who were on the active list in the course of the war. The Esher Committee have recommended increased family pensions and a small pension for each child of the fallen soldiers; and also that each soldier's child will receive a free primary education, will receive a remission of fees in the middle school and will be helped into the high school education. The Kitchener College will provide a sound general education under military discipline for a considerable number of sons of living or deceased Indian officers and for others satisfying the conditions prescribed for the grant of direct commissions. The writer recommends that a similar school be opened for the daughters of Indian officers. Traditions of such colleges will make the Indian officer an intensely influential reinforcement to the British tradition which has educated Pathan recruits not to kill the wounded nor make war on women.

Indian Industrial and Economic Problems. By Professor V. G. Kale. Third Edition. Rs. 2. To Subscribers of the I. R., Re. 1-8.

Essays on Indian Economics. By the late Mahadev Govind Ranade. Second Edition. Price Rs. 2. To Subscribers of the "I. R." Re. 1-8.

Sir J. C. Bose. His Life, Discoveries and Writings with Portraits. Cloth Bound Price Rs. 3. To Subscribers of the *Indian Review* Rs. 2-8.

G.A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.



### Historical Impartiality.

Prof. F. G. C. Hearnshaw, writing on the above subject in the May number of the *Journal of Education and School World*, states that the leading features which distinguished the history of Lord Acton's day from that of preceding periods was the spirit of impartiality.

In the opinion of the Professor till the second quarter of the 19th century History had been written with some definite purpose by eminent historians like Lord Macaulay, Hallam, Stubbs, Gardiner, and a host of others. More attention was paid to original sources and records.

Prof. Hearnshaw then deals with the utilitarian aspect of History. History is important in so far as it develops mental faculties, civic interest, moral elevation and cosmic interpretation which come naturally from the ordered presentation of the process of human evolution.

All educationists are unanimous in their contention that History should not impart any extraneous lessons.

The Professor shows that it is absolutely impossible to insist on a rigid adherence of the rule to-day.

### John Bull and His Soul

John Bull is an unspiritual animal, says the *Saturday Review*. His Saxon forefathers spent the eve of the battle at Hastings swilling and shouting, while the Normans were at their devotions. There is no fear of his becoming hyper-etherealised, a thing enskied. But there is considerable fear of the modern world drifting about rudderless on an indeterminate ocean of muddy pseudo-spiritualism, without horizon or harbours. Elderly Oxford men remember undergraduate Lent terms, when the whole valley of the Isis was a sheet of water from which all landmarks had disappeared—someone called the view "Spires and Pond." Such is the sloppy and vague 'message' of modern mysticism. It is not deep calling unto deep, but a puddle spreading itself.

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**Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule.** By M. K. Gandhi. Cheap popular Edition Annas 8. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review." As. 6.

**M. K. Gandhi : An Indian Patriot in South Africa.** With an introduction by Lord Ampthill. A cheap popular reprint. Price Re. 1. To Subscribers of the *Indian Review*. As. 12.

**Gandhi's Speeches and Writings.** Second Edition, considerably enlarged. With numerous portraits and illustrations, cloth bound, indexed, Price Rs. 3. To Subscribers of the *Indian Review*, Rs. 2 8.

G. A. Natesan & Co, Sunkurama Chetti Street, Madras.

### Kinship and Marriage in India.

Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, writing in the new anthropological journal, *Man in India* (March, 1921) calls attention to some aberrant marriage customs which form departures from the endogamy of the caste-system proper that is so dominant in India. This practice possibly forms an intermediate process between the strict endogamy of the orthodox caste-system and the state found in other parts of the world. Hypergamy, in which men of social groups of high rank take wives from groups of lower rank, but do not give their women in return is primarily an institution of the Rajaputs, but has been found among the Khonds and in Southern India also. Polyandry has become a highly organised practice among the Todas and it is in cases associated with hypergamy and with female infanticide. There are three forms of the cross-cousin marriage system in India, cousins who are the children of brother and sister, being allowed or compelled to marry. We have no direct evidence of marriage between persons of alternate generations in India. Evidently cross-cousin marriage is associated with the dual or plural organisation of society into two or more exogamous moieties, so that a man of one moiety must marry a woman of another moiety and *vice-versa*. All such problems are of special interest to the Indian sociologist.

### INDIA IN PERIODICALS

**A CRITIQUE OF INDIA'S FIRST PARLIAMENT.** By "A Student of Indian Politics," ["East & West," May 1921]

**THE IMPERIAL MAURYAS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.** By J. N. Samaddar. ["The Hindustan Review," May 1921.]

**EAST & WEST IN GREATER INDIA.** By Rabindra Nath Tagore, ["Modern Review," June 1921.]

**TRADE UNIONISM FOR INDIA.** By V. Natesan, B. A., ["Everymans Review," June 1921.]

**A HERO OF THE INDIAN POST OFFICE.** ["Labour," May 1921.]

**AN EVENING WITH RABINDRANATH TAGORE.** By St. Nihal Singh, ["Liberty," May 1921.]

# QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE.

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## Instructions to the Governor-General.

The following are excerpts from the revised Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General of India, in consequence of the passing of the Government of India Act, issued under Royal Sign Manual. These instructions were given to the Governor-General at Buckingham Palace on March 15, 1921. The first four clauses refer to the taking of the oath of allegiance by the various officers of the Crown including the Viceroy, the Provincial Heads, the Members of the Executive Council and Ministers. The Royal Writ contains the following further instructions:—

“We do hereby authorise and empower Our said Governor-General, in Our name and on Our behalf, to grant to any offender convicted in the exercise of its criminal jurisdiction by any Court of Justice within Our said territories a pardon either free or subject to such lawful conditions as to him may seem fit.

And inasmuch as the policy of Our Parliament is set forth in the preamble to the said Government of India Act 1919, we do hereby require Our said Governor-General to be vigilant that this policy is constantly furthered alike by his Government and by the local Governments of all Our Presidencies and Provinces.

In particular it is Our will and pleasure that the powers of superintendence, direction and control over the said local Governments vested in Our said Governor-General and in Our Governor-General's Council shall, unless grave reason to the contrary appears, be exercised with a view to furthering the policy of the local Governments of all Our Governors' Provinces, when such policy finds favour with a majority of the members of the Legislative Council of the Province.

Similarly it is Our will and pleasure that Our said Governor-General shall use all endeavour consistent with the fulfilment of his responsibilities to Us and to Our Parliament, for the welfare of Our Indian subjects that the administration of the matters committed to the direct charge of Our Governor-General in Council may be conducted in harmony with the wishes of Our said subjects as expressed by their representatives in the Indian Legislature, so far as the same shall appear to him to be just and reasonable.

For above all things it is Our will and pleasure that the plans laid by Our Parliament for the progressive realisation of responsible government

in British India as an integral part of Our Empire may come to fruition, to the end that British India may attain its due place among Our Dominions. Therefore we do charge Our said Governor-General, by the means aforesaid and by all other means which may to him seem fit, to guide the course of Our subjects in India whose governance we have committed to his charge so that, subject on the one hand always to the determination of Our Parliament, and on the other hand, to the co-operation of those on whom new opportunities of service have been conferred, progress towards such realisation may ever advance to the benefit of all Our subjects in India.

And we do hereby charge Our said Governor-General to communicate these Our instructions to the members of his Executive Council and to publish the same in such manner as he may think fit.”

## Mr. Hasan Imam on the Khilafat.

Mr. Hasan Imam, interviewed by the Associated Press on the 1st June, stated his views on the Khilafat question. He acknowledged that that Lord Chelmsford's Government stood by the Indian Muslim's cause faithfully and said that Mr. Montagu fought for the cause as few would have fought. Lord Reading and his Government were also doing their best, and, if the Muslim demands were not conceded in any measure, it would not be the fault of the Indian Government or the Secretary of State.

During his stay in London he gathered that the Turkish delegates were not anxious to get back Palestine, Mesopotamia, Syria and the Hedjaz. All that they wanted was to be left to develop themselves, free from outside control in their homelands of Asia Minor, Constantinople and Thrace. He believed the Indian Muslims also did not now insist on the restoration of the pre-war Ottoman Empire, provided the Arab races were allowed to remain as separate States, without non-Muslim domination. Mr. Hasan Imam referred to the Prime Minister's pledges on the subject and said that he did not know what influenced him to change his earlier attitude towards Turkey and the Arab provinces, when the Seyres Treaty was framed, and added that he was convinced that the Premier had realised the mistake of that Treaty, which he would be only too willing to rectify if the other executants of the Treaty were agreeable.



# UTTERANCES OF THE DAY.

## Lord Reading on British Rule.

In the course of his speech at the Chelmsford Club on May 31 H. E. Lord Reading made a lengthy pronouncement emphasising the principles of British rule in India. He laid down certain broad and fundamental propositions which could admit of no compromise. He said:—

I am minded to night to speak to you very briefly on certain propositions which, I think are established beyond the possibility of doubt. The first is the fundamental principle of British rule in India. I suppose there is no one (there is no section of the British community I am sure) who would dispute the proposition that here in India there can be no trace, and must be no trace, of racial inequality. (Loud Applause.) No one can study the problems of India without realizing at the outset that there is some suspicion and, perhaps, at the present moment, some misunderstanding between us. Well, I am convinced that whatever may be thought by our Indian friends not present in this room (I do not refer to those present because they are conscious of the contrary) I say, we do not for a moment indulge in any notions of racial superiority or predominance. (Hear, hear.)

I think this is axiomatic of British rule, although I am perfectly prepared to admit that there may be undoubtedly certain questions with which I am striving to make myself familiar, in which there will be opportunity for putting this equality on a firmer basis than at present exists, (loud applause) and as a corollary—scientifically considered, it is not separate proposition and I am sure that it will command from you as whole-hearted a support as the proposition which I have just enunciated—I say that there cannot be and must never be humiliation under the British rule of any Indian because he is an Indian (hear, hear), and I would add one further proposition, which, I believe, is as true as either of those two to which I have given utterance and which found support from you, that we, British people, in India and those also in our own country, must realize that we have much suspicion to disperse, many misunderstandings to banish from amongst us and that, in truth the essence, to my mind, of co-operation between us and Indians is that we should convince them by our actions which will accord with thoughts and intentions that we honestly and sincerely mean what we have said with regard to India. (Hear, hear.)

## Viscount Chelmsford's Faith,

Viscount Chelmsford, speaking at the Royal Colonial Institute on the 18th May alluded to the grave anxieties that greeted Sir Henry Campbell-Bannermann's scheme of Self-Government for South Africa.

"I have been identified," he proceeded "with a similar policy in principle, that of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and ten years or more ago I heard the same sort of anxious questioning, the same grave apprehension expressed on the part of some as to the result of that policy. Critics in these matters are always on good wickets. If unfortunately their gloomy prognostications prove true, then the world says, "What foresight! What statesmanlike foresight on the part of these gentlemen!" If fortunately it turns out all right, and the policy proves a success, then the world is pleased with the success and the false prophets are forgotten altogether. I am not going to say that, under no circumstances and under no conditions, are we going to have trouble in India, but I do say this, if trouble does come—and Heaven forbid that it does—the task will be infinitely easier under the new Constitution than it would have been if we had proceeded on the old lines."

## Democracy and Government.

Speaking on "The Education of Democracy" at the Eighty Club in London, Viscount Haldane said that the study of the history of the war had taught them that not merely for the purpose of fighting the war, but for reforms in time of peace, democracy was the thing to have at our backs. No progress would be made by any progressive party until it was in earnest in regard to the fundamentals of education. We could not compel democracy to be better, but we could show them how to make themselves better by developing their own souls in the most potent way by knowledge.

## Mr. Sastri on Indian Unrest.

In the course of a lecture on the political situation in India at the Indian Students' Hostel, London, the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri attributed the unrest in India to bad trade, labour disputes and famine, causing an almost unprecedented taxation, but he declared that, thanks to the Gandhi movement, it had hitherto been peaceful and quiet. Mr. Sastri hoped that conversations between Lord Reading and Mr. Gandhi would have good results.

## The Maharao of Cutch.

The Maharao of Cutch, representing the Indian Princes in the Imperial Cabinet, stated in an interview with Reuter's representative, that India's definite programme depended upon the agenda. If, however, there was any idea of not taking up questions in which India was specially interested, they would expect Mr. Montagu to take a firm stand and press for proper consideration of them. The main question was the position of Indians in the Colonies and Dominions. After India's war record it was impossible to understand why there should be any differential treatment and India's representatives in London were united upon this matter and were fully supported by the Indian Government.

He added:—"We shall be grievously disappointed if the Conference does not result in something definite in this respect. We are also interested in the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The question of tariffs as affecting India is also very important."

The Maharao concluded that he saw no reason for pessimism in India, particularly as the Reforms had given real satisfaction. Moreover, the heart of India was as loyal to the Empire as ever.

## Jaipur's Heir.

A Durbar was held on the 10th June in the Audience Hall of the Jaipur Palace, when the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, on behalf of the Government of India, presented to His Highness the Maharajah of Jaipur the Viceroy's *Kharita* recognising and confirming the adoption by the Maharaja of Maharaj Kumar Man Singh, as heir and successor to the *Gadi* of Jaipur.

The Viceroy's *Kharita* dated the 26th May, was read by the Agent to the Governor-General, all present standing. It ran as follows:—

"My honoured and valued friend,—I much regret the delay that has occurred in replying to your Highness' "*Kharita*" to, my predecessor, Lord Chelmsford, announcing the adoption of Kunwar Mon Mukat Singh, second son of the Thakur of Isarda, as your son and successor. The delay, as Your Highness is aware, has been due to the necessity for examining carefully the claim of Thakur Govardhan Singh, of Jhalai, to the exclusive right of succession to the "*Gadi*" of Jaipur. I have now examined the case with great care in

consultation with my advisers and have decided that the claim of the Thakur of Jhalai cannot be sustained, and that the adoption made by your Highness is in accordance with Hindu Law, and the custom of your race. I have, therefore, great pleasure in informing your Highness that the Government of India recognise and confirm your adoption of Kunwar Mon Mukat Singh, now renamed as Maharaj Kumar Man Singh, as your heir and successor to the "*Gadi*" of Jaipur. I fervently hope that your Highness' action in adopting this boy will bring peace and happiness to yourself, and I am confident that he will follow the example of your Highness and your predecessors in loyalty and devotion to the British Crown.

I desire to express the high consideration which I entertain for your Highness and to subscribe myself your Highness' sincere friend, (Sd) Reading, Viceroy and Governor-General of India."

After the *Kharita* was read Mr. Holland made a lengthy speech to which His Highness the Maharaja replied in felicitous terms.

## A Cochin Tannery.

Rao Bahadur T. Vijayaraghavacharya, the Dewan, recently laid the foundation of the buildings for the Cochin Tanneries, Limited, a quasi-State concern, at Chalakudi, when he delivered a speech in which he said the stone that he was going to lay marked an interesting occasion. The Cochin Tanneries, Limited, represented the triumph of two principles which have long been fighting for recognition. One was the principle that the State should take a prominent part in encouraging industrial enterprises, and the other that, as far as possible, such enterprises should be indigenous. The company had been started with the encouragement of the Cochin Government and was financed, managed and advised only by natives of Cochin.

## H. H. Thakore Saheb of Morvi.

At the Birthday Durbar held at Morvi on the 11th instant His Highness the Thakore Saheb, in the course of his address to the Assembly, said that he would make a point of using Swadeshi articles himself and induce the members of his family to do likewise. He would like to see the use of home-made articles in all departments of the State. They all had his consent to put on Swadeshi clothes as the prosperity of the country was bound up with it.



# INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

## Indian Emigrants.

We referred in our last issue to the widespread desire for a well organised committee to look after the returned Emigrants. We are glad that a voluntary Committee known as the Emigrants' Friendly Service Committee has since been formed in Calcutta to render assistance to them.

The Chairman of the Committee is Mr. W. R. Gourlay and the members include Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri, Mr. C. F. Andrews, Mr. H. Suhrawardy, Pandit Banarsi Das, Dr. Craike (Health Officer), and Lt.-Col. Moses, I. M. S. (Protector of Emigrants). Mr. F. E. James, Secretary, Y. M. C. A. and Mr. H. K. Mookerjee, are Joint Secretaries and Treasurers.

The work which the Committee have set before them is, with the permission of the Protector, to board steamers on arrival and to give the returned emigrants help and advice in reaching their homes and (the work immediately before the Committee) to render help and advice to those who, after having visited their homes, desire for one reason or another, to return to the colonies. The Committee have since issued reports showing that the number of repatriated Indians who have come down to Calcutta from up-country in the hope of securing passages back to Fiji, British Guiana and other colonies is more than 700 and that a large majority of them are entirely destitute and dependent on the Committee for their support. These men returned from their respective colonies in order to settle down in India, but are finding great difficulty in obtaining employment. Many of them have been outcasted and expelled from their villages and hope to be able to arrange return passages before very long. Meanwhile the burden of supporting them rests entirely on the Emigrants' Friendly Services Committee, whose work is being carried on mainly with voluntary subscriptions, is not proving adequate to maintain so large a number of repatriates and additional subscriptions are urgently needed. The Committee is engaged in dealing with the applications for return passages and it is expected that a large number of repatriates will be leaving for the West Indies to-morrow, but some considerable time will elapse before transport for the remainder can be obtained to Fiji. The condition of these people in Calcutta is so pitiable that they have a strong claim on the charity of the public.

## Indians in Kenya.

In the course of a discussion at the East India Association on Mr. Polak's paper on the East African Indian problem, Sir Thomas Bennett regretted that Indians in Nairobi were reported to have passed a resolution that, unless certain grievances were redressed, taxes would not be paid. As one generally sympathetic with their claims and working for them, he warned them that Parliament was not going to be bullied or threatened. The politicians who thought otherwise made the greatest mistake possible. They would only embarrass and hinder the powerful forces, including Mr. Montagu, who were working for them in England. Sir Thomas Bennett enjoined them to carry on their agitation constitutionally and they would succeed.

In this connection a white paper has also been issued giving correspondence with regard to the position of Indians in East Africa. It may be summarised by the quotation of a letter addressed to Mr. Montagu by the Government of India in October of last year urging adequate representation for Indians on the Legislative Council and also establishment of franchise on a reasonable basis plus the educational test without racial discrimination for all British subjects.

## Fiji Emigration.

Mr. C. F. Andrews, in a communication from Chandpur to the Associated Press, refers to the question of the return of Indian labourers born in Fiji, and says it has been pointed out to him that their return during the continuance of the strike would be likely to help the Colonial Sugar Refining Company against strikers. He thinks, from the papers he had recently received from Fiji, that the Fiji Government are expecting entire re-opening of Emigration from India, and not merely return of a few hundred Fiji born Indians. This reveals the need of extreme caution, and as passage during the moonsoon is bad, Mr. Andrews suggests that no further Emigration should be allowed during the next few months even of Fiji born Indians. Mr. Andrews says he has sought permission to land in Fiji next autumn, but it has not been granted, and he thinks he would not be allowed to land at the same time. The question is shelved for the time being. It would be absolutely imperative to assist the Fiji returned emigrants, and not to allow them to starve as has unfortunately happened before.

**Bamboo for Paper-making.**

It seems likely that, in the near future, the manufacture of paper from bamboo will be undertaken on a large scale in several countries, says the *Indian Industries and Power*. A British firm have been granted a concession for cutting bamboo in the Government forests in Trinidad and have also established a bamboo plantation there of 1,000 acres. Leases have been granted or applied for, for working bamboo forests in Burma, Madras, and other parts of India. In Indo-China, two factories, equipped on up-to-date lines, are actually manufacturing paper chiefly from bamboo. Paper made entirely from bamboo pulp is of high-class quality. On the whole it is too good for the manufacture of ordinary news-print and is more suitable for the better grades of printing paper.

**Lord Inchcape on British Trade.**

"If we do not speedily make up our minds to work we shall inevitably lose the peace," is the serious warning contained in Lord Inchcape's letter in the *Times*, on the subject of industrial stagnation occasioned by the strike. He considers that, if all classes co-operate and increase production, we will still get the lion's share of the world's trade. Lord Inchcape concludes:—"We must, however, cheapen as well as increase production. There will be no buyers till our prices are reduced to the level the customers can afford. If more months pass in sulking and wrangling, others will forestall us."

**Peripatetic Weaving Schools.**

The Board of Industries, United Provinces, have recommended the appointment of a Committee to consider a scheme prepared by Mr. Ormerod, Principal, Central Weaving Institute, Benares, regarding the establishment of more peripatetic weaving schools, to visit the existing fixed weaving schools and report whether these should be retained or replaced by schools of the peripatetic type and to make recommendations regarding the future of the Central Weaving Institute, Benares. The Board also considered an application for financial assistance to start a pioneer industry of sheet glass manufacture in India, which had been referred to them by Government, and resolved to recommend that a loan to the extent of 50 per cent. of the plant subject to a maximum of Rs. 1 lakh, be granted on easy terms, provided that the applicant hypothecates the plant to Government and agrees to take a number of apprentices for training in sheet glass manufacture.

**Co-operation in Factories.**

M. C. G. B. Stevens of the Bengal Co-operative Department, writing in the *Bengal Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Journal* (March), regrets that workers in factories should have been so long untouched by the movement and should have been allowed to fritter away their energies and prospects as they have been hitherto doing. A Co-operative Society in a factory requires an enormous amount of spade-work; the spirit of mutual trust has to be created and the habits of generations upset. There is also the absence of any personal relation between the manager and the workers in the jute-factories. In the tea-gardens where the workers have little or no inducement to go elsewhere staying many years in the same place, this personal relation is frequently very strong.

"An important point to consider in the formation of such societies is the security of the man in his job: at present the appointment and dismissal of workers is not infrequently in the hands of dishonest mistris, sirdars and clerks: unless a man can be certain of keeping his job he is not likely to want to risk any of his money in a society from which he would be excluded if he lost his employment. Hand in hand with the co-operative development of these communities should go the formation of some sort of labour board in each factory, by means of which dishonest practices and bribes could gradually be eliminated. The co-operative movement has a right to expect that its proper development in the factories is not hampered by the existence of excessive corruption on the part of understrappers. In this matter the Department of Industries should be able to give assistance."

The first efforts of the co-operative societies must be to reduce the amount of indebtedness of the workers, and drive out the rapacious Kabuli: it may be taken as absolutely certain that, if those in charge of the society clearly show that they intend to protect the members against the mahajan, and are willing to take the trouble to make terms with existing creditors and transfer the debts wholly or in part to the society, then the fullest confidence of the workers in the society will at once be established. This bargaining with Kabulis and other mahajans can only be done by some one in authority, and it is tedious and disheartening work. But no work was ever more worth doing."



## AGRICULTURAL SECTION

### Prickly Pear for Milch Cattle

According to the *Journal of the Department of Agriculture, Union of South Africa* the prickly pear is not merely an emergency fodder in times of famine, but is also considered a valuable food-stuff for milch cattle. It increases the quantity while maintaining the quality of the milk.

"In Corsica and Sardinia, a daily ration of about fifty or sixty pounds per cow, comprising prickly pear finely cut up, mixed with bran or dry grass, was fed to impoverished cows, which had almost ceased their supplies, with good results. In Mexico, milch cows maintained their yields, in spite of the increasing coldness of the season, when fed on prickly pear, thus minimizing the need of purchasing expensive winter fodders."

### Milk

A new record in milk yield has been made by Mr. G. Holt Thomas's British Friesian Cow Colton Secret III, whose progress as the first cow to give  $10\frac{1}{2}$  gallons of milk in 24 hours was reported a year ago. This cow has now produced 2,500 gallons of milk in  $360\frac{1}{2}$  days and is still giving more than  $4\frac{1}{2}$  gallons a day. Colton Secret III is one of the 15 British Friesians whose milk yield in a year has amounted to 2,000 gallons or more. Friesian breeders are counting on producing a 3,000 gallon cow before very long.

### Alienation of Agricultural Lands.

In the House of Commons, in reply to Sir Thomas Bennett, Sir Henry Kingsley Wood stated that the action of the Governor of Kenya in confining to Europeans the alienation of agricultural lands in the highlands, was in accord with the decision of the late Earl of Elgin in 1908 and was confirmed by Lord Milner last year. The principle was one of the questions, concerning Indians in Kenya, which he was at present considering.

### Carbonic Acid Gas as Fertiliser.

Plants breathe just as animals do and carbon dioxide ordinarily present to the extent of 3-100 of one per cent. in the air is essential to plant maintenance. Experiments show that plants receiving a higher percentage of carbon dioxide grow more luxuriantly, bloom earlier, mature more rapidly, and give an increase in yield. It will be interesting to consider the possibilities in centres adjacent to manufacturing establishments where carbon dioxide is a by-product.

### A Large Canal Scheme.

An estimate for the Oudh Canal amounting to Rs. 7,20,30,917 has recently been sanctioned by the Secretary of State for India. The scheme consists of the building of a weir across the river Sarda near Tanakpur in the Naini Tal district at a point where the river debouches into the plain and the construction of a canal taking off on the right bank of the river. The main canal runs parallel to the river for about seven miles where a branch takes off and flows across the river and *nadis* of the Terai supplementing the supplies in the various streams which feed the existing Rohilkhand canals. This branch runs in a westerly direction and is known as the Sarda Kitcha feeder and is at present under construction. It will irrigate an area of 271,016 acres in the Pilibhit, Bareilly, Shahjahanpur and Hardoi districts. The other branch, which is the main of Sarda Canal, takes a southern course and is designed to irrigate an area of 1,368,000 acres in the districts of Pilibhit, Shahjahanpur, Khori, Sitapur, Hardoi Lucknow, Unao, Rao Bareilly and Bara Banki.

### Agricultural Conference.

Arrangements for the Agricultural Conference in London are rapidly approaching completion. The promoters express themselves amazed at the response to their invitations to what was originally intended to be a discussion preparatory to a larger Conference in 1922. Hitherto 50 delegates have notified their intention of being present representing comprehensive Agricultural Unions of all parts of the Empire. Lord Sydenham will preside at the gathering which opens on July 14th.

### Instructions for Rearing Silk Worms.

This pamphlet prepared by Mr. M. N. De, Sericultural Assistant at the Pusa Institute has been published with a view to help the progress of the mulberry silk industry in various parts of India. We are told that the methods described in it have all been thoroughly tested at the Research Institute.

### Egyptian Cotton.

Reuter learns that the Egyptian Cabinet proposes to extend, for a further period of two years, the law limiting the areas of sown cotton to a third of each owner's holding, thus establishing a triennial rotation, which is advantageous to the yield and quality of the cotton.

# NOTICES OF BOOKS

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SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.

**Not for Fools:** By H. Dennis Bradley, London, Grant Richards Limited, 1920.

This is a very cleverly-written, if bitter and powerful satire, on the methods of the war administration in England. The tragic pathos of it all, the muddle at the front by the militarists and the greater muddle at home by the arm-chair politicians, the holocaust of the young abroad and the campaign of "DORA" at home—are all sketched in biting satirical sketches which are brilliant classics in their way. The author writes from the view-point of the pure civilian, and his theme is to show that the danger of militarism has, by no means, been laid to rest even after Armageddon. He scents new danger in the prodigious literary labours of the military men, who with the coming of peace have exchanged their swords for the pen. "Some tragic mathematician" he says "has estimated that, were all the war books piled one upon another, the resulting horrific column would reach from Whitehall to the Planet Venus—a new and sinister conjunction of Mars with the mild goddess. And the worst is not yet. Another and equally sinister column is in course of erection. The air is full of the stentorious gruntings and heavy breathings of portly admirals and plethoric generals in literary labour. The creakings of their overburdened desks, the scratchings of their hard-driven pens, the muttered "By-god, sirs"! as the acrid passage is polished, deafen the ears of the imaginative man, and the resulting column of corpulent and expensive volumes of the "How I Alone Was Right" order, threatens to dwarf the fancy monument of the experts and war correspondents into insignificance."

**The Working Constitution in India.**

By S. M. Bose, M. A., L. L. B. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

Mr. Bose has brought under one cover the text of the Government of India Act 1919 and the various Rules and Regulations passed thereunder which together form the working constitution of India to-day. The book includes also the text of the reports of the Joint Committee, and a number of appendices containing the rules for the conduct and working of the new Councils.

**The Gospel of Freedom.** By T. L. Vaswani, Ganesh and Co., Madras.

This is a collection of Prof. Vaswani's Essays on the spirit and method of Non-Co-operation. The Professor writes with the fervour of conviction and the Essays are eloquent expositions of his faith in Mr. Gandhi's gospel.

**History of Aurangzib Vol IV:**—By Jadunath Sarkar, M. A., M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta. (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras, Price Rs. 3-8).

Prof. Sarkar has followed up his three volumes of Aurangzib with a fourth dealing with the Emperor's work in Southern India. This monograph offers an interesting and fruitful record of about half a century of Moghul and Mahratta history covering the years 1645—1689. With the historian's appetite for original sources Mr. Sarkar has rummaged many an old chronicle and has some striking revelations to make especially in connection with that thrilling episode of Shivaji's duel with Afzal Khan. The narrative is throughout of sustained interest and the author compels us to revise our old notions of Mahratta history. Shivaji's perfidy is proved a misnomer and the hero of Maharashtra is justified in the end.

**Select Short Stories, Essays and Poems.**

Oxford University Press, Bombay.

The second series of Short Stories published in the "World's Classics" brings the anthology down to the years of the war. Though no living novelist is included we are glad to find Gissing and O' Henry and such recent writers of fiction. Essays in Modern English is happily conceived including, for the first time, select writings from such moderns as Gosse, Russell, Gardener, Wells, Belloc, Beerhohn, Lucas, G. S. Street and Prof. Raleigh. It is delightful in variety and copiousness. Prof. Dunn's "Selections" from Tennyson is the third in the Indian Library of English Poets. One is glad to renew such old friends as *Morte D'Arthur* and *Lotus Eaters*, the *Great Ode*, *Oenone* and *Ulysses* and the songs from *Princess* and *In Memoriam*. The notes are brief and scholarly.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

**PROBLEMS OF A NEW WORLD.** By J. A. Hobson. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.

**THE INDIAN MUTINY OF 1857.** A sketch of the principal military events by Captain F. R. Sedgwick. Forster Groom and Co., Ltd., London.

**KARL MARX AND MODERN SOCIALISM.** By F. R. Salter. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London.

**SOUTH INDIA AND HER MUHAMMADAN INVADERS.** By Prof. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, M. A., Oxford University Press, Bombay.



# DIARY OF THE MONTH

- May 6. The Ahmedabad Municipality passed a resolution prohibiting the sale of liquors.
- May 7. The Simla Municipality presented an address to H. E. the Viceroy.
- May 8. The film of the Duke of Connaught's Tour in India was exhibited to the members of the Royalty in London to-day.
- May 9. The Crown Prince of Japan was accorded a hearty welcome on his arrival in London.
- May 10. The Government of India have appointed a Publicity Committee.
- May 11. Sir John Wallis and Mr. T. Sadhasiva Iyer, retired from the Madras Bench.
- May 12. Allied ultimatum was accepted by the German Reichstag.
- May 13. Sir John and Lady Wallis left Madras for Bombay *enroute* to England.
- May 14. Mr. Gandhi had an interview with Lord Reading.
- May 15. The Secretary of State appointed a Committee to enquire into the question of Indian Students in England.
- May 16. Swami Permanand was sentenced to 2 years R. I. at Rangoon.
- May 17. H. E. the Viceroy gave interviews to Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Lajpat Rai.
- May 18. Mr. Sachidananda Sinha is appointed a member of the Bihar Executive Council.
- May 19. The last batch of the Mount Everest expedition left Darjeeling to-day.
- May 20. The German Government fulfilled the disarmament conditions to-day.
- May 21. The Local pleaders and muktears of Bogra suspended practice to-day.
- May 22. A National Institute of Commerce and Industries was opened to-day at Calcutta.
- May 23. Mr. Hamid Ahmed, a Khilafat lecturer, was sentenced to transportation for life at Allahabad.
- May 24. H. E. the Viceroy granted interviews to Mr. Chintamani and Raja Sripal Singh.
- May 25. The enquiry into the Nankana tragedy case was concluded to-day.
- May 26. Ahmedabad Municipality passed a resolution for the training of Municipal Teachers at the Guzerat National University.
- May 27. Sirdar Sardul Sing was arrested to-day at Lahore.
- May 28. The India Office gave a dinner in honour of Lord Chelmsford.
- May 29. It is stated that Turkish Nationalists executed Mustapha Sagir, a British Indian subject, on a charge of espionage.
- May 30. H. E. the Viceroy was entertained at dinner by the Chelmsford Club at Simla.
- May 31. The 5th Guzerat Political Conference met to-day at Broach.
- June 1. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore arrived in Berlin.
- June 2. Mr. Muhammad Ali presided over the Guzerat Provincial Khilafat Conference.
- June 3. Lord Byng has been appointed Governor-General of Canada.
- June 4. H. E. the Viceroy granted interviews to Sir Sivaswami Iyer, Rao Bahadur T. Ranga Chariar and Mir Asad Ali Khan.
- June 5. Mr. H. Kawaljaji was fined Rs. 200 for wearing Gandhi Cap in court.
- June 6. The first sitting of the House of Commons of North Ireland opened to-day.
- June 7. The King to-day received Sir Benjamin Robertson.
- The French General Gourad has broken off negotiations with the Angora Government.
- June 8. In the House of Lords the second reading of the Burma Bill was passed to-day.
- June 9. At the Darbar to-day at Jaipur Mr. Holland, the Agent to the Governor-General presented to the Maharaja of Jaipur the Karita recognising the Jaipur adoption.
- June 10. Babu Krishna Prasad Narayansing of Hardi resigned his seat in the Behar and Orissa Legislative Council.
- June 11. The Calicut Municipality resolved to present an address to Mr. Gandhi.
- June 12. In the absence of the Hon. Mr. Sastri the President, Mr. G. K. Devadhar delivered the annual address at the Anniversary celebration of the Servants of India Society.
- June 13. The International Convention of Rotary Clubs opened at Edinburgh to-day.
- June 14. Swami Satyadeva is prosecuted for civil disobedience.
- June 15. The Mysore Civic and Social Conference was held to-day at Bangalore.

## Literary

### Sir Pherozezshah Mehta.

We are obliged to the *Times Press*, Bombay, for the two volumes of 'Sir Pherozezshah Mehta: A Political Biography' by H. P. Mody, M.A., LL.B. (Price Rs. 12, G.A. Natesan & Co., Madras.) During the last one hundred years there have been many Indian leaders of outstanding eminence in our public life. And yet there is hardly an adequate political biography of any of these in our literature, English or vernacular. Mr. Mody deserves the thanks of the Indian public for presenting a detailed biography of an Indian who, for forty years,



was one of the most commanding personalities in the public life of this country. Mr. Mody is happy in his subject: for Sir Pherozezshah's life was an eventful one and his influence was manifest in all the varied activities of two generations of his countrymen. Mr. Mody has had exceptional opportunities to obtain the materials for a full length portrait of Pherozezshah. H. H. the Aga Khan, who knew Sir Pherozezshah intimately writes a brief but thoughtful foreword to this book which we commend to all who are interested in the study of the men behind the political movement in British India. We reserve a detailed review of this biography to a future issue.

### The Manchester Guardian.

Commenting on the Centenary of the *Manchester Guardian* and the Jubilee of its great Editor, Mr. C. P. Scott, Mr. J. L. Garvin, the editor of the *Observer*, says:—

The *Manchester Guardian* is, on the whole, the most remarkable and enviable achievement yet seen in any country since journalism was. Its centenary was celebrated with honours quite unexampled, so far as we know, in the history of journalism—messages from the King downwards, tributes from all parties and classes, appreciations from everywhere abroad, local rejoicing, world-wide respect, congratulations springing from ardent political sympathy and even homage in spite of large differences or profound disagreement. It was the apotheosis of good journalism, and a lasting example to all journalism.

To understand the institution you must realise the man behind it. That pattern and pride of our craft, Mr. C. P. Scott, has been the real soul of the thing through fifty years of incomparable editorship. His spirit lives in every part of the result like the mind of Wren in every stone of St. Pauls. Without him nothing is grasped; knowing him the whole range of moral and technical excellence in the *Manchester Guardian* becomes intelligible. What counts in this celebration is not the centenary, but the creative and transforming editorship now spanning just half that period. The journal that Mr. Scott has gradually developed into the indispensable affair we know is still improving. Yet it has long been the best in several ways that exists, unequalled for intellectual stimulus with moral power, and demanding the attentive consideration of all who care to think sanely about the workings and prospect of the press. The *Manchester Guardian* is what it is, because there has gone into it the whole directing life of a man of the highest ideals, ability, and character, animating the best faculties of other lives.

### The Ideal Newspaper.

Mr. Frank Fox, lecturing on 'Englishwritten Journalism' to the journalism students of London University, selected the English newspaper of 20 years or so ago as the 'classical' English newspaper.

He thought "American influence would continue to affect English journalism, but was hopeful that, in time, we should get the ideal newspaper—one which would record, in clear good English, world interests and describe and comment on the events of the day without bias or malice."



## Educational

### Indian Students in England.

We referred in our April number to the Committee appointed to examine the educational facilities of Indian Students in England.

The terms of reference to the Committee are as follows :—

To report and make recommendations in regard to :—

(1) The adequacy of the existing arrangements in India for facilitating the access of Indian students to the United Kingdom, including the constitution and the working of the Advisory Committees and their future relations to the Provincial Governments.

(2) The extent and directions in which the Secretary of State's control should be exercised, as distinct from the actual work of administration, which will be entrusted to the High Commissioner.

(3) The details of work to be undertaken in the United Kingdom and the relations that should be established with the Universities and other institutions or bodies, or with the manufacturers or commercial firms, in order to provide for the admission of Indian students and provision for any special or technical training that may be required.

(4) Any other questions affecting the education or the well-being of Indian students in that country, upon which the Committee may desire to make recommendations.

### Indian Education.

The report of the Bureau of Education, Government of India, for 1919-20 tells us that whereas in 1918-19 famine and influenza checked the progress of education in India, conditions were comparatively favourable in 1919-20. The number of students attending colleges increased from 63,830 to 65,916, those in secondary schools from 1,212,133 to 1,281,810 and in primary schools from 5,941,488 to 6,433,521, the total increase amounting to over a quarter of a million pupils. The only province showing a decrease was the North-West Frontier Province, where frontier disturbance affected attendance. At one school in Kohat the headmaster and boarders had to defend their hostel against raiders. Of the other provinces the Punjab and United Provinces,

where education is most backward, naturally show the largest increases (8.75 and 8.55 per cent.) Bombay comes next with an increase of 7.06 per cent., Madras rather low with an increase in pupils of only 2.19 per cent. The total expenditure for all India went from Rs. 1,299 lakhs to Rs. 1,489 lakhs.

An interesting feature of the year's work was the progress in the creation of new Universities. The Dacca University Act was passed in March 1920, and the University comes into being this year. The scheme for the establishment of the Rangoon University was completed, and the Act of Incorporation has since passed the Burma Legislature. Legislation has been undertaken to bring the Lucknow University into being and a Committee constituted to formulate proposals for a new University at Delhi has submitted its report. The older Universities are considering the application to them of the principles embodied in the report of the Calcutta University Commission. Among other developments of University education, perhaps the most notable is the opening of a College of Engineering by the Benares Hindu University.

### Conscience Clause in Schools.

It was declared at the Church of Scotland Assembly in Edinburgh that Presbyterian work in India was seriously threatened by Government's introduction of a Conscience Clause in dealing with State-aided schools and colleges. Dr. Ogilvie declared that this meant the ending of the concordat between the State and Christian Missions in India regarding education, which had prevailed with great benefit for 65 years. It was finally resolved to approach the Government, claiming that, before such radical changes were introduced, the Churches should have two or three years' notice.

### Madras Educational Department.

The Government of Madras in the Ministry of Education have arrived at the decision that, while ordinarily the minimum age of a pupil for admission to the Secondary School-Leaving Certificate public examination should continue to be 15, there should be a provision for the grant of exemption by the Director of Public Instruction for a period not exceeding one year in favour of pupils whose applications for exemption are supported by the Headmasters or the respective institutions, provided they are invariably accompanied by certificates of physical fitness from registered medical practitioners.

## Legal

### Mr. Norton on Rights and Liberties.

In his introduction to a recent publication entitled "Rights and Liberties of the Indian People" Mr. Earldley Norton says:—

It fell to my lot to appear in the year 1915 in Colombo where ordinary rioters, free of all political taint, were tried summarily by drum-head Courts-Martial, while the ordinary Municipal Courts of Law were open and sitting. In every case conviction followed as a matter of course and in every case, as I learnt afterwards, tardy reparation was made by the cancellation of all the sentences and the remission of all the fines. I expressed at the time in a public print, I remember, my thanks to God that I lived in India where such action was, I boasted, impossible. My thanks were, it now appears, premature. Within four years I have lived to witness the Jallianwalla tragedy.

Those who asserted that the General Officer who was responsible for the massacre at Amritsar acted well within his legal rights will find cold comfort in the quotations further on culled from the declared law of England.

It is time that a limit should be placed in this country on the freedom with which authority deprives unarmed citizens of their lives. Had the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri moved in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi, instead of in the Council of State, his resolution for some barrier on the indiscriminate slaughter of the British subjects, he would have carried his motion in lieu of having lost it. There is no reason to doubt but that the Committees appointed will propose drastic overhauling of much of the repressive legislation still on the Statute book. They will be among the early builders of the Indian constitution of the future. Chief among this legislation are the Press Act and the Defence of India Act. The student of Indian psychology will confess that the procedure of the Defence of India Act is responsible for much of the present distrust and discontent in this country. No Government can displace ancient and well grounded landmarks of British Justice, without planting the seeds of revolutionary hatred. It was less the substantial provisions of the Rowlatt Act which provoked the resentment of every educated Indian than the decision to place alleged offenders under the discretion of a Government empowered to remove all aids to legitimate defence

in a Court of Law. It will take time to restore the lost credit of the higher officials in India. That time will never arrive if the Viceroy does not retrace his predecessors' legislative steps. There must be no further trifling with the right of all accused persons to a fair, open and impartial trial. A trial where the prisoner is not permitted to know what the witnesses have previously deposed to in the Magistrate's Court, nor what they propose thereafter to say, is not fair. A trial in the precincts of a gaol is not open. A trial before Judges specially nominated is not impartial. Each defect is a trespass on the principles of English Law, each is a mockery of morality. We have suffered for five years from a Viceroy who was honest but weak. A new Viceroy looms upon us who administered justice in the seat occupied by a Lord Chief Justice whose memory is a part of the proud inheritance not only of professional lawyers but of Great Britain herself. He will certainly be honest. Will he be strong?

### Indian Divorce Decrees.

A short bill has been introduced by Lord Lytton, in the House of Lords to validate divorce decrees granted in India, under the Indian Divorce Act 1869, to persons domiciled in the United Kingdom. It will be remembered in this connection that only a few weeks ago, the President of the Divorce Court decided that the Indian divorces of residents of India domiciled in England are invalid in England.

### International Court.

In the House of Commons recently Mr. Chamberlain said that he understood that the signature of Canada to the Protocol for a Court of International Justice approved by the Assembly of the League of Nations was contemplated. But no information was available regarding the intentions of the Commonwealth of Australia. He added that South Africa, New Zealand and India had signed, but up to the present time had not ratified the Protocol. Arrangements were being made for ratification by Great Britain.

### Sir Edward Carson Leaving Politics.

Sir E. Carson has accepted appointment to a judgeship of the Court of Appeal in succession to Lord Moulton, deceased, but will remain in the House of Commons until the Irish elections,



## Medical

### X-Rays Disease Cure.

The cause and prevention of the dangers of X-rays is to be investigated by a Committee of physicists and radiologists, says the *New Empire*. "It has recently been found by a London physicist that some of the rays will pass through an inch of lead whereas it has so far been thought sufficient to enclose the X-rays tube in a box lined with lead about one-third of an inch thick.

It has also been discovered that the effect of the rays to ionise or separate into electrified particles the air in the X-rays surgery is one of the most serious causes of X-rays disease. Ionisation produces ozone and electrically active oxygen and nitrogen—the two gases of which the air is mainly composed—which appear to destroy the red corpuscles of the blood and gradually produce anæmia with fatal results.

The cure is simple—to have a powerful electric fan in all X-ray rooms which will exhaust these gases as fast as they are produced, and it is hoped that by the universal use of exhaust fans much of the present danger will be overcome."

### Surgery Cures "Mental Fog."

Seven weeks after a bullet was taken from his brain, says an up-country daily, Roman Leondowski, who, before the operation, was a dangerous homicidal maniac, has been pronounced cured by the foremost physicians of New York, and discharged from the State Asylum for the criminally insane.

The bullet was fired into Leondowski's brain four years ago by a man whom he tried to kill in a fit of passion. Since that time he has been almost continuously in a state of "mental fog". The doctors now report that his brain is perfectly clear and that all his faculties are normal. He answers questions intelligently and even displays a sense of humour. He told an interviewer recently that his head was all right but that now he has stomach trouble.

### Tropical Diseases.

Mr. Vincent, Director of Rockefeller Foundation, and two members are now in London, conferring with representatives of the Colonial Office on the subject of tropical diseases. It is hoped that the foundation will assist in further research work by means of grants. Mr. Churchill presided at the Government dinner in Carlton Hotel given in honour of the visitors.

### Medical Committee.

A Press *Communique* from the United Provinces Government states:—Several letters have recently appeared in the press describing the Medical Advisory Committee, now meeting at Nainital as the Reorganisation Committee. In these letters, the scope and objects of the Committee appear to be misunderstood. The Committee is a small committee of five members of the Legislative Council appointed to consider and make recommendations with regard to certain definite and restricted matters. It was considered desirable to give certain members of the Legislative Council, who are specially interested in medical subjects an opportunity of advising the Minister, after discussing with the department concerned, certain emergent matters which await the orders of the Government. Certain questions concerning the suggestion to form a Civil Medical Department will come before the Committee. But the impression that the Committee has been appointed to propose a general reorganisation of the medical services is erroneous.

### Veterinary Diploma.

The Government of India announce that applications for State scholarships for the purpose of obtaining veterinary diplomas in the United Kingdom with a view to subsequent appointment of the scholars to the Imperial Branch of the Civil Veterinary Department will be received up to the end of this month and that the age limit has been raised to 25 years on that date. The qualification, namely an honour's degree in science, remains the same.

### Beef Bone Operation.

The case of a girl 11 years old, who had a gap in her humerus (the bone of the upper part of the arm) filled by a boiled beef bone at the Paddington Green Children's Hospital, is described by Dr. C. W. Gordon Bryan in the *Lancet*. A piece of bone cut from the leg of an ox, boiled for 48 hours, shaped, and drilled with holes, was inserted into the gap and secured with pegs. The muscles were stitched round it. A plaster cast was applied to the limb. In three weeks the beef bone was firmly united and the patient left the hospital a month later. A few weeks later the girl had full use of her arm.

## Science

### Value of Research.

At a recent meeting of scientific men Mr. Balfour laid stress on the fundamental fact that mere expenditure of money, mere growth of laboratories, mere multiplicities of students will never produce men of genius. He laid his finger right on the error of the age which consists in imperfect appreciation of the real facts of every case and a fatal desire to see an immediate result. The life of a nation is sufficiently long and everything that added to knowledge and well-being either in our life-time or that of our remoter descendants added something material to the happiness of mankind. The hope of the future depended upon men who had probed to the bottom the secrets of nature. The day on which surface-seeking satisfaction would go, would be a red letter day in the history of our scientific research.

### Electrical Development in India.

The backward state of electrical development in India compared with other parts of the Empire is demonstrated by the following figures of watts installed per head of population:—

Canada .. ..	148	Watts.
Australasia .. ..	62	"
South Africa .. ..	57	"
British Isles .. ..	33	"
India .. less than ..	1	"

### A Radium "Substitute."

A "perfect" substitute for radium can be produced by means of a chemical process which purifies mesothorium, according to investigators at the Department of Chemistry, Missouri University, who are working in conjunction with the U. S. Bureau of Mines. Mesothorium is a by-product obtained in the manufacture of gas-lamp mantles, and is found in the monazite ore of Brazil.

### Talking Cinema.

A *State-man* cable states that an American scientist named George Webb has invented a talking cinema film. It is worked on the gramophone principle, and a record produces words as the film is released.

### Professor Einstein on Relativity.

A large audience assembled at King's College, London to hear Professor Einstein's lecture on "Relativity."

"The greatest genius since Newton" was the description of Professor Einstein by Lord Haldane in introducing the unimportant, modest-looking figure. Surrounded by educational dignitaries Professor Einstein was visibly nervous.

The audience listened, says a report, fascinated with the melodious, well-modulated tones, well rounded phrases, and well marshalled arguments as the scientist, without notes, played skittles with many of the cherished scientific tenets, making Euclid and Newton appear simpletons, while nevertheless modestly contending that his theory was not revolutionary, but merely the finishing stone of the elaborate edifice of ideas built up by Maxwell and others.

### The Earth.

Dr. Harlow Shapley, the Harvard astronomer, announces that the universe is 1,000 times greater than scientists at present conceive it. He has reduced the relative size of the earth 1,000 times. Instead of its being the centre of the universe he has located it 360,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000 miles from that position.

"I am glad," he said, "to see man sink to such physical nothingness. It is wholesome for human beings to realise of what small importance they are in comparison with the universe."

### Proving Parentage.

A machine invented by Dr. Albert Abrams, Professor of Pathology at Stanford (San Francisco) University, is said to prove parentage by the synchronising of the electronic vibrations of drops of blood from the father with those from the child.

### Meteor Showers.

It has been calculated that no fewer than 460 meteors drop upon the earth every day, and that a period of 185 million years is required for this rain of dust, rock and metal to increase the size of the earth by half an inch.

### Measuring the Earth

Astronomers state that if the earth were placed in a gigantic scalepan, five globes of equal size filled with water, and a sixth a quarter full, would be needed in the other pan to make the scales balance.



## Personal

### Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan.

Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan on whom has been conferred the distinction of a Knight Bachelor of St. Michael and St. George is a well-known figure in the public life of Ceylon.



SIR P. RAMANATHAN, K.C., C.M.G.

Only the other day Sir Ramanathan was nominated by Government to a seat on the New Legislative Council. The many sided characteristics of this "Grand Old Man of Ceylon" are brought out vividly in a pen portrait by "an old Parliamentary hand" in the columns of the *Ceylon Daily News*. Sir Ramanathan who is now over three score years and ten, has had a varied and distinguished career in the island, as lawyer, legislator, educationist and reformer. One of three brothers, "all of commanding intellect," Sir Ramanathan started life

as an advocate and began his practice in the District Court of Colombo. On the death of Sir Muthu Coomaraswami he contested the Tamil seat on the old Council and was finally appointed by the Governor in preference to Christopher Brito, the more popular candidate. In the Council he soon rose to eminence as much by his ability as by his tactful manners. He visited England in the year of the jubilee, was called to the bar and, on his return home, was made a C. M. G. Within a short time he became Solicitor General and "entered the inner workshop of legislation." On retirement he took to public work with greater vigilance and was twice returned to the council where he has fought many a good fight.

But Sir Ramanathan is still an enigma to many. For as the writer in the *Daily News* says:

"He is a Liberal like Gladstone with a strong conservative leaning. He is now called a reactionary and in his case when the unbroken colts are rushing round a dangerous corner, the brake must come in to save the coach. Three generations of men has he seen like the Greek warrior and now in the fourth generation he stands foremost."

Not one of his colleagues who first sat with him in the Council are now alive, while a new generation has arisen about him. But the veteran has lost none of his old passion for public service and his mind is still unclouded.

"And now he has come back to the Council of the country, summoned thereto by the voice of the ruler of the land. He has been all through life the stern and unbending critic of Government when occasion required. He has rung out the old and he is called upon to ring in the new. One could conceive no greater compliment to his worth and the value of his services."

### Mr. Basu's Message to India.

Prior to his departure to England, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu delivered to a representative of the 'Bengalee' the following message to his countrymen:—

"You may trust in the future of our country without fear or misgivings. Complete Swaraj is now a matter of time. It will take some time, though not long, provided we work with self-reliance and keep to law and order. Our policy should be one not of hate, but of trust and love not of rancour, but of good will."

## Political

### The Punjab Tragedy.

In a recent article in the *London Times* Sir Valentine Chirol, who visited the scenes of the tragedy during his tour through the country, describes the intensity of Indian feeling on the martial law and the crawling orders. The use of



SIR VALENTINE CHIROL.

military force was not resented, he says, when there was rioting in parts of Bombay. But very different was the intensive enforcement of martial law in the Punjab prefaced by the deliberate bloodshed at Jallianwala on April 13, 1919—a black day in the annals of British India.

"I stood on the same rising ground on which he stood when, without a word of warning, he (Gen. Dyer) opened fire at about 100 yards range upon a dense crowd, collected mainly in the lower and more distant part of the enclosure around a platform from which speeches were being delivered. The crowd was estimated by him at 6,000, by others at 10,000 and more, but practically unarmed, and all quite defenceless. The panic-stricken multitude broke at once, but for 10 consecutive minutes he kept up a merciless fusillade—in all 1,650 rounds—on that seething mass of humanity, caught like rats in a trap, vainly rushing for the few narrow exits or lying flat on the ground to escape the rain of bullets, which he personally directed to the points where the crowd was thickest.

The "targets," to use his own word, were good, and when at the end of those 10 minutes, having almost exhausted his ammunition, he marched his

men off by the way they came, he had killed, according to the official figures only wrung out of Government months later, 379, and left about 1,200 wounded on the ground, for whom, again to use his own word, he did not consider it his "job" to take the slightest thought. \* \* \*

His purpose, he declared, was to "strike terror into the whole of the Punjab." He may have achieved it for the time, though the evidence on this point is conflicting, but what he achieved far more permanently and effectively was to create in the Jallianwala Bagh, a place of perpetual pilgrimage for racial hatred. Then, two days after—not before—Jallianwala, came the formal proclamation of martial law in the Punjab, and though there were no more Jallianwalas, what but racial hatred could result from a constant stream of petty and vindictive measures enforced even after the danger of rebellion, however real it may at first have seemed, had passed away?



The Maharaja of Cutch

one of the Ruling Princes of India selected to represent this country at the Imperial Conference in London whose views on the relations between India and the Empire are given in p. 395.



## General



**Rear-Admiral Sims**

of the United States Navy whose outspoken speech at a Banquet in London attacking the Irish-American Sinn Fein propaganda has caused such a stir in political circles in Washington.

### Punjab Reparations Committee.

His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab has appointed a committee to inquire into the compensation to be paid to persons who have suffered as a consequence of the disturbances at Amritsar, Lahore and Gujranwalla in April 1919. The Committee consists of Mr. N. Langley, Commissioner of Lahore, (President), Dewan Bahadur Rajah Narendra Nath, M.L.C., Mr. Muhammad Amin, M.L.C., and Mr. Mubarram Ali Christhi, M.L.C., (Members). The committee held its first meeting on the 30th April at the Commissioner's Office when a fifth member was co-opted.

### To Settle the Punjab Issue.

If a veil is to be drawn over the tragic memories of the past we think the remaining victims of the regime of terror should either be released, or should be regularly tried and given a fair opportunity of defending themselves, says the *Leader*. "We are sure that the safety of the provinces or of India will not be endangered if the small number of men who are undergoing imprisonment are let off. The moral effect of such an act of clemency is calculated to improve the situation and to make the task of pacification easier. Then there remain the obnoxious officers who are still in service. Their presence is a constant irritant. Is it not at least possible to send them away to some other sphere of activity? It is not out of any vindictive feeling that we are led to make these suggestions but the strength of public feeling on the subject necessitates the taking of the afore-said measures in order that one of the most important factors of the present day discontent may be removed, and the dawn of internal peace brought nearer."



*Punch.*

THE PROBLEM-PICTURE OF 1921.

How to make the tail wag.



MR. KRISHNA GOVIND GUPTA



MR. V. C. SRINIVASA SASTRI



HON. MR. M. RAMACHANDRA ROW



HON. MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI